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S. DAVID.

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THE LIVES OF THE BRITISH SAINTS

THE SAINTS OF WALES AND CORNWALL AND
SUCH IRISH SAINTS AS HAVE DEDICATIONS
IN BRITAIN

By
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AND
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LIVES OF THE BRITISH SAINTS

Vol ii

S. CADELL, Confessor

THE early gedigrees in *Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45 and *Hafod MS.* 16 enter this Saint simply as Cadell ab Urien; but the *Iolo MSS.*,¹ through the mistake of making the next entry (S. Buan) part of his pedigree, give him as son of Urien Rion ab Llywarch Hên, Urien Foeddog ab Rhun Rhion ab Llywarch Hên, and Urien ab Rhun. He was a member, we are told, of S. Catwg's Côr at Llancarfan, and the founder of Llangadell, now extinct, but a *capella* at one time under Llancarfan.² He is also stated to have founded Sili, in Glamorgan,³ that is, Sully, now dedicated to S. John Baptist. "Grang' de Eglescadell" is mentioned among the *bona* of the Abbot of Bardsey in the *Taxatio* of 1291. His festival is not given in any of the calendars.

One document gives us another S. Cadell,⁴ the son of Cawrdaf ab Caradog Freichfras. He had as brothers Cathan and Medrod. But the name appears to be a misreading. There was a Cadell bishop of S. David's in the 9th century.

S. CADFAN, Abbot, Confessor

JUST after the middle or towards the close of the fifth century, a large company of British who had settled in Armorica, crossed over into Wales. They were led by Cadfan, son of Eneas Lydewig and his wife Gwen Teirbron, the daughter of Emyr Llydaw. According to Welsh traditions, the party accompanying Cadfan, "saints and learned men," were Padarn, Tydecho, Trunio, Maelrys, Cynon, Mael,

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 103, 128, 145; also *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 266, and *Myv. Arch.*, p. 419. Geoffrey of Monmouth mentions Cadell ab Urien (*Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 200).

² Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 336.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 221.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

Sulien, Ethrias (or Eithras), Henwyn, Tanwg, Llywen, Llyfab, Tegai, Trillo, Llechid, Dochdwy, Tegwyn, Baglan, Meilir, Fflewyn, Gredifael, Lleuddad, Sadwrn, Gwyndaf, Ilar, Cristiolus, Rhystyd, and many more.¹ The total number has been given as 847,² but they represent three distinct migrations.³ They were called the *Gwelygordd* or Saintly Clan of Emyr Llydaw, and they take up a good deal of place in the Welsh genealogies. The names of some of these occur in the Life of S. Padarn, under earlier forms, as Hetinlau, Catman, Titechon.⁴ In the Breviary of S. Malo, 1537, they occur as Tinlatu, Cathinam and Techo; in the Tréguier Legendarium, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, at Paris, MS. Lat. 1148, as Quilan, Cathinam, Techucho. Cathinam or Cathinan is probably Cadfan; Techo or Techucho is Tydecho. Cadfan, we are told by one authority, came to this island "in the time of Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu (Vortigern) with Garmon, the son of Rhidigys, from Gaul, his native country, to renew Faith and Baptism in this Island." ⁵

Garmon, as we hope to show under Germanus the Armorican, did leave Brittany, about 462. This was not Germanus of Auxerre, but the Germanus who later became Bishop of the Isle of Man, and died in 474.

The name Cadfan appears earliest in the form Catamanus, which occurs on the Llangadwaladr (Anglesey) early seventh century inscribed stone, put up to the memory of "King Cadfan, the wisest, the most renowned of all Kings." The intermediate form Catman occurs in the *Vita S. Paterni*.⁶ An Anglian version of it is Cædmon, the name of the seventh century poet-monk of Whitby.

The reason of the migration can only be conjectured. Some, such as came with Germanus, doubtless did so to assist in the work that Saint had in hand along with Patrick, the supply of evangelists for Ireland. But this does not explain the advent in Wales of the great party of Cadfan, composed almost wholly of his kinsmen. It has been supposed by Rees that these Britons fled Armorica because of the encroachments of the Franks. But this supposition will not avail.

There had been colonists from Britain settled in Armorica for some

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 103, 111; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 415, 419-20; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 266. *Iolo MSS.*, p. 130, is wrong in making Cadfan's mother a granddaughter of Emyr.

² *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 189.

³ One band is said to have accompanied Garmon and settled at Llantwit; another accompanied Cadfan and settled eventually in Bardsey. *Iolo MSS.*, p. 131.

⁴ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 189.

⁵ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 103.

⁶ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 189.

time previous to the Saxon invasion of Britain, and about the mouth of the Loire these had been so numerous, that they had sent in 469 their King Riothimus with twelve thousand men to assist the Emperor Anthemius against the Visigoths.¹ This is certain, that if there were Britons in large numbers in Armorica in 469, they must then have been settled there for some time previous.

It was not till the battle of Vouillé, fought in 507, that the Franks rendered themselves masters of Nantes. Gregory of Tours hints that the Britons of Armorica were independent under their kings, till after the death of Clovis, A.D. 511; after that they submitted to the overlordship of the Franks, and their chiefs no longer called themselves kings.²

The Greek historian Procopius says that "the Franks, after their victory over the last representatives of the Roman authority in Gaul, were incapable of struggling alone against the Visigoths and Alaric, and they sought the friendship of the Armoricans, and made alliance with them."³

The Lives of the early Breton Saints show that the British colonists were on excellent terms with the Frank kings, and that both chiefs and bishops and abbots sought from them confirmation of their titles to land.

In fact, the new settlers who spread through the country could not get on pleasantly with the Gallo-Roman citizens of Rennes, Nantes and Vannes. Magistrates and Bishops alike viewed them with disfavour, as having their own laws, their own customs and their own independent ecclesiastical organization. The British colonists would neither recognize the civil jurisdiction of the magistrates, nor the ecclesiastical authority of the bishops. The new-comers could expect no assistance from their native isle, where those who remained were engaged in deadly conflict with the Teutonic invaders, and they sought for some authority that would maintain them against the pretensions of the Gallo-Romans in the great towns. They sought and obtained what they required at the hands of the Frank kings in Paris. There does not exist a particle of evidence to show that they came into conflict with the Franks till the time of Canao of Vannes, who took up the cause of Chramm against his father in 560.

¹ "Quod conspiciens Anthemius imperator protinus solatia Britonum postulavit. Rex eorum Riothimus cum xii. millibus in Biturigas civitatem, Oceano e navibus egressus, susceptus est." Jornandes, *De rebus Gothicis*, xlv.

² "Chanao . . . regnum ejus integrum accepit. Nam semper Britanni post mortem Clodovechis regis sub potestate Francorum fuerunt; et duces eorum, comites, non reges appellati sunt." *Hist. Francorum*, iv, 4.

³ *De Bello Gothico*, i, 12.

The Franks made no attempt to occupy Armorica, they confirmed the Britons in their settlements and did not dispossess them.

The reason of the migration was most probably due to intestinal feud.

It has been said "Gallus Gallo lupus," and the same applies to all Celtic races. The subdivision of rights on the death of a prince led to fratricidal war, when the most headstrong and powerful of the brothers either murdered or expelled his brethren, usurped their tribal lands and rights, and reigned supreme.

The family of Emyr Llydaw migrated from Broweroc,¹ that is to say from the modern department of Morbihan, where Weroc had usurped the sovereignty. But Cadfan himself probably came from Cornugallia, and thence Grallo had swept away all rivals and had there made himself supreme.

The great flight of the families of Emyr and of Eneas across the sea, we may conjecture, was to save themselves from massacre by these two masterful men, Weroc and Grallo.

Some of the party accompanying Cadfan were kinsmen. Padarn was son of Pedrwn, and therefore a first cousin on the mother's side. So was Tydecho, son of Amwn; so also Trunio, son of Dyfwng. Gwyn-daf was his uncle; Sulien a first cousin, son of Hywel; Sadwrn was son of Bicanys brother of Emyr, Lleuddad son of Alan ab Emyr, and Maelrys was also a cousin, as son of Gwyddno.

On his arrival in Wales, Cadfan founded a church at Towyn, in Merioneth, land having been granted him by the king, one Cyngen, as also another, Llangadfan, in Montgomeryshire. Later on he became first abbot, *penrhaith*, or principal, as he is styled, of Bangor Gadfan in Enlli, or Bardsey Isle,² at the instigation of Einion Frenin, prince of Lleyrn in Carnarvonshire.

Bangor Gadfan soon became very celebrated, for we are told that there were there, "a great many saints of the Welsh nation, whither they went after Bangor Fawr in Maelor had been destroyed by the pagan Saxons (607 or 613); and from the other Choirs a great many went also;"³ so many that Côr Gadfan at one time accommodated "20,000 saints. There were no cells there, but every one did as he chose; and after the 20,000 saints, Bardsey became a Choir with a cell of 500 saints."⁴

The little island became the *Insula Sanctorum* or the Iona of Wales. It is called in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, "Roma Britanniae,"⁵ and 20,000,

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 103, 133, give Graweg for Broweroc.

² *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 133, 145.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁵ P. 1.

we are told, lie buried there, to whose memory the late Lord Newborough, who owned the island, and who himself was buried on it, erected a monument. Quaint old Thomas Fuller thought "it more facile to find graves in Bardsey for so many saints, than saints for so many graves."¹ There are two mediaeval poems, in the *cywydd* metre, to the 20,000 Saints, the one by Hywel ab Dafydd ab Ieuan ab Rhys, and the other by Hywel ab Rheinallt. Taliessin, in his "Gorchan Maelderw," in the thirteenth century *Book of Aneurin*, says:—

I do mutually wish for the repose of Enlli,
The fair aspect of which is filled with deep interest ;²

and the twelfth century poet Meilir, in his "Deathbed of the Bard," also fervently prayed that he might be laid "to rest in happiness" on Enlli, which he called the "holy isle of the saints."³

Owing to its sanctity and the danger often attending the voyage across, three pilgrimages thither were considered equal to a pilgrimage to Rome, ranking it as second to S. David's in this respect.

There is a somewhat long but obscure poem written in honour of S. Cadfan (*Canu y Gaduan*) by Llywelyn Fardd (*fl. c. 1230-80*).⁴ It is, however, in reality occupied principally with "Cadfan's high church near the shore of the blue sea," that is, the church of Towyn, which, he says, contained "three magnificent altars, famed for miracles." The first was that of the Blessed Virgin, the second that of S. Peter, and the third, "given by hand from heaven," was that of S. Cadfan. This church S. Cadfan founded after a divine pattern, when he came thither from Llydaw. It was "the glory of Meirionydd;" and he praises its costly crozier,⁵ which had the power of "checking the enemy, and causing them to fall upon each other;" also its sanctuary; numbers, he says, fled to the "abbot" for protection; then its priests, its munificence, its relics, its choir and music; its marble and its miracles "constantly visible." He invokes God's protection and blessing upon it and all its possessions; and, in conclusion, eulogizes Cadfan and Lleuddad as guardians of Enlli. In course of the poem he speaks of Cadfan as "the guardian of battle," and as "a hero." The Saint is commonly regarded as the patron of warriors, from which

¹ *Worthies*, ed. 1840, iii, p. 528.

² Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i, p. 416; ii, p. 98.

³ "Ynys glan y glain," *Myv. Arch.*, p. 142. Ynys Enlli probably stands for Ynys Fenlli (cf. Moel Fenlli).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 248-250.

⁵ "Myn Bagyl Gadfan!" is quoted in Salisbury and Perri's *Eglwyrn Ffraethineb*, ed. 1807, p. 19.

we may suppose that he led a military life before he left Armorica. The fifteenth century poet, Lewis Glyn Cothi, in requesting the gift of a bow, compliments the subject of the poem with the epithet " mab Cadfan " (Cadfan's son).¹

S. Cadfan is supposed to have had a preaching station on his route from Towyn to Llangadfan at Bryn yr Eglwys, near Abergynolwyn, a little to the north-east of Towyn. His memory is still preserved there in the names Pistyll Cadfan (his waterfall), Eisteddfa Gadfan (his seat), and Llwybr Cadfan (his path). This path or track, along which he is popularly said to have habitually travelled between Towyn and Llangadfan during his missionary labours, is still traced by the country people at various points on the route.² Lewis Morris, in his *Celtic Remains*, mentions Buarth Gadfan (his enclosure) and Dol Gadfan (his meadow); but Cadfan was not an uncommon name, and one is therefore not justified in assuming that all these apply to the Saint.

A chapel dedicated to S. Cadfan stood at the north-east end of Towyn churchyard in 1620. The Holy Well of S. Cadfan lay a little below the church. It was much frequented for the cure of rheumatic, scrofulous, and cutaneous disorders. For the better accommodation of the public, it had been enclosed and made into two baths, each about six feet square, with four dressing-rooms attached, and placed under the charge of a caretaker. In 1894, the owners of the baths, finding that they did not pay, filled them up with stones, and converted the buildings into a coach-house and stables.

Ffynnon Gadfan at Llangadfan has been partially closed. It lay a short distance from the church, and was at one time covered with a building. The efficacy of its waters was in great repute. When the present road leading from Cann Office to the church had to be carried over the well, care was taken to construct an arch above it.

One of the chapels in Llangathen church, Carmarthenshire, is called Capel Cadfan. There is a Llethr Codfan (his slope) in the parish.

The church of Towyn is a very interesting early Norman structure, a cross church with central tower. In its yard are four small menhirs marking off a quadrangular space. Graves are dense about it, but no interments are made within. Here, originally, stood the Cadfan stone, now removed to the church for preservation.

It is a pillar stone seven feet long and about ten inches wide on the two sides that are widest, the other two being considerably narrower.

¹ *Works*, Oxford, 1837, p. 375.

² For the traces of it see R. P. Morris, *Cantref Meirionydd*, Dolgelley, 1890, pp. 540-1; also for the well at Towyn on p. 552.

The inscription on it has been supposed, but wrongly, to be the earliest known specimen of early Welsh. It was deciphered by Williams ab Ithel as running—

+CUNGEN CELEN ARTERUNC DUBUT MARCIAU,

and by him rendered "The body of Cyngen is on the side between where the marks will be," the marks being the four upright stones in the churchyard. The rest of the inscription he read—

+TENGRUGCINALTEDGUADGAN MARTH MOLT CLODE TUAR TRICET
NITANAM,

and translated, "Beneath a similar mound is extended Cadfan, sad that it should enclose the praise of the earth. May he rest without blemish." ¹


The rendering has been generally disputed. Professor Rhys,² indeed, but this seems the extreme of criticism, questions whether the whole inscription be genuine. The stone was copied and engraved by Lhuyd before 1709, and by Dr. Taylor in 1761, and engravings are given of it in Gough's Camden. As usual with these early copies they are not accurate.

It is not known for certain where S. Cadfan was buried. If the above reading of the inscription be in substance correct, then he was laid to rest at Towyn. But his body is also traditionally said to have reposed in Bardsey. He was succeeded by his cousin S. Lleuddad as abbot, and both are regarded as patrons of Bardsey.

His festival does not occur in any of the Welsh Calendars, but it is given as November 1 by Rees in his *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, and he is followed by Williams ab Ithel in his Calendar. Browne Willis gives the dedication of Llangadfan as All Saints, and adds, "They keep their Feast on All Saints' Day, and not on the Sunday following, as elsewhere." ³ Bishop Maddox (1736-43), in his MS. book Z, in the Episcopal Library at S. Asaph, gives "Wake on All S^{ts} Day." All Saints' Day is also given as the festival observed at Towyn.

Dafydd ab Gwilym, in the fourteenth century, uses the expression, "Myn Delw Gadfan a'i grôg!" ("By Cadfan's image and his cross!") ⁴ He had, no doubt, in mind the statue at Towyn, under

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 1850, pp. 96-7. See also Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., i, pp. 164-5.

² *Ibid.*, 1874, p. 243; no forger of the seventeenth century could have written the Irish  for G.

³ *Survey of S. Asaph*, 1720, p. 293.

⁴ *Works*, 1789, p. 130.

which parish is entered, in the *Valor* of 1535, "Oblacion' ad S'c'm Cadvan co'ibus annis—xxvj s. viij d." (iv, p. 427; vi, p. xxvi).

It is by no means improbable that Cadfan re-visited Brittany when Grallo was dead, and he could do so in safety.

In Brittany Cadfan is known only in Finistère and Côtes du Nord, and in the latter only in that part which is near the border of Finistère. It is significant that as he is associated with Germanus as going with him to Britain, so he should have a chapel at Brasparz adjoining Pleyben, of which S. Germanus is patron. It is perhaps, indeed it is probable, that it is a mistake which makes him one of the party crossing to Wales with Germanus; but the coincidence remains; and he may have been associated with the latter in Cornugallia. At Poullan near Douarnenez, he is patron of a church and parish, in a sandy region strewn with megalithic remains. As nothing was known there of the Life of S. Cadfan the present curé has replaced him by S. Cadoc. The Patronal Feast is, however, held there on Whitsun Day, whereas S. Cadoc's day is January 24.

The most interesting memorial of him is a statue in the chapel of S. Venec on the road from Quimper to Châteaulin. Here is a group of Gwen Teirbron with her three children by her second husband Fragan, and, in addition, one of a man in armour, now ascribed to S. Gwethenoc, one of these later sons, but Gwethenoc was a monk and never anything else, whereas Cadfan is the patron of warriors. And a writer in the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Finistère* had already suggested that this figure actually represented the eldest of her sons, Cadfan.

Cadfan was also the original patron of Cavan, in Côtes du Nord, and of S. Cava near the mouth of the Abervrach in Plouguerneau. There may have been other churches, as S. Cadou in the Sizun promontory, out of the Cadoc district, that have changed their patron, on account of so little being known of Cadfan.

That he did come back to Brittany, such dedications as remain seem to show. And there was reason why he should. His half-brothers Winwaloe, Jacut and Gwethenoc were notable men there as monastic founders. But he was old, and they were young and vigorous; their institutions flourished, and his decayed, and he returned to Wales, and died, either at Towyn or in Bardsey. No church in Brittany laid claims to possess his relics.

The fixing of the dates of his life can be approximate only. Germanus came over about the year 462, and Cadfan crossed probably about the same time or a little later. Rees puts his arrival later, "Between the commencement of this century (the sixth) and the



S. CADFAN.

*Statue incorrectly called S. Venec (S. Gwethenoc) in the Chapel of S. Venec,
Briec, Finistère.*

synod of Brefi, may be dated the arrival of Cadfan at the head of a large company of saints from Armorica."¹ Einion Frenin was the great-grandson of Cunedda, and probably belonged to the first half of the sixth century.

The *Iolo MSS.* are not a very trustworthy authority. In them it is stated, "Dochdwy came with Cadfan to this island, and was in Bardsey, and afterwards he was Bishop in the Church of Teilo, in Llandaff, whilst Teilo was in Bardsey with the saints there, superintending the Choir after the death of Cadfan."² Such a statement is clearly apocryphal. Teilo died about 580, and Cadfan was half brother of Winwaloe, the son of the same mother by a first husband, and consequently at least two years older than Winwaloe. This latter saint died in 532, "full of days." He was born about 457, and we may suppose that Cadfan was born at least as early as 447, but probably much earlier, if he were a grown man when he came over to Britain, about 462.

S. CADFARCH, Confessor

S. CADFARCH was a son of the well-known Caradog Freichfras ab Llyr Merini, by Tegau Eurfron, daughter of Nudd Hael, celebrated in the Triads for her beauty and chastity. He had as brothers SS. Cawrdaf, Tangwn, and Maethlu, and he was the father of S. Elgud.³ He was a saint or monk of Bangor Dunawd on the banks of the Dee, and, formerly, the patron of the church of Abererch, in the promontory of Lleyn. His brother Cawrdaf is now generally, and has been for some time, accounted the patron of Abererch, as also sometimes of Llangoed, in Anglesey, either solely or conjointly with Tangwn.⁴ The older genealogies, however, never associate Cawrdaf with either. There is a Ffynnon Gadfarch near the site of a now extinct *capella*, called Llangedwydd, at the northern end of Abererch parish, and a

¹ *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 213.

² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 112.

³ *Peniarth MSS.* 16 (early thirteenth century) and 45 (late thirteenth century); *Hafod MS.* 16; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 420; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 104, 123; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 267. Some of the genealogies make him to be the son of Cawrdaf, but he was really his brother (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 420).

⁴ See, e.g., the old parish lists in Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, pp. 912-3, and cf. *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 423, 741. Browne Willis, *Bangor*, pp. 275, 282, gives both as dedicated to Cawrdaf.

Ffynnon Gawrdaf at Abererch. There is also a Cadair Gawrdaf (his chair) near the church.

Cadfarch is the patron of Penegoes church, called occasionally Llangadfarch, in Montgomeryshire. On the chalice, dated 1728, the church is called "Ecclesia de Pen Egwest alias Llan Gadfarch." Ffynnon Gadfarch is mentioned in the terrier of 1687, and Bishop Maddox in his MS. book Z, in the Episcopal Library at S. Asaph, has the following note, "St. Gadfarch's Well is in one field of y^e Glebe. Ano'yr P'cel of y^e Glebe is called Erw Gadfarch." The well is still esteemed for its efficacy in cases of rheumatism. One of the fields on the glebe belonging to Meifod is also called Ffynnon Gadfarch.

His Festival, October 24, is not found in the earlier calendars, but it occurs in the calendars in the Welsh Prymers of 1618 and 1633, in the calendar prefixed to Allwydd Paradwys, 1670 (as Calofarch), and in almanacks generally of the eighteenth century. Browne Willis also gives the same day.¹ See S. CAWRDAF.

His name has a parallel in the Greek *Ἱππόμαχος*. As a common noun it means a war-horse or charger.

S. CADFRAWD, Bishop, Confessor

His name occurs among the mythical *gwelygordd* or clan of Brân ab Llyr. His genealogy is variously given, as the son of Cadfan ab Cynan ab Eudaf ab Caradog ab Brân, and the son of Cadfan ab Eudaf ab Coel ab Cyllin ab Caradog ab Brân. He was the father of SS. Gwrmael and Cadgyfarch. He is said to be the patron of Caerleon (now S. Cadoc), and to have been a bishop, but his see is not given.²

It has been supposed that Cadfrawd was the same as Adelfius, who is recorded to have been present at the Council of Arles in 314, the names being "almost a translation of each other."³ Caerleon may have been the seat of a bishopric, as Giraldus Cambrensis maintained, and Adelfius may have been bishop of the see, but there is no clear evidence that he came from this town or district. He is called in the entry "episcopus de civitate Colonia Londinensium."⁴ There is evidently some error here. Haddan and Stubbs and others have suggested *Legionensium* for *Londinensium*, making it refer to Caerleon;

¹ *Bangor*, p. 361.

³ Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 100.

² *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 116, 135-6.

⁴ Mansi, *Conc.*, ii, p. 467.

but another reading—and a more probable one—finds favour, which takes it as standing for *Lindensium*, “of Lincoln.”¹

S. CADGYFARCH, Bishop, Confessor

CADGYFARCH was a son of the previous saint, and brother of S. Gwrmael.² He is said to have been a bishop, but we are not told of what see, and to be the patron of the church of Bryn Buga, the old name for Usk, situated in the hundred or commote of the name in Monmouthshire. Usk church is now dedicated to S. Mary Magdalene

S. CADO, CADOR, or CADWY, Prince, Confessor

THIS saint was a son of Geraint, prince of Devon and Cornwall. He has been laid hold of by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and brought into his fictitious history. He makes Cador, Duke of Cornwall, come to the assistance of Arthur when besieging the Saxon Colgrin in York. Colgrin appeals for help to Germany, and Baldulf, brother of Colgrin, goes to his aid at the head of a body of six thousand men, but is waylaid by Cador and defeated. A little later, when Arthur hastens to Alclud, where Howel lies sick, and is besieged by the Picts and Scots, Cador is placed in command of the army opposed to the Saxons. “The Duke of Cornwall, who had the command of ten thousand men, would not as yet pursue the Saxons in their flight, but speedily made himself master of their ships. . . . After this he hastily pursued the enemy and allowed no quarter.” Then we have Lucius Tiberius, procurator of the Roman Commonwealth, making war on Arthur, and in a great battle that ensues Cador distinguishes himself.

All this rubbish may be cast aside. The sole element of truth in it, is the naming of Cado as Duke of Cornwall, and father of Constantine, probably “the tyrannical whelp of the unclean lioness of Domnonia,” whom Gildas assailed with such rancour.

Cataw or Cado, with his brothers Cyngar, Iestyn, and Selyf, are

¹ Bright, *Early English Church History*, pp. 10, 11; Haverfield in *English Hist. Review*, July, 1896, p. 419.

² *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 116, 136.

mentioned in the *Myvyrian Bonedd*¹ as sons of Geraint ab Erbin. They were saints of Llancarfan. In *Peniarth MS. 127* (early sixteenth century) his name is written Cattw, but the *Iolo MSS.*² genealogies identify him with Caw, lord of Cwm Cawlwyd. The two were founded at an early period.³

Cato or Cado is mentioned in the *Life of S. Carannog*,⁴ where we are told, in an episode relating to the foundation of Carantock Church in Cornwall, that "in those times, Cato and Arthur ruled in that country, living at Dindraithov," that is, in Welsh, Dindraethwy, a place known to be in Cornwall—"the Dun Tredui, the three-fossed fort of Crimthan Mor (366-378) in Britain, when the Gadhels held sway there down to the Ictian Sea."⁵ He is mentioned, as "Cathov filius Gerentonis," in the Genealogy of S. Winnoc. Cado, son of Geraint, occurs in the early fifteenth century pedigrees in the Jesus College (Oxon) MS. 20, and he is there given a son, Pedur or Peredur, who is probably to be identified with the Berth, son of Cado, in the Tale of Culhwch and Olwen.⁶ His name assumes also the form Cadwy; and he is mentioned in the Triads⁷ as one of the three men (*al.* the three in Arthur's court) who were "best towards guests and strangers."⁸

No churches bear the name of Cado in Wales or in Cornwall. It is possible that Portscatho may be named after him; it is in a portion of Cornwall redolent with reminiscences of Geraint and the royal Domnonian family. But probably any church he may have founded, if he did found any, has been attributed to the better known and more popular Cadoc.

S. CADOC or CATWG THE ELDER, Abbot

THE conversion of S. Illtyd took place when he was a married man, when he was hardly younger or older than twenty-seven. He became a famous abbot, and the epoch when he exercised his great influence

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 421, 423.

² Pp. 116, 136.

³ Caw is in one passage in the Tale of Culhwch and Olwen (*Oxford Mabinogion*, p. 123) called Cado, and in the Bonedd in *Hafod MS. 16*, Cadw. Cado also occurs for Cato the Philosopher.

⁴ *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 99-100.

⁵ Cormac's Glossary; *Old Irish Glossaries*, W. Stokes, Lond. 1862, p. xlvi.

⁶ *Oxf. Mabin.*, p. 108.

⁷ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 393; see also *Oxf. Mabin.*, pp. 106, 159.

⁸ See Mr. Egerton Phillimore's valuable note in *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, pp. 90-1.

as a teacher was between 490 and 520. His pupils, Gildas, Samson, and Paul died towards the end of the sixth century. There is reason to believe that Illtyd died between 527 and 537, and we cannot put his conversion much later than 476.

The famous Cadoc, or Catwg, of Llancarfan was contemporary with Gildas, Samson, David, and Paulus Aurelianus. He died about 577. He was nephew of Paul Penychen, with whom, before his conversion, Illtyd served as a fighting man. It is not therefore possible to admit, with the authors of the *Lives* of S. Cadoc and of S. Illtyd, that this latter was converted by Cadoc of Llancarfan, who was born not before 497.

But that there was a Cadoc or Catwg an abbot in South Wales before the renowned saint of that name, son of Gwynllyw, is more than doubtful. The statements made in the *Iolo MSS.* are not of much value; they are late. According to them Garmon appointed both Illtyd and Catwg to be abbots.¹ Now the Garmon here referred to was certainly not Germanus of Auxerre, as we hope to show later, but Germanus the Armorican, who died Bishop of Man in 474. This Germanus did have something to do with Illtyd, as we learn from the *Life* of S. Brioc. The late Brychan lists² give a Cadoc son of Brychan, and these are responsible for the statement that "he was made bishop by Dyfrig, his brother," and that "he went to France where he lies buried."³ But neither version of the *Cognatio* knows anything of a Cadoc the son of Brychan. His name is clearly a misreading of the late genealogies for Rydoch (*i.e.* Iudoc), or Ridoc, the Reidoc of the *Jesus Coll. MS.* 20.

There was a Cadoc or Caidoc who crossed to the land of the Morini from Britain at the close of the sixth century, and was the means of the conversion of S. Ricarius, and the foundation of the Abbey of Centule in 627. There this Cadoc died and was buried, and an epitaph was composed for his tomb by S. Angilbert, Abbot of Centule. He is commemorated on May 30.⁴ Of his parentage the Welsh authorities have no record.

The origin of the story of the association of Cadoc with Illtyd that occurs both in the *Life of S. Illtyd* and in that of S. Cadoc would seem to be this. A tradition was current that Illtyd when in the service of Paul Penychen had been hunting one day in the Carfan valley, when many of his comrades floundered into the bogs that occupied

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 131.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 119, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 419.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 119; *Peniarth MS.* 75, p. 53.

⁴ *Acta SS. Boll., Mai*, vii, pp. 262-3.

the bottom and perished, and this so affected the mind of Illtyd that he renounced the world. At the same time another tradition told how that Cadoc, when at a place unnamed, was harassed by the servants of Sawyl Benuchel, who demanded of him a meal, and were cursed by him, and perished miserably in a morass.

The author of the *Vita S. Illuti* knew of both these legends, and fused them together. He turned Sawyl Benuchel into Pawl Penychen, and located the scene in Nantcarfan, where the accident to the party of Illtyd had actually taken place; unconscious of the gross anachronism he committed, he brought Cadoc into association with Illtyd, and gave him a hand in the conversion of Illtyd. At a later date, when Lifris wrote his *Life of S. Cadoc*, finding this story in the *Vita Illuti*, he took it into his composition, unconscious of the fact that it was a reduplication of the legend he had already recorded of Cadoc and Sawyl Benuchel.

We may accordingly dismiss Cadoc the Elder as an unhistorical personage, who never existed.

S. CADOC or CATWG, Abbot, Bishop, Martyr

BUT one tolerably complete Life of S. Cadoc exists, and that was written by Lifris, Lifricus, or Leofric, mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâu*,¹ who was the son of Bishop Herwald (1056-1104), and "Arch-deacon of Glamorgan and Master of S. Cadoc of Llancarfan." This is by much the most important of all the Lives of the Welsh Saints written in Wales. It is a composition of material of various sorts heaped together without order. It has two prefaces, then the Life in thirty-three chapters; this is followed by the *Passio* in three chapters, and then by a series of miracles wrought after the death of the Saint. Then ensue three genealogies, a constitution of the Society of Llan-

¹ Pp. 271-4. We know from the Life itself (c. 41) that Lifris wrote it. He was probably the last abbot of Llancarfan. It is not at all improbable that the records forming the cartulary may have been copied out of a book of the gospels on the altar at Llancarfan. During his stay with Cadoc at Llancarfan Gildas made such a copy, and Caradoc of Llancarfan, in his Life of Gildas, tells us that, about 1150, it "still remained in the Church of S. Cadoc, covered all over with gold and silver," and that it was used by the Welsh for taking oaths upon. (Prof. Hugh Williams, *Gildas*, p. 407.) According to the Life of S. Cadoc (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 66) it was copied in Echni. Whether the codex Caradoc refers to was the actual work of Gildas is, of course, matter for doubt.

carfan, with a list of its possessions and their appropriation; a rule about making wills; then it goes back to the story of the conversion of Gwynllyw, to introduce his donations, and then ensues a cartulary of Llancarfan.

The Life is in the early thirteenth century MS. *Cotton. Vesp. A. xiv*, and has been printed in the *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 22-96, very inaccurately. The errors have been rectified by Professor Kuno Meyer, in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xiii (1900), pp. 77-84, and the donations have been correctly reprinted by Dr. F. Seebohm, in his *Tribal System in Wales*, 1895, pp. 205-224.

The Life by Lifris formed the basis for that by John of Tynemouth, *Cotton. Tiberius E. i* (fourteenth century), which is given in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*. Another MS. is in *Cotton. Titus D. xxii* (fifteenth century). There existed formerly a Life of S. Cadoc at Quimperlé in Finistère, but as the thirteenth century writer of the Cartulary of Ste. Croix there complains, it had been carried off surreptitiously by a priest, named Judhuarn, who died before he returned it, and the book was not recovered.¹

However, probably the substance of the Life had already been taken into the Breviary lections for the Feast of S. Cadoc at Quimperlé, and although no copy of this Breviary now exists, Albert le Grand saw it, and from it, and from the lections in the Vannes Breviary, composed his *Life of S. Cadoc*. The Life in the *Acta SS.* of the Bollandists is a mere reproduction of that of John of Tynemouth, after a transcript made from Capgrave.

Gwynllyw, King of Gwynllywg, had married Gwladys, daughter, or more probably granddaughter, of Brychan, and had carried her off *vi et armis*. Cadoc was their son. Gwynllyw, who was a lawless tyrant, had sent his robber bands into Gwent, beyond the Usk, and had carried off the cow of an Irish hermit, whose name was Tathan or Meuthi.² The hermit ventured to the *caer* of the King to implore its restoration. According to the account in the *Life of Cadoc* he was well received and courteously treated; but according to that in the *Life of Tathan* he was treated with horse-play and insult.³ However, Gwynllyw retained him to baptize the child that was then born to him, and it was given the name of Cathmail, which occurs in mediaeval Irish as Cathmál, in Welsh Cadfael. Although Cathmail was his

¹ *Cartulary of Quimperlé*, Paris, 1896, p. 217.

² In the *Vita S. Tathei*, *Cambro-British Saints*, he is called Tatheus. In that of Cadoc he is given as Meuthi; in the Life by Albert le Grand it is Menechesius. Meuthi (Mo-thai) is another form of the same name as Tathan. It has the prefix *Mo* (my) and the other the affix *an*.

³ *Vita S. Tathei*, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 260.

name, he is known as Cadoc or Catwg, in Latin Cadocus. In like manner, Briomaglus is the Brioc of hagiology. In the Quimperlé cartulary it is Catuodus.

Later on, the boy was entrusted to Tathan or Meuthi, to be educated at Caerwent, where he had a college, that had been founded by Ynyr, king of that portion of Gwent. "And he, willingly receiving him, diligently instructed him in Donatus and Priscian, and other arts for twelve years."¹

The story is told of Cadoc, as of so many other Celtic saints, that he brought live coals to his master in the lap of his habit; and that the place where the coals were concealed was well known till the first half of the eleventh century, and then forgotten. In this instance there may be some basis of fact. Cadoc may have discovered a seam of coal, not in Gwent, but Morganwg, and this the natives continued to use till the irruption of the Normans, when the place was abandoned and forgotten. How old Cadoc was when he was committed to Tathan or Meuthi we do not know, probably when he was a child of six. If so, then he left his master when aged eighteen, and returned to his father.

The Life, as given by Albert le Grand, however, makes him older than that. His story is as follows:—Gwynllyw, being about to make war on a neighbouring king, committed the command of his men to his son Cathmail. But the young man, feeling no vocation for the military life, ran away, and placed himself under the direction of the Irish teacher. We shall probably be right in transferring this incident to his return from school at Caerwent.

Cathmail, having resolved on embracing the ecclesiastical profession, deserted his home and the lands of his father, and went into Morganwg, to the territory of his uncle, Paul or Pol, of Penychen, who ruled over that district in Morganwg. Here he wandered about alone in a marshy district, and coming suddenly on a herd of swine belonging to Paul, scared and scattered them. The swineherd, incensed at this, raised his lance, and would have transfixed him, had not Cathmail told him his name and relationship to his master.

When Paul learned that his nephew was wandering homeless on his territory, he sent for him and offered him some land on which to settle. Cathmail gladly accepted the marshy valley where he had met the swineherd, and his uncle made it over to him.

In one part of the marsh, where was higher ground, a wild swan had nested, and there also an old grey boar had its lair. As Cathmail was looking about for a suitable spot on which to erect his wattled

¹ Vita S. Cadoci, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 27.

cell, he disturbed the swan and the boar. The former flew away, but the boar retired reluctantly, and turned thrice to observe the man who had invaded its retreat. Cathmail put sticks into the ground to mark the spots where the boar had halted, and resolved to plant his monastery there, and build his church, refectory and dormitory, at the points where the beast had turned to watch him. He was soon joined by other young men, probably those who had been his fellow students, and had no liking for the rowdy career of a man of war, and this was the beginning of the famous monastery of Llancarfan.

"Then the holy man undertook to throw up a large mound of earth, and to make therein a very beautiful cemetery, to be dedicated to the honour of God; in which the bodies of the faithful might be buried around the temple. The mound being completed, and the cemetery finished in it, he made four large paths over rising grounds about his cell."¹ The position chosen was probably not that where now stands the church of Llancarfan, but a little distance to the south, in a field called "The Culnery," where there are traces of ancient buildings. This spot agrees better with Lifris' description.

After that his buildings of wood ("monasterium ex lignorum materie") were completed, he looked out for another site that would serve as a place of refuge in the event of political incursions or civil war, and chose a hill-top, now Llanfeithin, and there also he threw up a mound that was circular, and on it erected a castle, called Castell Cadog ("in illo alium tumulum in modum urbis rotundum de limo terrae exagerari, ac in tumulum eregi fecit quod Brittonum idiomate Kastil Cadoci nuncupatur").

Llanfeithin, this second settlement, is on high ground, whereas Llancarfan is in the bottom of the valley, which at that time was all morass. It is now included within the parish of Llancarfan, but was formerly an extra-parochial district of some 433 acres. Over against Llanfeithin, on the further side of the valley, is Garn Llwyd, whither Dyfrig was wont to retire, according to local tradition.

The biographer goes on to relate how that Cadoc abandoned his monastery and went to Ireland, "after a long space of time." Arrived in Ireland, he studied in the school of Lismore under S. Carthagh Muchutu, with whom he remained three years. As Carthagh was hardly born at this period, and Lismore was not founded till about 620,² we have here a gross anachronism. The mistake is due, probably, to the biographer having confounded the Carthaghs. There

¹ Vita S. Cadoci, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 34.

² *Annals of Inisfallen*. *Annals of Ulster*, 635 (636). Carthagh died in 637. *Annals of Ulster*, 636 (recte 637); *Annals of Inisfallen* and *Four Masters*, 637.

were two. The elder of that name was disciple of Ciaran of Saighir, whom he succeeded in the abbacy about 490. It is possible enough that Cadoc may have gone to this, the elder Carthagh, at Saighir.

Returning from Ireland, after three years, "with a large company of Irish and British clergy," among whom were Finnian, Macmoil and Gnavan, instead of going back to Llancarfan, as we might have expected, he placed himself under a celebrated rhetorician, Bachan, in Brecknock. Bachan "had come from Italy to that country," and Cadoc "much desired to be taught Latin by him after the Roman method."

Llanspyddid was over against the Brito-Roman town, now Y Gaer, and which may have been called by the Romans Bannium. About this we shall have more to say in the sequel. At the entrance to the church of Llanspyddid lay Anlach, the father of Brychan, and grandfather or great-grandfather of Cadoc.

Finnian, who is represented in the *Life* as a youth (*effebus*, c. 9), cannot have been young at the time, he was senior to Cadoc; he did, indeed, spend many years studying in Britain, and he did contract a friendship with Cadoc, but he was not his pupil. In the *Life* we are informed that Cadoc came from Ireland with "Finian videlicet Macmoil, atque Gnavan." At a much later period Cadoc "erected a church to Macmoillus his disciple, and protected it with a fence, and therein built an altar, that he might lodge there when he went into Gwent, or should return; and he appointed Macmoillus prior therein" (c. 55). This is Bedwellty, in Monmouthshire. He also erected, near Llancarfan, "a chapel in honour of S. Finian." The biographer, apparently, was uncertain whether Finnian and Macmoil were one and the same, or different personages. We are disposed to identify Macmoil with Cainnech of Aghaboe. (*See under S. CAINNECH.*)

Whilst Cadoc studied at Llanspyddid, famine raged in the land, and the master and his pupils were put to straits for food. However, Cadoc observed a mouse carrying a grain of wheat. He succeeded in catching it, and borrowing a thread from a widow, tied it to the foot of the little creature and let it run; whereupon it darted into a hole. Cadoc dug on the spot, and discovered an underground chamber stored with grain. Such secret granaries were by no means uncommon, and are found in many ancient Welsh, Irish and Scottish forts.¹ Or it may have been that one of the hypocausts that have been discovered at Y Gaer had been used as a storehouse for grain. On this supply the master and his pupils were able to live for some time.

Brychan now gave the land of Llanspyddid to his grandson Cadoc,

¹ *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. iii, Antiq., pp. 59, 75.

who appointed his teacher Bachan to be abbot there, and departed. It is possible, we cannot say more, that to this period belongs the foundation of Llangadog Fawr in Carmarthenshire, also in Brychan territory.

Llangadog is pleasantly situated between the rivers Brân and Sawdde, above their junction with the Towy. To the east tower up the beautiful Brecknock Beacons, and to the south is the purple ridge of the Black Mountains, below which, and parallel with the course of the Towy, runs the Trichrug.

An outcrop from this latter is a rock crowned by a stone fort, the Garn Gôch, of red rock, commanding the basin of the Towy. On the side is Llys Brychan, by its name indicating its connexion with the mysterious prince of Brycheiniog, and it is probable that the marvellous stone *caer* on the summit bore this name originally, but has shed it for the more descriptive appellation of the Red Cairn.

It was possibly whilst Cadoc was at Llangadog that he was annoyed by Sawyl Benuchel (not to be confounded with the brother of Dunawd), who had established himself in the pleasant mountain basin of Cynwyl Gaio, where a bunch of rock, starting out of the level bottom that was once a lake bed, offered a suitable position for a *caer*, commanding as it did the entire basin. It bears the significant name of Pen-y-Ddinas, showing that at one time a stronghold occupied its crown, but the ruins of prehistoric fortifications have disappeared, as the hill has been converted into a rabbit-warren.

Below it stands Llansawel, leaving us to suspect that this ruffian in his old age turned saint and founder; for this is quite out of the region of the activities of his namesake, Sawyl Benuchel, brother of Dunawd.

The church is supposed to be dedicated to S. Sawyl Felyn ab Bledri Hir, and this may have been the chief who worried Cadoc, and later turned serious and founded the church. But we are left here to conjecture, based on the fact that Llangadog is within easy reach of Pen-y-Ddinas, below which is Llansawel, and that a Sawyl did vex Cadoc. A slender foundation for a theory—to be taken for what it is worth. Pen-y-Ddinas was an eminently suitable situation from which a British chief could, at pleasure, harry the neighbourhood, especially the obnoxious Irish in Brycheiniog.

Passing through the gap in the heather-clad hills at Bwlch Cefn Serth, along the old Sarn Helen, he would descend the Dulais to its junction with the Towy, and, arriving at the monastery of S. Cadoc, could harass the saint. One day, he and his party broke in, and carried off meat and drink, but did no further damage. Cadoc was absent at the moment, but on his return learnt what had been

done, and was further informed that the marauders were at a little distance, eating and drinking what they had ravished from his larder and cellars.

After they had gorged themselves with meat and ale, Sawyl and his rogues lay down to sleep. Cadoc seized the opportunity to inflict on them a stinging insult. He set his monks to shave half the heads of the drunken men, and then with the razors to slash off the ears and lips of their horses.

We are informed that Sawyl and his men had retreated to a hill-top for their carouse, and if our identification of the localities be accepted, this can have been none other than the Garn Gôch. When the barbers had done their work, Cadoc and fifty of his clerics assumed their ecclesiastical vestments, and marched in procession to the hill to meet, and, if possible, to mitigate the resentment of the freebooter.

What happened is veiled in fable. The earth opened and swallowed up Sawyl and his men, "and the ditch where they were engulfed is known unto this day to all the passers-by."¹ That nothing of the sort took place we may be pretty sure. What probably occurred was that the settlers in the neighbourhood assembled and assumed a threatening attitude, and the bully was fain to decamp.

Under Garn Gôch is Llys Brychan, as already said, so that it is probable that Brychan had a residence there.

After this, Cadoc sang *Te Deum*, and blessed the men who had made his adversaries ridiculous, and had so barbarously mutilated the dumb beasts.

"Blessed are ye in the Lord; and this prerogative be to the twelve barbers, figuring the Twelve Apostles, and to all those who hold your succession in the town, to all your posterity. If judgment and useful counsel be wanting in all the coasts, let it be found among you. If twelve appointed wise men be lacking, let the counsel of twelve irregular clergy be had; if twelve clerics should not be present, then commit judgment and counsel to twelve young innocent boys."² This benediction has a very early ring about it, far earlier than the eleventh century, when the *Life of Cadoc* was written; and the mutilation of the men and beasts is truly Celtic in character.³

We cannot be at all certain that this incident took place at the time and place suggested, but it would seem not improbable that the foundation of Cadoc in Llangadog Fawr should occur before leaving the Brychan territory, before his return to Gwent. Possibly owing to

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 42-3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 43.

³ So in the *Mabinogi* of Branwen.

the annoyance caused by proximity to Sawyl, Cadoc quitted this part of the country and returned to his original settlement at Llancarfan, which he found wholly ruinous, and without inhabitants. "He beheld his principal monastery destroyed, and the rafters of the roofs and the rubbish of the building scattered over the cemetery; and grieving at the ruin, he earnestly desired to rebuild it" (c. 9). He ordered all his monks, clerics and workmen to go to the woods and cut timber for the structure, excepting only the two youths, Finnian and Macmoil, who were to go on with their lessons. As already pointed out, Finnian was considerably older than Cadoc.

The steward, cook and sexton, seeing that these Irish students were not helping in the necessary work, rated them as idlers, and ordered them to fetch timber. Somewhat abashed, they obeyed and yoked two stags to a beam to draw it to the monastery. When Cadoc saw that they were working and not reading, he asked the reason. They told him the circumstances, and he cursed the cook, sexton and steward that they should die the worst of deaths by sword or famine.

Cadoc erected an oratory to Finnian over a spot where he had left his book exposed to a shower, which had not, however, materially injured it. One cannot but suspect that the biographer has wholly mistaken the age of Finnian, and has inserted this hackneyed miracle to account for the existence in his time of a Finnian chapel, erected by Cadoc in honour of his friend, who was so much older than himself, and who became so illustrious as a master of saints in Ireland.

About this time Gwynllyw, the father of Cadoc, fell sick and died. The old king had given a good deal of trouble in his time, but had been converted and brought to lead an eremitical life by the instrumentality of his son. When he felt himself dying, he sent for Cadoc and the bishop Dyfrig. "And they came to the sick person, and gave him penance, exhorting and comforting him with salutary doctrine. After this, the bishop pronounced absolution and apostolical benediction."¹

About this time Gildas passed through Penychen, and visited Cadoc. He had with him a bell, to which Cadoc took a fancy, and which he offered to buy; but Gildas refused to part with it, as he purposed presenting it to the altar of S. Peter at Rome.

Some years after, however, Gildas gave the bell to Cadoc, alleging that the Bishop of Rome had declined to receive it when he heard that such an illustrious man had expressed a desire to possess it; and Cadoc believed the flattering story.²

¹ Vita S. Gundleii, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 150.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60; *Vita II Gildae*, ed. Williams, p. 404. In the *Vita S. Cadoci* the Pope is called Alexander. There was no such Pope at the time.

From a comparison of the *Lives* of Gildas and Cadoc it would appear that the former visited Llancarfan in 528. Cadoc seized on the occasion to ask Gildas to take charge of his monastery for him whilst he himself went into Alba. To this Gildas consented.¹

There is a discrepancy between the accounts in the *Life* of Gildas and that of Cadoc. In the former it is said that Gildas undertook the charge of Llancarfan for one year only. In the *Vita S. Cadoci*, Cadoc is represented as being absent in Alba for seven years. But as Gildas spent only seven years in all at this period in Britain, and during that time he was much associated with Cadoc in retirement in the Holmes, in the Severn Sea, we must take the shorter time as that during which Cadoc was in Alba.

Before Cadoc left for the north Gildas and David had fallen out. Each wanted to be head of the ecclesiastics in Dyfed. In fact, Gildas was making a strenuous effort to turn David out, and occupy his place. As much heat and angry feeling was provoked, Cadoc was called in to decide between them. This was a delicate matter, and as the Abbot of Llancarfan little relished the prospect of displeasing either of the rivals, he passed on the thankless office to S. Finnian, afterwards of Clonard, his friend and companion, and Finnian gave his judgment in favour of David.² Cadoc now departed for Alba and built a monastery of stone "near the mountain Bannauc."

Bishop Forbes says:—"Cambuslang is dedicated to S. Cadoc, and through the adjoining parish of Carmunnock runs a range of hills, called the Cathkin Hills, which separates Strathclyde from Ayrshire, and terminates in Renfrewshire (Strathgryf). This must be the 'mountain Bannauc'; and the name is preserved in Carmunnock."³

This Caer Bannauc is probably the Caer Banhed of the *Life* of S. Paul of Léon. A certain Marc Conomanus was king there, and he and Paulus Aurelianus had fallen out over a trifle, and the huffed saint had departed, and crossed into Brittany, as nearly as can be calculated, in 526. Now Paul was a native of Penychen, and almost certainly was acquainted with Cadoc. On quitting the territory of King Marc, he would go home to Penychen, where Cadoc would learn from him that the king of Strathclyde actually desired to have a religious foundation in his realm, and had urged Paul to take on him the ecclesiastical oversight of his people.⁴ Paul in a fit of spleen had

¹ *Vita II Gildae*, pp. 404-5.

² *Life* of S. Finnian, *Book of Lismore*, pp. 222-3.

³ Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i, pp. 173-4; Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, Edinburgh, 1872, p. 293.

⁴ *Vita S. Pauli Aureliani*, c. 8.

left. Cadoc thought he saw his occasion, and having provided for his monastery at Llancarfan being ruled during his absence, went to the realm of Marc Conomanus, and took up the threads dropped by Paul and established there a monastic house.

A curious story attaches to the founding of this monastery in Scotland. Whilst digging the foundations, Cadoc came on some huge bones, and prayed that it might be revealed to him whose they were. In the night, a gigantic man appeared and told him that they belonged to his earthly remains, and that he was Caw, surnamed Prydyn, or Cawr (a giant); that he had been a king beyond the mountain range, *i.e.* in Strathclyde, but had fallen there in battle.¹

What seems to be the explanation of this story is that at the request of Gildas, Cadoc sought out the burial mound of his father, Caw of Cwm Cawlwyd, who had been engaged in conflict with the Gwyddyl Ffichti, or Irish Goidels, and had lost his territory to them. Then as a token of friendly feeling to Gildas, Cadoc erected his monastery over the tomb of the father of that saint. The similarity of the name Caw with Cawr furnished the legend-maker with the idea that he was a giant.

According to the *Vita S. Cadoci*, Cadoc made a pilgrimage to S. Andrew's. As it happens, S. Andrew's was not founded till 741, about two hundred years later.

On the return of Cadoc to Llancarfan, he resumed the rule over his abbey, and Gildas retired to Glastonbury; but the friends were wont during Lent to retreat to the Steep and Flat Holmes in the estuary of the Severn, for prayer and meditation, broken only by visits to one another.

About the year 534, according to our computation, Gildas went back to his monastic settlement at Ruys in Armorica. It is possible that it was now, at his persuasion, that Cadoc also went thither "with a few of his monks."² Lifris says that he went there after the death of his father Gwynllyw. But on the whole we are disposed to think that Cadoc's visit to Armorica took place at the time of the great flight of clerics from South Wales on the breaking out of the Yellow Plague (547). But what Cadoc did, perhaps, undertake about this time was a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and to Rome.

His monastery at Llancarfan had now grown to one of great importance and wealth. The legend represents his power there as princely. "He daily fed a hundred clergy, and a hundred soldiers, and a hundred

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 56-8.

² "Ayant choisi un petit nombre de ses religieux." Albert le Grand, from the old lectionaries of Quimperlé and Vannes.

workmen, and a hundred poor men, with the same number of widows. This was the number of his household, besides servants in attendance, and esquires, and guests, whose number was uncertain, and a multitude of whom used to visit him frequently. Nor is it strange that he was a rich man and supported many, for he was abbot and prince (*abbas enim et princeps*) over the territory (Gwynllywg) of his father from Ffynnon Hên, that is, the Old Well, as far as the mouth of the river Rumney, and he possessed the whole territory from the river Golych as far as the river Dawon, from Pentyrch right on to the valley of Nantcarfan, and from that valley to the river Gurimi, that is, the Lesser Rumney, towards the sea.”¹

At this point it may be well to pause for a moment over the conversion of Illtyd by Cadoc. The story is told in both the *Vita S. Cadoci*, and also in the *Vita S. Illuti*.

Illtyd, a soldier in the service of Paul, king of Penychen, and uncle of Cadoc, went out with fifty men under him to hawk and hunt, and they imperiously demanded food of Cadoc. As Cadoc had received all his land round Llancarfan from Paul Penychen, one would have supposed that he would cheerfully have supplied these hungry hunters with a lunch. However, he only grudgingly complied with their demands, and the wrath of God fell on them, the earth opened and swallowed them all alive, with the exception of Illtyd, who was thereupon converted, and placed himself under instruction by Cadoc.²

It may be observed that here we have a worn and washed out copy of the incident already recorded, which we suppose occurred at Llangadog Fawr. In one the prince is Sawyl, in the other, Paul. The soldiers of both rudely demand meat, and in both are punished by being swallowed up in the ground.

As we have already pointed out, the conversion of Illtyd by Cadoc of Llancarfan is chronologically impossible. The authors of the two legends no doubt did know that Illtyd had been converted while hunting in the morass in which somewhat later rose the famous monastery of S. Cadoc. The legend writers, to make the change in the life of Illtyd sensational and miraculous, adapted to it the tale of Cadoc's affair with Sawyl Benuchel.

Whether, whilst Cadoc was abroad, on his way to, or return from, Rome, he visited Gildas at Ruys can be only matter of conjecture. He may have done so, and have taken a fancy to the peculiar situation of that monastery, and have learned from Gildas that there was a site somewhat similar to the north of the Morbihan, a

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 45.

² *Vita S. Illuti*, *Cambro-British Saints*, c. 3; *Vita S. Cadoci*, *ibid.*, c. 16.

lagoon of inferior dimensions, called the Sea of Belz. The entrance to it is by the Passage of Etel, and this is obstructed by a sandbank. The inland sea of Belz receives only insignificant streams, and is studded with islands. The country round at the time was heath and gorse moor, strewn with countless monuments of a prehistoric and forgotten people. The two friends may have looked at the place together; and Gildas may have exhorted Cadoc to settle there; but the latter returned to Britain from his pilgrimage without effecting anything at this time, if our supposition be right.

The Breton *Life* says that whilst on his pilgrimage, Cadoc met in Aquitania with S. Gonard and S. Lilian. Who these may have been is hard to determine. Gonard cannot be identified, for he is certainly not Gohard, Bishop of Nantes, 835-843. No saint of the name of Lilian is known, but we may suspect that he met Llibio, the disciple of S. Cybi and S. Enda.

On the return of Cadoc to Britain, he learned that during his absence the Synod of Llanddewi Brefi had been held.¹ This had assembled, not as Rhygyfarch pretends to condemn the last remains of the Pelagian heresy, but to pass penitential canons. The date of the synod cannot be fixed with any certainty. The Synod of Victory met, according to the *Annales Cambriae* in 569, and it has been supposed that the Council of Llanddewi Brefi took place shortly before. But the words of Rhygyfarch are:—"Deinde succedente temporum serie alia colligitur synodus, cui nomen Victoriae."² This implies a lapse of some time between the two gatherings.

We are disposed to hold that the Council of Llanddewi was held before the outbreak of the Yellow Plague, perhaps in 545 or 546. Finnian of Clonard died in 552, and, as we shall see, he was with Cadoc on his return after the holding of the synod.

When Cadoc arrived at Llancarfan, the monks were afraid to tell him of the assembly, and deputed Finnian to do so. Cadoc was furious at such a meeting having been held without his being consulted and invited to be present. And his resentment was specially directed against David, for the leading part he had taken in it. In his wrath he proceeded to "fast against" David;³ he was only induced to

¹ "Cadocus quidem peregrinatus est, David vero post ejus discessionem magnam Sinodum in civitatem Breui congregavit." *Vita S. Cadoci*, c. 10. According to the *Life* of S. David, it was not David who convoked the Synod. He would not even attend it, till compelled to do so. *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 137-8.

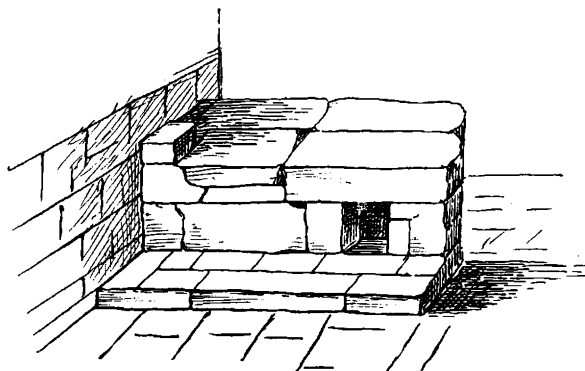
² *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 139.

³ "Quae res non minimum ei displicuit, nimioque furore contra Sanctum David pro tali dedecore succensus, diem cum nocte jejuniis continuavit." *Ibid.*, p. 44.

desist when it was shown him, probably by Finnian, though the legend says it was by an angel, that his conduct was contrary to the principles of Christian charity.

In 547 broke out the Yellow Plague, and a panic fell on clerics and laity alike in Demetia. All who could fled across the sea to Armorica. In the *Life* of S. Teilo this is admitted, but neither the *Life* of S. Cadoc nor that of S. David mentions that these saints were infected by the panic and fled. But it is quite possible that they did so, and that it is due to their presence in Armorica at this period that we have there so many foundations made by them.

The Breton *Life* says that Cadoc started for Armorica only two years after he had become Abbot of Llancarfan, an inadmissible statement, but it probably was two years after his return from his pilgrimage to Rome.



BED OF S. CADOC, ILE DE S. CADOU.

Cadoc now, maybe, recalled the land-locked sea of Belz, and crossing over with a body of his monks, went thither, and fixed on an islet at an inconsiderable distance from the mainland, and on that he planted himself with those of his community who had accompanied him.

Here now stands his chapel, with early rudely sculptured capitals to the pillars. In the south transept is the "Lit de S. Cadou," a structure of granite blocks, with a recess in it, into which the peasants thrust their heads, and profess to hear there mysterious whisperings—actually the reverberation of the surf over the bar. At the west end of the chapel is a dilapidated flamboyant screen. In the nave are four large paintings of the seventeenth century, representing the legend, so far as it pertains to the isle. They bear the following inscriptions :—

1. Anglais de nation, prince de Clamorgant,
Puis abbé, vient, débarque, et reside céans.

2. Les jugements de Dieu sans cesse meditant
C'est ainsi, pèlerins, qu'il a vécu, céans.
3. Aux pirates pervers en ce lieu l'assaillant,
Il dit : Je suis sans bien, solitaire céans.
4. Oratoire, mon oeuvre, adieu ! dit il pleurant,
Belz, t'oublierai-je ? Non. Il cingla de céans.

His statue in the chapel represents him as still young, with mitre and pastoral staff. The right hand is extended, and is kept continually supplied with bunches of flowers by the children of the little fishing hamlet on the mainland.



ILE DE S. CADOU, NEAR BELZ.

The connexion with the island is a causeway of massive blocks of granite brought from the neighbouring moors. This is attributed to S. Cadoc. "He erected an elegant church with stones ; and afterwards caused to be built by masons a stone bridge skilfully constructed with arched work and having its arches cemented with mortar."¹ Such is the description given by Lifris. Actually, there are no arches, and the blocks of stone were never laid in mortar. In fact, no lime was to be had, unless from the pounded shells on the shore.

The biographer admits that not long after, the whole collapsed, but was miraculously restored.² Lifris says that the island was a third of a league from the mainland, and this, consequently, would be the length of the bridge, *i.e.* one mile long. Actually it is 306 feet long by twelve feet wide, and is built in a curve.

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 68.

² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

De la Villemarqué gives a ballad in his *Barzas-Breis* relative to a dispute that took place between Gildas and Cadoc, and of which we may suppose the scene was on this bridge, if any reliance whatever can be placed on the tradition. But everything produced by this author is open to suspicion, as he was a wholesale fabricator of legends and ballads.¹ It is to this effect :—

Cadoc had been brought up on Donatus by his master Tathan or Meuthi, and Donatus had written a life of Virgil which doubtless the boy had read, and then had gone on to the poems of the Mantuan.

Cadoc loved his Virgil, and could not endure the thought that the poet should be in hell. He took the occasion of a visit from Gildas to discuss the question. Gildas characteristically adopted the harsher view. Then Cadoc opened the volume to show to his grim companion the wondrous prophecy of the coming of Christ (iv Eclogue). Suddenly a rush of wind caught the volume and carried it into the sea. On returning to his cell he said :—" I will neither eat nor drink till I know whether Virgil has been saved or not." And he laid himself to rest on his stone bed. During the stillness of the night he heard a voice from afar saying :—" Pray for me ! Pray for me, that I may sing the loving-kindness of the Lord ! " Then, convinced that this was the voice of his loved poet, he rose and spent the night in prayer for him. Next day, the lost volume was marvellously restored. A few strips of iron cover some scorings on the causeway, called the " Slip of S. Cadou." Here he is said to have slipped, either in attempting to recover his Virgil, or in pursuit of the Devil.

The Pardon is held at the Ile de S. Cadou on the Sunday before, and that after, September 21, when the women in their scarlet petticoats and the banners and crosses moving among the rocks and over the causeway, then grouping about the Calvary, form a most pleasing scene.

According to Albert le Grand, Cadoc remained here for three years, but le Grand is always very precise in his dates, drawn not from his authorities but from his own fancy. However, he is probably about right in this instance, for the Yellow Plague lasted three years. Cadoc desired only to found a daughter house in Armorica. That done, he placed over it a disciple named Cadwaladr, and then returned to Llancarfan.

¹ De la Villemarqué obtained a collection of Breton ballads from the Abbé Martin of Quimperlé, and did not acknowledge his indebtedness. The rest, in *Barzas-Breis*, published in 1839, are mainly forgeries. This collection, when it appeared, took the French public by storm, and it was crowned by the Académie. What genuine ballads Villemarqué did obtain he or Martin tinkered up, and gave to them poetical touches not in the original. Villemarqué gives the story in prose in his absurd book *La Légende Celtique*, Paris, 1861, pp. 201-4. *Si non vero e ben trovato.*

Lifris puts the visit to Armorica and this foundation very late, at the close of his life, but it probably took place earlier.

It was on his way thither that he was in Cornwall, and miraculously called forth a spring. On his way back he revisited the spring and greatly increased the volume of water from it, and improved its quality by pouring into it some water of the Jordan that he had acquired—brought, so it is said, from the Holy Land.¹ The spot is near S. Minver, and the ruins of S. Cadoc's chapel remain; the spring flows sluggishly.

Lifris gives us an account of altercations between Cadoc and King Arthur, Maelgwn, and Rhun, son of Maelgwn, and with Rhain, son of Brychan.

A man of the name of Ligessauc (Llyngesog) Lawhir, son of Eliman, had killed three soldiers of Arthur, and then fled for refuge to Cadoc, who kept him in sanctuary for seven years, and Arthur only accidentally found out where the man was, and reclaimed him. It was an unprecedented thing for sanctuary to have been granted for so long; properly, the saint or chief who gave sanctuary was bound at once to compound for the crime, and not keep the criminal in concealment.

Arthur was exceedingly angry at what he regarded as a dishonourable act, and he marched to the banks of the Usk and demanded that the case should be gone into formally. Cadoc at once got SS. David, Teilo and Dochu or Oudoceus, to act for him, and to them he joined Cynidr and Maidoc or Aidan, and the discussion was conducted across the muddy river, in shouts. At last it was settled by the judges that Arthur should receive three good oxen for each of his men who had been slain. Arthur consented, with the proviso that they should be cattle partly red and partly white. When the nine cattle had been got together, the next difficulty was, how they were to be delivered over; this had to be argued, and the judges decided that Cadoc's men should drive them to the middle of the ford over the Usk, when Arthur's men would receive them. Thus peace was made, and Arthur then granted, or the compiler of the Cartulary pretended that he had granted, to Cadoc thenceforth the extraordinary privilege of sanctuary for seven years, seven months, and as many days.² The story is probably an invention to establish this claim.

In the quarrel with Maelgwn Cadoc was not to blame. Maelgwn had sent his receivers of tribute into Gwynllywg, and, finding that Cadoc's steward had a pretty daughter, they carried her off. Thereupon the

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 64-7.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 48-50.

men of the neighbourhood assembled, pursued the ravishers, killed some and wounded others, and recovered the girl. Maelgwn was furious, and marched to the frontiers of Gwynllywg to lay it waste with fire and sword. The inhabitants in alarm sent word to Cadoc, who at once went to Maelgwn and represented to him the matter in its true light, and succeeded in pacifying him.¹

During the life of Maelgwn, that prince took care not to offend Cadoc, and he laid strict injunctions on his son Rhun, when he was pillaging in South Wales, not to meddle with the possessions of the Abbot of Llancarfan.

However, one day when Rhun was on a plundering foray, and was in his tent playing dice with some eunuchs, some of his men went to a dairy on the possessions of Cadoc, and being thirsty asked for milk. The dairyman refused, and the men, highly incensed, set fire to the barn. The wind carried the smoke to where Rhun was, and he inquired what was burning. When told, he sent for Cadoc and apologized for what had been done, assured him it was against his express orders, and to make compensation gave him his sword, shield and spear.²

Rhain, son of Brychan, king of Brycheiniog, "plundered and laid waste" the province of Gwynllywg to the sea. Thereupon the men of Gwynllywg rose in a body, pursued the marauder and defeated him in one battle after another and captured him, but dared not put him to death, because he was of the kin of Cadoc, whose mother was Gwladys, sister of this ruffian. Cadoc, hearing of the straits Rhain was in, went to him, and obtained his liberation.

Apparently at this time there was no king in Gwynllywg, and Cadoc set up Meurig, "son of Enhinti"—there is probably some mistake of a scribe in the name of the father. Meurig, son of Ithel, belonged to the end of the eighth century. Cadoc having set up this Meurig, "gave him his aunt in marriage,"³ and Meurig confirmed to Cadoc the privileges granted by Arthur and Maelgwn. The witnesses were S. David, S. Cynidr, S. Teilo, S. Illtyd, S. Maidoc and one Cannou.

Cadoc, as already said, was wont to spend times of retreat on one of the Holmes in the Severn. He did this in Lent. Returning thence by boat one day with two disciples, Barruc and Gualches, as they disembarked, Cadoc asked for a book, his Enchiridion, and the two monks confessed that they had forgotten it and left it in Echni. Cadoc sent them back for it. On their return to the mainland the boat was upset, and both were drowned. The author of the *Vita* says that Cadoc cursed them as he despatched them for the book:—"Go, and

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 50-2. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 52-5. ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-6.

may you never return!" But he wanted the book, and therefore could not have desired that the young men should be lost in bringing it to him.¹

The islands became unsafe, owing to the pirates who infested the estuary of the Severn making of them landing-places, and Cadoc was obliged to look out for some other place of retreat. He found one on the banks of the river Neath, where, "on a certain day, he saw a white boar lying under a tree, which his companions killed; secondly, bees entering a hollow tree; and thirdly, a hawk's nest on top of the tree." He sent these gifts to King Arthmail, who thereupon made a grant of the spot to Cadoc.² Who this Arthmail was is as doubtful as is the Meurig already mentioned. There was an Arthmail, uncle of Morcant Hên, who died in 935, and, suspiciously enough, he had a brother, Mouric, and both he, Arthmail, and Yuein, father of Morcant, were sons of Hiuel, king of Glywysing, who was son of Ris, brother of Fernvail, who died in 775. There can be little doubt that Lifris has fallen into anachronisms. These princes may have made grants to the monastery of S. Cadoc, and he has thrust them back to be contemporaries of the saint, and has invented stories to account for their making the grants.

Probably in his old age Cadoc went to Ireland. King Airmire summoned Gildas to assist in the reviving of religion in Ireland, and it is very probable that he extended his invitation to Cadoc, as that saint is considered, along with Gildas and David, as having given to Ireland forms of the Mass.³ This must have been at the same time that Airmire summoned Gildas, in or near 564. He probably did not remain there very long. He was granted lands on the banks of the Liffey, which were enlarged later in compensation for violence done to the steward of Cadoc.⁴ The monks of Clonard always remained on good terms with those who were under the rule of Cadoc.

The saint was now advanced in years, and on his return to Llan-carfan found the management of so large an establishment beyond

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 63-4.

² *Ibid.*, p. 67. We are justified in rejecting this settlement of Cadoc on the Neath. If the land at Cadoxton-juxta-Neath were granted by Arthmail, it was so to Llan-carfan long after Cadoc was dead. No incident in his life is attached to any residence on the Neath. For the legend compare the similar one under *S. Baglan ab Ithel Hael*.

³ *De Tribus Ordinibus Sanctorum Hiberniae*. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., ii, pt. 2, p. 293.

⁴ "Sanctus partem agri cujusdam apud Hiberniam super ripam fluminis Liphí possidet." *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 78, where the reading Limphi is incorrect. *Ibid.*, p. 79, where the reading should be "qui apud Clunerert (Clonard)," and not "qui clunererunt."

his powers. He therefore resolved on quitting it. He had a favourite disciple called Elli, and he purposed surrendering the rule into his younger hands. On Palm Sunday it was his wont to stand on a mound and preach to the people until the hour of tierce, when he entered the church to sing Mass. On this day, when the sermon was concluded, he publicly announced his intention, and nominated Elli to be his successor. He left with the brethren of Llancarfan a Book of the Gospels that had been transcribed by Gildas, and appointed that all trials and settlements of disputes should take place under a hazel tree that he had planted. After that he departed, disappearing in a cloud that conveyed him to Beneventum; where, according to his instructions, Elli was to visit him annually and report on the condition of affairs at Llancarfan.¹

When he arrived at his destination, he was elected abbot over the large community of monks there, which had just lost its superior. He found that the walls were ruinous. They had been constructed not of stone, but of clay, and were full of gaps. By Cadoc's advice the inhabitants repaired the defences with stone.²

Not long after he was raised to the episcopate, but did not rule for long. A hostile force attacked the place, broke in, plundering and slaughtering; and a soldier, entering the church, transfixed Cadoc with a spear, as he was celebrating the Holy Mysteries.

For a while the body of the murdered bishop remained at Beneventum, and a church was erected over it; but a taboo was placed on all Britons, who were not suffered to enter the town.³ Eventually, however, this was relaxed, and the monks of Llancarfan were allowed to carry off the body. But even at Llancarfan it was not safe. A certain Eilaf, heading a marauding band, drove the monks from their monastery, and as they fled with the founder's body, an irreverent pagan struck the shrine with his staff; whereupon, from within, Cadoc "roared like a bull."⁴

The whole account of the migration of Cadoc to Beneventum, and his death there, is difficult to understand and explain. His being caught away in a cloud and transferred to his final destination probably means no more than that he departed by boat, in a dense white mist, such as clings to the lowlands of the Bristol Channel at certain periods of the year.

¹ "Qualiter Sanctus Ellinus beatum Cadocum annuatim visere consuevit," is the heading of chap. 35. *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 73.

² "Magnam partem ejusdem urbis muro vallavit, quam antea limo terrae erecta materia minutatim ruinis crebrescentibus in ruderis defecerat." *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³ "Edificaverunt basilicam super ipsius venerabile sepulchrum, in quo nullus Brittannus intrare permittitur." *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

Lifris, who wrote this history, doubtless had before him a Welsh legend. In that he read how that the saint on his departure was lost to the sight of his disciples in a fog. Out of this he built up his fabulous account, so as to make his hero disappear like the Divine Master in a white cloud, and be transported miraculously to the place whither he was bound, as the Spirit carried off S. Philip to Azotus.

But, where was Beneventum, where he took up his residence? That it was Beneventum in Southern Italy is improbable. It would not have been unlikely that a Welsh or Irish monk should have gone to Italy, but we should hardly suppose that Cadoc, overcome with age, would have gone so far south of Rome. Besides, the church of Beneventum has preserved no record of Cadoc as having been a Bishop or Martyr there in the sixth century. Moreover, Cadoc could not expect there to receive an annual report brought him by Elli. And further, at the Beneventum of the legend the town was defended by earthworks, and not as a Roman city with stone walls. Further, also, the language spoken at his place of retreat was the same as that employed by Cadoc at Llancarfan.¹

Dom Plaine laboured in an article on S. Cadoc to show that he had been bishop and martyr at Beneventum,² but probably his arguments would convince nobody. The above reasons against the identification seem conclusive.

Another suggestion is that the place was Benevenna, or Weedon in Northamptonshire. We know, unfortunately, little or nothing of the encroachments of the Angles on Mid-England. "Not a single record has been left us," says Mr. Green, "of the progress of the peoples when we find them settled at the close of the (sixth) century in the districts of our Nottingham, our Leicester, and our Northampton, or on the head waters of the Trent. . . . There was little, indeed, at this time to draw invaders to Central Britain. At the close of the Roman occupation, the basin of the Trent remained the wildest and least frequented part of the island."³

In favour of this identification is only the fact that the name of the place is similar. Several reasons concur against it. Among others, the fact is that no Welsh saints, as far as we know, were drawn towards Mid-England, which was, as Mr. Green says, almost a wilderness at the time.

¹ "Linguam illorum . . . continuo integerrime novit, ipsique similiter suam." *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 72.

² *Bulletin de la Soc. Arch. de Finistère*, xxvii (1900), pp. 106-32. The known Bishops of Beneventum in the sixth century towards its close were: 543, Zeno, or Zosimus; 585, Felix; 591, Linianus.

³ *The Making of England*, 1897, i, p. 84.

In the Breviary of Vannes for 1660 the lection for S. Cadoc's day stands thus :—" In Armorica vero diu commoratus, in quadam Vene-tensis insula ecclesiam extruxit. . . . Dein locum illum e celo monitus deseruit, et in Italiam (Britanniam) porrexit. Paulo post morum integritate, et vitae sanctitate omnibus notus Beneventi (Benaven) episcopus effectus est." Here, at the revision of the earlier Breviary, the reviser hesitatingly suggests Benaven, or more correctly Bannauenta, the birthplace of S. Patrick, which Professor Bury thinks "should be sought near the Severn or the Bristol Channel."¹

Again, there was in the sixth century a British colony in Spanish Galicia. This comes first into notice in 569, when it is found to have had a bishop. In that year, at the Council of Lugo, it is referred to, "Ad sedem Britoniorum (pertinent) ecclesiae quae sunt intra Britones, una cum monasterio Maximi, et quae in Asturiis sunt."

At the Council of Braga, in 572, the last of the signatures of the Suffragans of Braga, "Item ex Synodo Lucensi," is Mailloc "Britonen-sis Ecclesiae episcopus."

This British church continued to exist till 830, when a royal decree merged the see of Bretoña in that of Oviedo.²

Now there is a Benavente at the confluence of the Esla, Ceia and Tuerto, in Léon, but not far from Galicia. We know little of the history of this portion of Spain in the sixth century. No tradition of a S. Cadoc, Bishop and Martyr, there has survived. Moreover, there are other difficulties in the way of accepting this Benavente as the place to which Cadoc retired. This also is too remote from Morganwg for Elli to have visited it annually. "Elli," we are informed, "was accustomed to go very often with his disciples to the city of Beneventum,"³ and as many as eight of the Llancarfan monks were buried there.⁴

Again, another suggestion was offered by De Kerdanet in his edition of Albert le Grand's *Vies des Saints de Bretagne*. He says :—"On a confondu Bénévent en Italie avec Kaer-Gwent; ancienne ville épiscopal de Monmouth."⁵

¹ *Life of S. Patrick*, 1905, pref. p. x, text p. 17. There are several places in Breconshire and Glamorganshire called Banwen, which might represent the name. None of them, however, appear to have had any early ecclesiastical associations.

² Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., ii, pt. i, pp. 97-101.

³ "Consuevit autem Ellinus alioquotiens usque ad Beneventum civitatem, gratia visitandi beatum Cadocum . . . proficisci cum quibusdam discipulis ipsius." *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 73.

⁴ "In monasterio Sancti Sophie honorifice sepulti sunt; quorum nempe sepulchra in una serie ordinatim ante altare a pariete in parietem componuntur. Octo quidem . . . illorum marmorea busta inibi habentur." *Ibid.*, ad loc.

⁵ Ed. 1837, p. 667, note 3.

In favour of this may be remarked that this portion of Gwent between the Severn and the Wye might very well have borne the name of Pen-Gwent ; but there is no evidence that it was so called ; nor is it likely that the city of Caerwent would have borne the name of the district. And the reasons against such an identification are weighty. Caerwent was only some thirty miles from Llancarfan, and Lifris, who wrote the *Life of S. Cadoc*, would hardly have failed to state the fact, had Cadoc suffered martyrdom there. No tradition connecting Cadoc with Caerwent remains. The *Vannes Breviary* of 1660 says : "in una barbarorum Saxonum irruptione trucidatus." This might apply to any place invaded by the Saxons after they poured across the Cotswold in 577.

The name Beneventum is a latinization of a British name. "Ban" is a hill or mountain, and it enters into many names, as Ben-aven Tabernae, Benevenna, Beneharnum, Benni, Benacus, Bannauc. Welsh Bicknor, on the Wye, was formerly known as Lann Custenhin Garth Benni.

The "ventum" of Beneventum we have in Gwent ; such a term by no means applied only to Monmouthshire. It signified any open champagne land lying above the forests that spread through the river valleys ; and it was applied as well to the chalk downs of the South of England. We meet with it in Venta Icenorum (Caister) and in Venta Belgarum (Winchester). Beneventum is, accordingly, the Gwentian "Ban" or hill.

Now, if we put ourselves in the place of Cadoc in his old age, it seems likely that he may have craved to be away from the large establishment at Llancarfan, and to revisit and end his days at that place where he had been happy with his master Bachan, and where he had a monastery at Llanspyddid. He may have heard that the head of that establishment was dying, perhaps dead, and have deemed it well for him to retire thither and there end his days as head over the small community. Here we know that hard by the monastery was a Romano-British town, Caer Fenni or Y Gaer, which has been supposed to be the ancient Bannium of the Ravenna geographer.

That Y Gaer is this Bannium has been disputed. Both Holder¹ and Mr. Haverfield² contend that the Bannium (*al.* Bannio) of the geographer of Ravenna is Gobannium, Abergavenny. If so, then the Latin name of the walled town above Brecon on the Usk is unknown to us. But the hill on which it is situated is called Y Fenni, the wood on the slope is Coed Fenni, and the farm below it Fenni Fach. So we may

¹ Holder, *Altceltisches Sprachschätze*, i, s. voc. *Gobannion*.

² Haverfield, in *Arch. Camb.*, 1903, p. 12.

suspect that its ancient name may have been Bannium or Benni—with an addition, and this may have been Venta or Ventum, descriptive of its bare upland character. In the *Cognatio de Brychan*, Brychan is said to have been born at Benni, which is almost certainly this place. Jones, in his *History of Brecknock*, gives *Caer Bannau* as a name in use for what is now merely known as Y Gaer. So also Cliffe, in his *Book of South Wales*, 1847; but the form has no existence. The town was walled about, and contained villas and streets and hypocausts, and the entire hillside reveals Romano-British occupation. It stood on the *Via Julia Montana*, at its junction with a road from the south that descended into the Brecon basin by the *Afon Tarell*, and above another that entered it, descending the *Honddu*. It must have been a place of no little importance; and what is more, it seems to have suddenly come to an end. It was destroyed, and no other town was built on its site. Here, then, we have several elements united that lead us to suspect that Y Gaer or *Caer Fenni* was the *Beneventum* to which Cadoc retired, and where he was slain, when the Saxons, after the taking of the city of Gleva, poured over the undefended district to the west, and the basin of Brecon was open to them through its two portals to the west, fatally gaping to invite an invader from that quarter.

Hither Elli might easily come every year with his report as to the condition of Llanccarfan. Hence, without difficulty, the body of Cadoc might be translated to his principal monastery when the Saxon grip was relaxed.

There is, however, an objection. The walls of Bannium are of cut stone. Possibly enough Lifris may have made a blunder in saying that the original circumvallation was of earth; he may have supposed that the ruined stone walls were due to Cadoc, who, in fact, may only have repaired them.

One curious feature in the story is the taboo placed on any Briton penetrating into the town. This looks much like the result of intense national animosity. Lifris, indeed, gives his explanation. He says that the rule was established because those who held the town were afraid lest the Britons should steal away the sacred relics. This is the sort of explanation that would occur to the mind of a monk, but we may be quite sure that it was not the real meaning of the taboo. Perhaps for a while the Saxons held Bannium and would not allow any Briton within its walls as a military precaution. Lifris wrote at a period when body-snatching was practised extensively, and the relics of a saint meant money, when S. Petroc was carried to Redon, the relics of S. Neot to Huntingdonshire, and those of S. Maglorius were filched from Sark. There is no record of when the body of S.

Cadoc was taken back to Llancarfan. It was early, and its removal was followed by a flood. "The fine flowing fountain that was near the city came like a sea over the city, and the inhabitants presaged its being overwhelmed."¹ This may mean no more than that the Usk and the Yscir came down in a torrent owing to a thundercloud having burst.

At the time when the Danes were harassing the coast in the ninth century, the body of Cadoc was at Llancarfan.²

We are not told what was the age of Cadoc when he died.

The following chronological scheme can be tentative only and approximate :—

S. Cadoc born	circ.	497
Founds Llancarfan	circ.	518
Goes to Ireland for three years	circ.	523-6
Settles in Brecknock at Llanspyddid	circ.	526
Death of Gwynllyw and return to Llancarfan	circ.	527
Leaves for Scotland, consigning his abbey to Gildas	circ.	528-9
Departs on pilgrimage to Rome and Jerusalem	circ.	544
Council of Llanddewi Brefi	circ.	545-6
Return of Cadoc to Britain after the Council) before	547
Disputes with Maelgwn and Rhun-ab Maelgwn		
The Yellow Plague, goes to Armorica		547
Returns to Llancarfan	circ.	551
Summoned to Ireland by King Ainmire	circ.	564
Returns to Llancarfan	circ.	565
Resigns Llancarfan and retires to Beneventum	circ.	575
Killed by the Saxons	circ.	577

We have included in this scheme a visit of Cadoc to Ireland, for King Ainmire summoned Gildas and other saints to restore the flagging Christianity in the isle, and although the *Vita S. Cadoci* says nothing about any visit made late in life to Ireland, yet it is not improbable that he may have responded to the call; and the Irish regarded him, along with Gildas and David, as having done something to revive religion, and Cadoc was credited, as already said, with having furnished them with a form of the Mass.³ It is, however, possible that Cadoc may have contented himself with furnishing a liturgy, and not have gone to Ireland in person.

The following churches in Wales are under the patronage of S. Cadoc or Catwg :—Llangattock-juxta-Usk, Llangattock Lingoed (? formerly Llangatwg Lennig), Llangattock Feibion Afel ("of the sons of Abel"),

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 76.

² *Ibid.*, p. 77.

³ "Hi ritum celebrandi missam acceperunt a sanctis viris de Britannia, scilicet a Sancto David, a S. Gilda, et a S. [Ca]doco." "Catal. Ord. SS. in Hibernia," Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., ii, p. 287.

Penrhos (anciently Llangatwg Penrhos), Caerleon, Raglan and Treve-thin, in Monmouthshire; Llancarfan, Llanmaes, Pendoylan (Pendeulwyn), Pentyrch, Gelligaer, Cadoxton-juxta-Barry, Cadoxton-juxta-Neath (Llangatwg Glyn Nedd), and Port Eynon, in Glamorganshire; Llangattock and Llanspyddid in Brecknockshire; and Llangadog Fawr in Carmarthenshire. A meadow, Cae Maen Catwg (his stonefield), is near Gelligaer church; and a Pistyll Catwg is given among the possessions of the canons of Llancarfan. Gwyddfa Gatwg (his mound) is situated in a dingle in the parish of Llanegwad, in Carmarthenshire. There was formerly a church dedicated to him in the parish of Monmouth, near the Castle, which was conferred by Withenoc, lord of Monmouth in the eleventh century, on the Benedictine monks of S. Florence of Saumur at Monmouth. In the *Valor* of 1535 (iv, p. 359) is mentioned a chantry, "Cantar' de S'to Cadoc' infr' D'n'm de Bergeveny" (Abergavenny). There is a farm, called Llangatwg, in the parish of Llanedern, near Cardiff, which is no doubt the site of a dismantled chapel.

There was also formerly a *capella*, now ruined, Llangadog, under Kidwelly, in Carmarthenshire, and another of the same name under Amlwch in Anglesey.

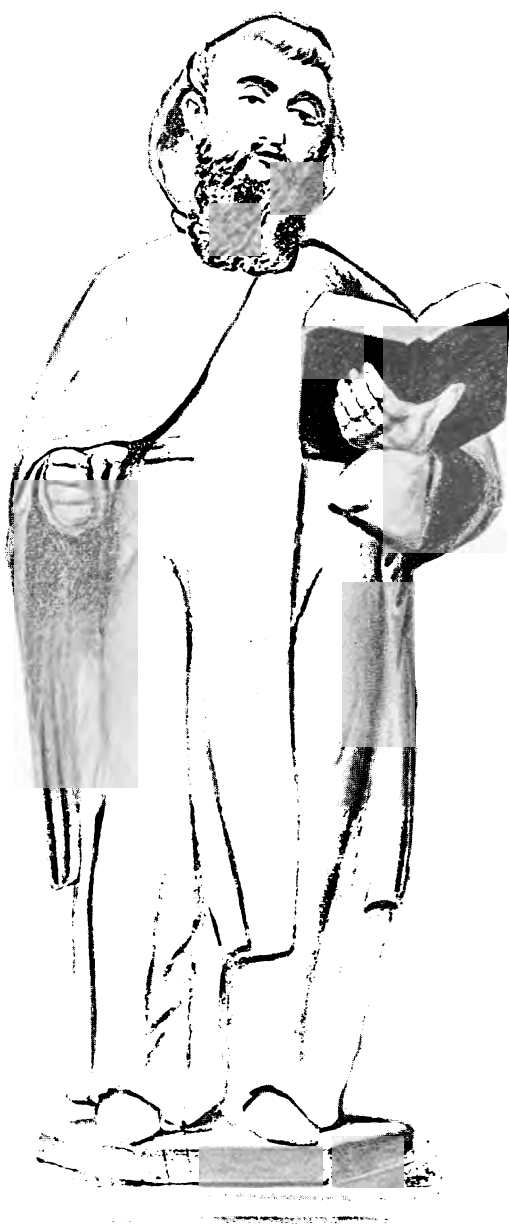
According to a monumental inscription dated 1507, there was formerly a statue (*imago*) of the saint in Cadoxton-juxta-Neath church.¹ The Cadoc cult in Wales was practically confined to the south-eastern parts.

In Brittany, Cadoc was highly venerated, especially in the diocese of Vannes. When the Thirty of the Franco-Breton party prepared to march from Josselin to fight the Thirty of the Anglo-Bretons at the Tree of Mil-voye in 1351, they paid their vows and offered prayers before the altar of S. Cadoc in the principal church of Josselin.²

At Gouesnac'h, near Fouesnant, in Finistère, is a chapel of S. Cadou; some years ago this chapel had a painted ceiling of wood, on which were represented scenes from the life of S. Cadoc. But, as on the occasion of the Pardon, regrettable abuses had crept in, or rather old pagan usages were continued, the Pardon was suppressed, and the chapel was allowed to fall into ruin. Of late years, the chapel has

¹ For a supposed figure of him in the niche over the south doorway of Llancarfan church, see C. B. Fowler, *Rambling Sketches in Diocese of Llandaff*, Cardiff, 1896, plate 7. It has now disappeared.

² De la Villemarqué, in his *Pièces Justificatives* to his *La Légende Celtique*, has published a hymn to S. Cadoc attributed to the Thirty Bretons. It is an impudent forgery. He also gives a ballad dialogue between Cadoc and Merlin. It is also a quite recent composition, passed off as an antique.



S. CADOC.

From Statuette at Lampaul-Guimiliau.

been restored, and the Pardon reinstituted, and is held on September 28. Unhappily, the painted series on the roof has disappeared. S. Cadou in the Sizun district has been transferred to S. Cadoc from S. Cadfan, its original patron, as it lies in that part of the country where are the foundations of this saint. So also has Poullan been transferred to S. Cadoc, and the statue of Cadfan relegated to the garden of the presbytery, and S. Cadoc with palm-branch erected near the high altar. It is supposed that S. Cast, in Côtes du Nord, has Cadoc as its patron, but this is more than doubtful.

The day of S. Cadoc in the *Altemps Martyrology* (end of thirteenth century) and in a *Norwich Martyrology* of the fifteenth century (*Cotton MS.* Julius B. vii) is January 23; so also a *Worcester Calendar* of the fifteenth century (*Harl. MS.* 7398). The *Calendars of the Welsh Saints* in the early thirteenth century, *Cotton MS.* Vesp. A. xiv, the *Addl. MS.* 14,886, *Iolo MSS.*, *Peniarth MSS.* 60 and 219, *Hafod MS.* 8, the *Prymers* of 1618 and 1633, *Allwydd Paradwys* (1670), and in fact all the Welsh Calendars, give January 24. At Padstow, in Cornwall, near which are his chapel and well, also formerly on January 24. Rees in his *Welsh Saints* gives February 24, but this is a slip. Albert le Grand gives S. Cadoc on November 1. Lobineau on September 21, the Vannes Breviaries of 1660 and 1757 also September 21. In the Quimper Breviaries up to 1838, September 21, then transferred to September 23. Whytford gives him as Saynt Codoke on January 24; Nicolas Roscarrock on the same day—"S. Cadoc, Cathmael or Sophias, Bishop and Martyr" and the Exeter Martyrology.

The Welsh accounts invariably ascribe the foundation of Llanccarfan to Garmon, and they add that Dyfrig was its first Abbot, and that when he became Bishop of Llandaff he was succeeded by Catwg or Cadoc. This does not accord with the *Vita*.

Tradition has it that Dyfrig was so devoted to Catwg that he made him his companion always in his travels, and that he continued to reside at Garnllwyd, near Llanfeithin. This does not appear to have been the case, for he usually resided at Ynys Byr or one of his other monasteries.

Llanccarfan formed one of the three great Bangors or monastic establishments within the Diocese of Llandaff. The brotherhood numbered at one time as many as 2,000, and among them were Catwg's own brothers, Bugi and Cynfyw, and the brothers, as well as sons, of Gildas. The close connexion between Llanccarfan and Ireland, which began with Catwg, was continued for a long time by his successors; and it is very probable that the ninth century Welsh MS., the

Juvenius Codex, now in the Cambridge University Library, which contains entries relating to Bishops of Armagh, belonged originally to the monastery of Llancarfan.¹

The late Welsh Triads connect Catwg with King Arthur's Court, and they assert that he was one of its three "knights of upright judgment," "chaste knights," "wise chief counsellors," "wise bards," as well as one of the "three knights that kept the Holy Grail,"² and one of the three "holy bachelors" (*gwynfebydd*) of the Isle of Britain.³

A *cywydd* poem written in his honour by Rhisiart ab Rhys of Llancarfan (*flor. c. 1480-1520*) is printed in the *Iolo MSS.*,⁴ but it is evidently imperfect. It recounts chiefly his miracles.

It is somewhat remarkable that, though the name bestowed on him by the angel, according to the legend, was Cathmail, this name should have been generally abandoned for Catwg or Cadog. Cathmail is an Irish form, and was the name with which the Irish hermit baptized him.⁵ It would now assume in Welsh the form Cadfael, and means literally "a war-prince or battle-hero." Cadog is a diminutive, cut down from Cadfael, and appears under the early form Catacus on the Llanfihangel Cwm Du inscribed stone.

The epithet *Doeth*, "wise," as applied to Catwg is comparatively late. The earliest genealogies, those for instance in the thirteenth century *Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45, know him only as "Cadwc Sant ab Gwynlliw ab Gliwis ab Tegit ab Cadell of Llan gadwc in Gwent." The earliest date that we have been able to find for the epithet is the latter part of the seventeenth century,⁶ when the confusion between him and Cato the philosopher had become established. The confusion was due to a similarity in name, just as the name Beneventum led to his being confounded with S. Sophias.

¹ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., i, p. 198.

² It has been supposed that he was the original of Sir Galahad.

³ *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 409, 411, 755.

⁴ Pp. 301-2. Copies of it occur in *Llanstephan MSS.* 47 and 164.

⁵ In the *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 131, the Abbot of Llancarfan is called "Abbas Catmaili" (=Catoci). Cadoc is usually called by this name in Irish hagiology. See, e.g., the Life of S. Finnian of Clonard in Colgan's *Acta SS. Hib.*, i, p. 393, where will be found a remarkable legend of the miraculous drying up of the lake on whose site Llancarfan and Melboc or Melboi were to stand. The Breton forms of his name are Cado, Cazou, and Cazout, but the Welsh form appears in the name Pleucadeuc. The *Vita* states (p. 69) that the Bretons called him Catbodw, which would now be Cadfoddw in Welsh. (See Mr. Phillimore's note in *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, p. 92.) The -og and -wg (for earlier -auc and -uc) of Cadog and Catwg seem to be merely variants; cf. such forms as Cinauc and Cinuc, and Matauc and Matuc, in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 408, 411 (index).

⁶ *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 751-6.

Cato was a very popular author in the Middle Ages with the Welsh, as with other western European nations. "The Book of Cado or Cato" is mentioned in the *Red Book of Hergest*¹ and the *Iolo MSS.* "Sayings of the Wise,"² and in one of the Triads in the former he is said to have been one of the three men who "received the wisdom of Adam."³ In Welsh MSS. of the early fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries in the Peniarth and other collections he is called Cadw Hên or Ddoeth, and the name also occurs in an oblique case as Cattwn Ddoeth, with which Catwg was easily confounded.

A considerable portion of the *Myvyrian Archaeology* is taken up with what is called "the Wisdom of the Welsh," and a large section of it⁴ is comprised of "The Book called *Y Gwyddfardd Cyfarwydd*, which Catwg Ddoeth composed." It is printed from a transcript of copies made about 1670-80. The collection embraces aphorisms, proverbs, philosophy, and triads of an ethical nature, numbering in all 190 pieces of varying length, in prose and verse, each subscribed "Catwg Ddoeth composed it."⁵ A good portion of them is thrown into syllogistic form, and the ideas are often pantheistic and gnostic. The phraseology and the general sentiments and terms employed are late mediæval.

Copies of these apothegms are to be found in a number of MSS.⁶ of especially the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but they are always attributed to Cato, Cadw, or Cattwn Hên or Ddoeth. It will be found on comparing the *Myvyrian* "Wisdom" (which has been supposed to comprise a system of philosophy) with these MSS., that the whole is merely a patchwork of Welsh renderings or developments of the well-known *Disticha* or *Dicta Catonis*, so popular in Western Europe from as early as the eighth century. The aphorisms are nowhere referred to Cadoc in the *Vita*, nor even mentioned; nor does he therein appear to have been in the habit of uttering anything so remarkable as to justify his being at any time assigned the rôle of a Welsh doctor.⁷ The following is ascribed to him in the "Sayings of the Wise" printed in the *Iolo MSS.* :—⁸

¹ Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, p. 226.

² P. 252.

³ *Y Cymmrodor*, iii, p. 53.

⁴ Pp. 756-811.

⁵ For a translation of a considerable number of them see the *Cambrian Register*, vol. iii; also into French in the *Revue Celtique*, 1878, iii, 419-442.

⁶ The earliest is *Peniarth MS.* 3, written c. 1300 ("The Counsels of Cadw Hên, or the Elder, to Cadw the Younger"), and copies, of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, occur in *Peniarth MSS.* 27, 88, 94; *Cardiff MSS.* 6, 18, etc.

⁷ De la Villemarqué has devoted a chapter to the wisdom of Cadoc, based on these aphorisms.

⁸ P. 252.

Hast thou heard the saying of Catwg
 The Wise, the son of Gwynllyw, of Essyllwg (Siluria) ?
 "Let the heart be where the appearance is."
 (Bid galon lle bo golwg.)

In the same volume¹ are a number of fables, each with a moral, which are attributed to him. This late reputation for wisdom grew to such an extent that every saying or proverb was at last ascribed to him.

Cadoc is invoked in the tenth century Litany published by Warren as Catoce.²

S. CADROD, of Calchfynydd, Prince, Confessor

CADRAWD, or Cadrod, of Calchfynydd, was a son of Cynwyd Cynwydion, of the line of Coel Godebog, and the brother of Clydno Eiddyn, Cynan Genhir, and Cynfelyn Drwsgl. The *Iolo MSS.*³ make them all disciples of S. Cadoc at Llancarfan. According to the *Cognatio de Brychan*, Cadrod was the husband of Gwrygon Goddheu, daughter of Brychan, who is called in the later genealogies Gwrgon.⁴ He was lord of Calchfynydd, which is identified in the *Iolo MSS.*⁵ with Dunstable. In the sixteenth century *Peniarth MS.* 135 he is designated "Earl of Dunstable and Lord of Hampshire" (Swydd Hantwn). Skene,⁶ however, thought it was Kelso, in Roxburghshire, which is more probable. The name means the Lime or Chalk Mountain.

Among the "Sayings of the Wise" ⁷ occurs the following—

Hast thou heard the saying of Cadrod,
 Of Calchfynydd, of great meditation ?
 "The best woman is the woman without a tongue."
 (Goreu gwraig gwraig heb dafawd.)

¹ P. 154.

² *Revue Celtique*, 1888, p. 88.

³ Pp. 105, 128.

⁴ Sometimes, e.g., *Peniarth MS.* 131 (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), Cadrod's wife is said to have been a daughter of Brychan named Gwenfrewi.

⁵ P. 120.

⁶ *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i, p. 172 ; ii, p. 406.

⁷ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 257.

S. CADWALADR FENDIGAID, King, Confessor

CADWALADR, son of Cadwallon ab Cadfan, was the last of the Welsh princes who assumed the title of Gwledig or chief sovereign of Britain.¹ Cadwallon had been defeated by Edwin, when young, and he had fled to Ireland. Returning to Britain, he assumed the title of king, and defended the title in a series of battles. The Welsh of Gwynedd and Powys rallied to his flag in large numbers, and going to the assistance of Penda, he completely defeated Edwin at Heathfield in 633. For a while Cadwallon overpowered the Northumbrians, and proceeded to devastate the whole region. "Cadwalla," says Bede, "though he bore the name and professed himself a Christian, was so barbarous in his disposition and behaviour, that he neither spared the female sex nor the innocent age of children, but with savage cruelty put them to torturing deaths, ravaging all their country for a long time, and resolving to cut off all the race of the English within the borders of Britain. Nor did he pay any respect to the Christian religion which had newly taken root among them; it being to this day the custom of the Britons not to pay any regard to the faith and religion of the English, nor to correspond with them any more than with pagans."²

The sons of Ethelfrid attempted to retrieve the fortunes of Deira, but Cadwallon encountered them, defeated and slew them both, in 635. But Oswald placed himself at the head of a small and resolute band and continued the struggle, and finally met Cadwallon in a pitched battle at Heaven's Field, and gained a complete victory. Cadwallon, the last hero of the British race—victor, according to the Welsh tradition, in fourteen battles and in sixty skirmishes—perished in the defeat. The Britons evacuated Northumbria, never to return, and withdrew behind the Severn.

Cadwaladr, the son of Cadwallon, now headed the Britons. He is said to have led the Welsh against Oswiu, but his lack of courage brought on him a nickname—Cadomedd (battle-shunner)—instead of Cadafael (battle-seizer), with which he was first greeted.³

In 658 Cenwalh, King of the West Saxons, brought against him a powerful army, and a battle was fought at Peonne in Somersetshire, when the Britons were routed with terrible slaughter, and were pursued as far as Pedrida, on the river Parret. Cadwaladr was ill-suited to

¹ With him Geoffrey's *Brut* appropriately terminates. His son was Idwal Iwrch. The name Cadwaladr means "battle-ruler."

² *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 20.

³ Nennius, c. 65; Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 3rd ed., pp. 134-5.

lead the warlike and unfortunate Britons. He was of an amiable and peaceable disposition, more disposed to frequent churches than camps.

In 664 a plague broke out which spread desolation over Britain and Ireland, and great numbers perished in it; and one of the victims was the British king.¹

His son was Idwal, and it has been supposed that Cadwaladr's daughter married Cenbert and was mother of Ceadwalla. Ceadwalla went to Rome on pilgrimage and died there, and the similarity of names has led to confusion. It has been related that Cadwaladr ran away from Britain to escape the plague, and took refuge with Alan, King of Armorica. There was no such a king in Brittany at the time. The story goes on to say that as he was preparing to return home an angel appeared to him and commanded him to relinquish his purpose and undertake a pilgrimage to Rome. Resigning his kingdom, therefore, in favour of his son, Ifor, he died on May 12, 688.

The confusion is obvious. He and Ceadwalla have been confounded together. Ceadwalla was an atrocious ruffian. He subdued the Isle of Wight with the deliberate intention of putting all the inhabitants to the sword, and he carried out his purpose with unpitied ferocity, killing men, women and children, that he might replace the Jute colonists with his own West Saxons. Having accomplished his bloody purpose, he handed over the spoil to S. Wilfrid, who does not seem to have lifted a finger to avert the massacre, but looked on with cold eye, unsympathetic, because the wretched Jutes were pagans.

Ceadwalla went to Rome in 688, and was well received by Pope Sergius I, who baptized him, and he died a few days after. The Pope ordered a laudatory epitaph to be inscribed on the tomb of this murderous monster, and his relics to be honoured.

Cadwaladr was a far more respectable personage. He was mild and generous, but a poor creature nevertheless. We may set his death as taking place in 664, twenty-four years before that of Ceadwalla.

¹ Nennius says: "Oswald, son of Ethelfrid, reigned nine years . . . he slew *Catgublaun* (Cadwallon), King of Guenedotia, in the battle of Catscaul, with much loss to his own army. Oswiu, son of Ethelfrid, reigned twenty-eight years and six months. During his reign, there was a dreadful mortality among his subjects, when Catgualart (Cadwaladr) was king among the Britons, succeeding his father; and he himself died amongst the rest." The *Annales Cambriae*, under the year 682, make him die then of the plague in Britain. See, generally, on the date and place of his death, Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., i, p. 202.

The Welsh Triads state that Golyddan the Bard some time or other gave him a box on the ears, for which he paid the penalty by an axe-blow on the head; that he was one of the three sovereigns of the Isle of Britain who wore golden bands (insignia of supreme power); and that he was one of its three Blessed Sovereigns, on account of the protection that he afforded to "the faithful who fled from the faithless Saxons and the foreigners."¹ He seems to derive his epithet *Bendigaid* from this, as well as from his having been confounded with Ceadwalla.

There are several churches dedicated to him or supposed to have been founded by him—Llangadwaladr, otherwise called Tref Esgob, Bishopston or Bishton (under Llanwern), and Magwyr or Magor (now dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary), in Monmouthshire; Llanfihangel Fedwy,² or Michaelston-y-Vedw (now to the Archangel), partly in Glamorganshire and partly in Monmouthshire; Llangadwaladr, in Denbighshire, formerly called Bettws Cadwaladr (*i.e.*, his bead-house); and Llangadwaladr, previously called, it is said, Eglwys Ael, in Anglesey, near Aberffraw, where the kings of Gwynedd resided. His grandfather, Cadfan, was buried at Eglwys Ael, and a rude inscription on a rough stone, of apparently the seventh century, runs—"Catamanus rex sapientissimus opinatissimus omnium regum." In the parish of Llanddeiniolfab, in Anglesey, are the remains of an ancient small building called Capel Llangadwaladr.

All the Welsh Calendars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries give November 12 as his Festival. Rees,³ however, on the authority of Sir H. Nicolas, gives October 9. So also Browne Willis.

The following occurs among the "Sayings of the Wise"⁴—

Hast thou heard the saying of Cadwaladr,
King of All Wales;
"The best crooked thing is the crooked handle of a plough."
(Goreu cloff yw cloff aradr.)

Heraldry speaks of the standard of the Red Dragon of King Cadwaladr, which was borne before him to battle. It was probably the ensign of the *Insularis Draco*, with which title Gildas styles Maelgwn Gwynedd, the *Gwledig*.⁵

Cadwaladr was long expected to return some day to lead the Brythons to victory, to assert the ancient rights of his family, the

¹ *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, pp. 301, 305; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 393, 403-5.

² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 221.

³ *Welsh Saints*, p. 301.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 257; *cf. Myv. Arch.*, p. 846.

⁵ On the standard, and the title Pendragon, see Zimmer, *Nennius Vindictus*, Berlin, 1893, p. 286, note.

Kessarogyon or Cæsarians, and to restore to them their rightful "crown and sovereignty." There is a number of predictive poems relating to him in the thirteenth century MS., the *Book of Taliessin*.¹

Truly he will come
With his host and his ships,
His scaring shields,
And charging lances.
And after a valiant shout,
His will shall be done ! "

He has his Welsh analogues in Arthur and Owen Lawgoch.

S. CADWALADR, Abbot, Confessor

A DISCIPLE of S. Cadoc who accompanied him to Armorica, where he founded a daughter house to Llancarfan on an islet in the Sea of Belz. When Cadoc had well established this house he placed over it Cadwaladr as its head.²

Cadoc had constructed a causeway between the mainland and the island, but this went to pieces after he left. According to the legend, it was miraculously repaired by angels, and made stronger than before. This means no more than that Cadwaladr set his monks to work to reconstruct it.³

One church in Brittany is supposed to regard him as patron, S. Segal near Châteaulin, where is his statue. He is there commemorated on the Sunday nearest to October 18.

S. CADWALLON LAWHIR

ONE pedigree in the *Iolo MSS.*⁴ includes Cadwallon, or Caswallon, Lawhir (the Long-handed) among the Welsh Saints, and states, "Caswallon Lawhir, the son of Einion Yrth ab Cunedda Wledig, founded a church for God in the place where he obtained a victory over his enemies, and called it Llan y Gwyddyl (the church of the

¹ Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i, pp. 436-46. The *Iolo MSS.*, p. 125, state that it will take place when his bones are brought from Rome; cf. the "Epitome" in *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 283.

² Vita S. Cadoci, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 68.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁴ P. 123. His mother's name was Prawst.

Goidels). It is in Anglesey, and is now called Cerrig y Gwyddyl." ¹ Caswallon is reported to have slain Serigi the Goidel with his own hand, and thus to have given the death-blow to the Goidelic occupation of North Wales and completed the Cuneddan conquest. Welsh tradition persistently credits him with having crushed the Goidels.² He died, as it is believed, in 517, and was succeeded by his son, the celebrated Maelgwn Gwynedd. The true form of his name was Cadwallon Lawhir.³ He was a munificent patron of SS. Cybi, Seiriol, and Elian, but especially of S. Elian; and the remains of his palace, Llys Caswallon, near Llanelian, may still be seen.

Llan or Capel y Gwyddyl (also called Eglwys y Bedd), erected over the spot where Serigi fell, stands close to the present parish church of Holyhead. Tradition has it that Serigi's remains were removed hence by the Goidels and re-interred in Dublin.

As there is in reality no authority for including Caswallon among the Welsh Saints, we will not pursue his history further.

S. CADWR, Bishop, Confessor

HE is mentioned as a Saint in one passage only,⁴ and he is therein said to have been a son of Ednyfed ab Maccsen Wledig, and bishop in "the Isle of Britain." He resided at Caerleon on Usk. His father was King of Gwent, as was also his brother Dyfnwal Hên.

S. CADWY, see S. Cado

S. CAEMEN, or CYMMUN, Abbot, Confessor

EGLWYS CYMMUN, or Eglwys Gymmun, in Carmarthenshire, probably takes its name from an Irish Saint, Caemen or Coemen, the brother of S. Cuacha, Ciwa or Kewe, and of S. Athracta, and half-

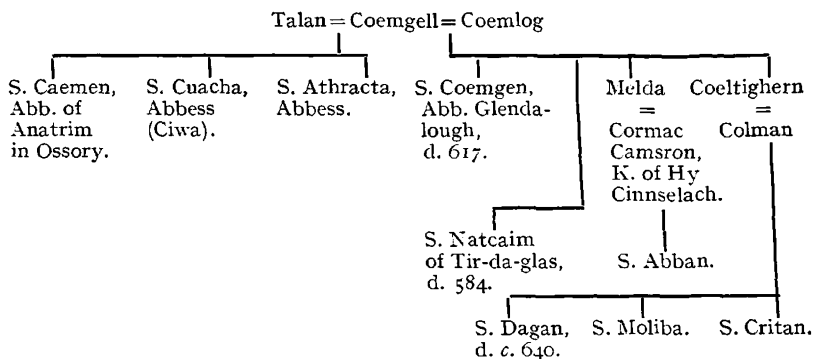
¹ This place is near Malldraeth, in S. Anglesey (see Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains*, s.v. *Serigi*).

² *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 78-82; Triads in *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 391, 397.

³ See the old Welsh genealogies of *Harl. MS.* 3859, the Bonedd in *Peniarth MS.* 45, and the *Red Book Bruts*, p. 200. He received the epithet "Long-handed" because he could "reach a stone from the ground to kill a crow without bending his back"; see *Gweithiau Iolo Goch*, ed. Ashton, p. 669.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 138.

brother of S. Coemgen or Kevin of Glendalough. His nephew, S. Dagan, had a chapel at Llanwnda in Pembrokeshire. The pedigree seems to be this :—



Caemen is mentioned in the Calendar of Ængus, and is there spoken of as the brother of S. Coemgen.¹ He had been a disciple of S. Mochmoemog or Pulcherius, abbot of Enach-Truim or Antrim, and to him Pulcherius surrendered the abbacy. He had also been a pupil of S. Columba of Tir-da-glas, along with S. Fintan.²

In the *Life of S. Pulcherius* is this story. The saint went to Antrim and began to build a cell there. Then a man came up and forbade his proceeding with the work. Pulcherius replied that he would go on unless his hand were forcibly stayed. Then the man held his arms to stop him. Pulcherius inquired his name, and he replied that it was Bronach, "the sad one." "Sad, indeed, shalt thou be," said Pulcherius, "for you and your family will be expelled this country. But here I shall remain, till a man of God named Coeman comes here, to him I shall resign the place, and this shall be the place of his resurrection."³

The day on which S. Caemen, or Coemen, is commemorated in the Martyrology of Ængus, in that of O'Gorman, in those of Drummond and Donegal is November 3.

S. Pulcherius died 490–8; Columba of Tir-da-glas in 548; his brother or half-brother S. Coemgen in 617; his fellow disciple, S. Fintan, in 634. We may, accordingly, place the date of the death of S. Caemen in the first half of the seventh century.

In a MS. in the British Museum, *temp.* Edward III, the church is called "Ecclesia de Sancto Cumano."⁴ In the *Valor* of 1535 it is

¹ *Féilire of Oengus*, ed. Whitley Stokes, p. clxviii.

² *Acta SS. Hibern., Cod. Salam.*, col. 290.

³ Colgan, *Acta SS. Hibern.*, p. 590.

⁴ *Arch. Camb.*, 1907, p. 261.

given as "Eglus Kemen." An inscribed stone there has on it "Cunigni," but that would only yield Cynin in Welsh. See under S. CYNIN. The name, however, occurs on one of the two early inscribed stones at Llandilo, in Pembrokeshire, which reads "Coimagni Fili Caveti."

S. CAENOG

REES, in his *Essay on the Welsh Saints*,¹ gives the church of Clocaenog, Denbighshire, as dedicated to a S. Caenog, but no saint of the name occurs in the saintly pedigrees. In the *Myvyrian* alphabetical catalogue² Clocaenog is entered under Arianwen, daughter of Brychan and wife of Iorwerth Hirflawdd, King of Powys. She is there said to be the mother of Caenog Mawr. This is not correct. In the pedigrees in *Mostyn MS.* 117 (late thirteenth century) Caenog is made to be the son of S. Tegonwy ab Teon, and father of Corf. He was therefore brother, not son, of Iorwerth Hirflawdd, and also brother of SS. Llywelyn, of Welshpool, and Mabon. Iorwerth was father of Idnerth.

Browne Willis³ gives Clocaenog as dedicated to a S. Vodhyd, with August 27 as festival. In the *Iolo MSS.* calendar Feddwid is entered against that day, but who the saint was we know not. The initial letter of the name, if Welsh, would be either B or M. Sometimes the church is stated to be dedicated to S. Trillo. This seems to be a mistake, to be referred to the Trylokaynoc for Clocaenog in the parish list in *Peniarth MS.* 147 (latter part of sixteenth century), and the Trillo Caenog of the *Myvyrian* list.⁴ The name appears to mean the *Clawdd*, or earthwork, of Caenog. Caenog occurs also in the farm name Caenog and in Esgyn Gaenog, in the parish of Gwyddelwern, and in the township of the name in the parish of Manafon.

S. CAFFO, Martyr

CAFFO was a son of Caw and brother of Gildas. He seems to have attached himself to S. Cybi. He probably was with him in Ireland when he visited Enda in Aran, where Cybi remained four years. We

¹ P. 333.
VOL. II.

² P. 417.

³ *Survey of Bangor*, pp. 278, 327.

⁴ P. 742.
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do not, however, hear him mentioned till Cybi came to Anglesey. Then the legend tells how Cybi, being without fire, sent his disciple Caffo to fetch fire from a smith, and how the pupil returned bearing red-hot charcoal in the lap of his habit. This is an anecdote that recurs over and over again in the lives of the Celtic Saints.

After this ensued a rupture between Cybi and his disciple. There are two Lives of S. Cybi in *Cotton MS. Vesp. A. xiv.* The first says: "And S. Cybi said to his disciple Caffo, Depart from me, for we two cannot get on together. And he went to the town called at this day Merthyr Caffo, and there the Rosuir¹ shepherds killed Caffo. Therefore the blessed Cybi cursed the shepherds of Rosuir and their mistress," perhaps the wife of Maelgwn. Merthyr Caffo is now Llangaffo, which occurs as its name in the *Norwich Taxatio* of 1254. This comes in awkwardly, interrupting a story of how Maelgwn consented to make over land to Cybi.²

The second Life omits the passage relative to Caffo. Now it is significant that it was on the meeting of Cybi with Maelgwn that Cybi was forced to dismiss Caffo from his attendance, and that shortly after some of Maelgwn's people should fall on and kill Caffo. When we know that Caffo was the brother of Gildas the whole is explained.

Caffo was first cousin to Cybi, and very probably the estrangement between him and the saint was due to the publication of Gildas's intemperate epistle, in which Maelgwn was made an object for invective of the most insulting character. We can well understand that the king was ill-pleased to have the cousin of his reviler settle on his lands, and that he consented to tolerate his presence only on condition that he should dismiss the brother of Gildas. We see also a reason for the murder of Caffo. The shepherds took up the quarrel, and slew Caffo in revenge for the abuse poured on their king.

Near Llangaffo, now a chapel under Llangeinwen, was his holy well, called Crochan or Ffynnon Gaffo, "at which it was customary to offer young cocks to the saint to prevent children from crying (or being peevish). The family derived no benefit by the offering unless the priest ate the sacrifice."³ It was called Crochan, or Cauldron, from the bubbling of its water. The well has now disappeared, but the farm near it is still called Crochan Caffo. There

¹ *I.e.*, Rhosfyr, now Newborough.

² *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 186-7.

³ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 420; Angharad Llwyd, *History of Anglesey*, p. 269; *Y Traethodydd*, 1862, pp. 314-5.

are two wells in the parish of Newborough called Crochan Llanddwyn and Crochan Tynycoed.

Caffo is said to have been a saint in Cyngar's *Côr* ¹ at Llangenys, in Glamorgan. As Cyngar was uncle of S. Cybi, and his companion in his old age, the statement is probable enough. Four brothers and a sister of Caffo have dedications in Anglesey.² His festival does not occur in any of the Calendars, but Browne Willis ³ gives November 1 as the wake at Llangaffo.

S. CAI, Confessor

THE *Iolo MSS.*⁴ pedigrees give his name among the sons, or rather reputed sons, of Brychan. His church is said to have been at Aber Cai, and was destroyed by the "Black Nation" (the Danes). He is not to be confounded with Cai Hir of Caer Gai, the Roman station by Bala Lake. This Cai was the celebrated Sir Kay, the Seneschal of Arthurian romance, and son of Cynyr Farfog.

S. CAIAN, Confessor

IN the *Iolo MSS.*⁵ he is said to have been a son of Caw, but in *Peniarth MSS.* 75 and 178, and the *Myvyrian Archaiology* ⁶ he is included among the sons of Brychan. He is patron of Tregaian, a chapel under Llangefni, in Anglesey, and of a church in Powys, but which is not mentioned. Rees,⁷ on the authority of Sir Harris Nicolas, gives September 25 as his festival, but Browne Willis ⁸ gives the wake at Tregaian as November 1, whilst another authority gives "the village festival" as November 15.⁹

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 117.

² Their names are preserved in Anglesey in the following *pennill*, possibly old—

"Peirio, Eugrad, gwyr o'n bro,
A Gallgo, Caffo, a Maclog,
Oedd feibion cawr o Frydain gain,
A chwaer i'r rhai'n oedd Cwyllog."

³ *Survey of Bangor*, p. 281.

⁴ Pp. 120, 140.

⁵ P. 117.

⁶ Pp. 419-20.

⁷ *Welsh Saints*, p. 146.

⁸ *Survey of Bangor*, p. 281.

⁹ *Arch. Camb.*, 1847, p. 45.

S. CAIN, CAIN WYRY, CEINWEN, or KEYNE, Virgin

THERE has been no little confusion about this virgin recluse, who was one of the daughters of Brychan, owing to the different forms under which her name occurs. Besides the above forms, it has been supposed that she was known also as Ceneu, an imaginary daughter of Brychan; and out of her name Cein (or Cain) Wyry has been evolved a male saint, Ceinwr. Ceinwen is Cain + gwen, "the holy or blessed Cain," with which may be compared, among others, the name of her sister Dwynwen, which occurs in the *Cognatio* as Dwyn. In the late Brychan lists ¹ her name generally appears under this form.

The earliest mention of her name is in the *Cognatio de Brychan* of Cott. Vesp. A. xiv. The entry runs: "Kein ythraul ogmor (*i.e.*, in bifurgatione illius fluuii)," "Cain in the holding of the Ogmor (*i.e.*, within the two branches of that river)." ² The place meant is Llangainor, in Glamorganshire, in the fork of the Garw and Ogmor rivers, which appears in two late sixteenth century parish-lists ³ as Llan igain wyr and Llangainwyr, and in the *Myvyrian* list ⁴ as the latter form, that is, Llan Gain Wryyf, the church of S. Cain the Virgin. The author of the *Life of S. Keyne* ⁵ says she was called by the Britons "Keyn wiri, id est Keyn virgo." Cain means fair, beautiful, bright, white. The legend says that as a girl she at times shone like the sun, and at others appeared as white as drifted snow.

Haddan and Stubbs ⁶ include her among those "saints of whom no reliable evidence can be found that they ever existed at all"; but this is going too far.

According to the legend, she abandoned her home in Brecknockshire, and directing her voyage across the Severn, settled at Keynsham in

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 120, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419-20. Cain is not uncommon as a river name.

² In the later *Cognatio* of Cott. Dom. i, the entry occurs as "Keinbreit apud Teraslogur." *Ythraul*, glossed in *bifurgatione*, stands for *ithr*, "between," and *auil*, "the forks" (from *gaf*).

³ Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 919. In two documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it occurs as Egluskeinwir, Birch, *Margam Abbey*, 1897, pp. 134, 306; also as the Chapel of S. Kchinweber, *ibid.*, p. 133; in *Cardiff MS.* 10 (1550-1600) as Llan gainwry; in Leland, *Itin.*, iv, fo. 67, as Llanginwire.

⁴ P. 748.

⁵ See John of Tynemouth's *Life of S. Keyna* in *MS. Cott. Tiberius E. i*; *Bodl. Tanner MS.* 15; *Bodl. MS.* 240; and Capgrave's edition of the same in *MS. Cott. Otho D. ix* (printed in *Nova Leg. Angliæ*) and *York Cathedral MS.* xvi, c. i. It occurs in the Bollandists' *Acta SS.*, 8 Oct. iv, p. 275. See also Rees, *Welsh Saints*, pp. 153-6.

⁶ *Councils*, etc., i, pp. 156-7.

Somersetshire, where she turned the reptiles into stone. This is how the natives explained the existence of ammonites found in the lias rocks. The like account is given of their origin in the cliffs of Whitby, where the miracle is attributed to S. Hilda.

After some years spent at Keynsham she retired to a certain "Monticulus" near her home, where she caused a spring to break forth that was of great virtue.

S. Cadoc, on his journey to the continent from Llancarfan, passed through Cornwall, and took ship at, or disembarked in, Penzance Bay. On his way he visited his aunt.

Rees¹ considers that the S. Michael's Mount, to which S. Cadoc was travelling when he visited her, is a hill near Abergavenny. But in the *Life of S. Cadoc* the visit is to S. Michael's Mount in Cornwall. The cult of the archangel had not invaded the Celtic Church so early as this, indeed not till the eighth century. She must have been at some time in Cornwall, where, near Liskeard, are a parish church and holy well attributed to her. And this is in a neighbourhood planted with kinsfolk, S. Clether, S. Cynog, and S. Cynin.

According to the legend, when her death approached angels visited her. One divested her of her coarse shift, and another invested her in a fine linen garment, over which he threw a scarlet tunic woven with gold thread in stripes. S. Cadoc ministered to her when she died, and buried her in her oratory.

The legend is late, and, like all such manufactured productions, devoid of historic details. It was not till 710 that S. Michael was supposed to have appeared on the "tumba" in Normandy, and the foundation on S. Michael's Mount, Cornwall, was not made till 1044. The anachronism, therefore, of making S. Cadoc in the sixth century go on a pilgrimage to S. Michael's Mount, whether that in Normandy or that in Cornwall, is obvious.

Cain is the patroness of Llangeinor, in Glamorganshire, and probably of Llangain, in Carmarthenshire (but see next article), which is also known as Eglwys Cain (or Gain) and Maenor Gain. She was the original patron of Kentchurch (now the Blessed Virgin Mary) in Herefordshire, which was formerly called Llangain,² and Ecclesia de Sancta Keyna or Keynechurch.³ In the *Talley Abbey Charter* of 1331 occurs a place called Lankeinwry.⁴ There is a Ffynnon Gain

¹ *Welsh Saints*, p. 154.

² *Book of Llan Dŵv*, p. 275.

³ *Cartulary of S. Peter's, Gloucester*, i, pp. 210, 287; ii, p. 212; iii, p. 269. A *capella* of hers is also mentioned.

⁴ Daniel-Tyssen and Evans, *Carmarthen Charters*, 1878, p. 62. Llwyn-cynhwyr is four miles south-west of Talley Abbey.

in the parish of Bletherston, in Pembrokeshire. Keynsham Church, now dedicated to S. John Baptist, was dedicated to her originally. The name occurs in Domesday as Cainessam. As Ceinwen she is patroness of Llangeinwen and Cerrig Ceinwen, in Anglesey.

There are in Cornwall dedicated to her, S. Keyne, by Liskeard, where is her famous holy well,¹ Kenwyn, by Truro, and a chapel at East Looe, re-dedicated to S. Anne. The well is situated about half a mile from the church, and is covered with old masonry. The husband or wife who first drinks the water of the well after marriage retains the mastery ever after. It is the subject of a ballad by Southey, which concludes with the following verse—

I hasten'd as soon as the wedding was done,
And left my wife in the porch ;
But, i' faith, she had been wiser than me,
For she took a bottle to church !

The Calendars in the *Iolo MSS.*, Sir John Prys's *Prymer* (1546), and *Hafod MS.* 8 give S. Cain, or Ceinwen, on October 8. *Allwydd Paradwys* (1670), however, enters "S. Keina" on the 7th. Angharad Llwyd says her festival at Llangeinwen was the second Sunday after Michaelmas.² Browne Willis³ gives October 7 for Llangeinwen and Cerrig Ceinwen.

Cressy, in his *Church History of Brittany*, Rouen, 1668, gives S. Keina on October 8. Whytford does so as well : "The feest also of Saynt Keyna, called also Saynt Keynwir a virgyn, and doughter vnto Saynt Breghan Kynge of breknocke in Wales, whiche had xii sones and xii doughters all holy sayntes ; one of y^e which doughters was moder unto Saynt David, and this virgyn an other that was shewed by reuelacyon before her byrth ; and after forsoke her kynne and countree, and dwelled in a desert full of venymous serpentes, whiche by her prayers were turned al in to stones that yet unto this daye done kepe the fourme and fashon of y^e same serpentes, where she contynued in hygh p'feccyon and many myracles."

The Ceinwr of the *Iolo MSS.* owes his existence to the name of the parish, Llangeinwr, now Llangeinor. In one document⁴ it is said that he was a son of Cedig ab Dyfnwal Hên, and a saint of Llan-twit ; but the genealogies usually give only Tudwal Tudclud, Serwan, and Senyllt as sons of this Cedig. Another document,⁵ ascribing to

¹ Quiller-Couch, *Ancient and Holy Wells of Cornwall*, 1894, pp. 107-112.

² *History of Anglesey*, 1833, p. 275 ; so also *Arch. Camb.*, 1847, p. 42, where it is further stated that at Cerrig Ceinwen it was October 8.

³ *Survey of Bangor*, p. 281.

⁴ P. 138.

⁵ P. 148.

him the foundation of Llangeinwr, adds, "S. Ceinwr, the son of Coel ab Cyllin ab Caradog ab Brân ab Llyr Llediaith ab Baran ab Ceri Hir Lyngwyn, founded the church of Llangeinwr in Glamorgan. He was a man who would not believe any being corporeal or spiritual, neither out of this world would he believe any except God Himself, or who came with the authority of God by miraculous wonders, so that there should be no manner of doubt respecting his being of God, in all that could be seen and understood of his acts and words; which should be, in origin and purpose, consistent with what was seen in the Son of God and His Saints; so that there should be no room for doubt that they proceeded from God. And he daily and nightly prayed to God to obtain from Him by sight and hearing what he ought to believe. And he received through sight and hearing a power of understanding so evident that it could not be doubted that he obtained what he desired."

The legend is printed from a MS. *circa* 1600, and is written in the bombastic Welsh much affected by the bardic fraternity at that time and later.

S. CAIN, daughter of Caw, Virgin

IN the *Iolo MSS.* genealogies is given another S. Cain, who is said to have been a daughter of Caw, lord of Cwm Cawlwyd.¹ Her church, we are told, is in Ystrad Tywi, by which is intended Llangain,² below Carmarthen. Her name in these lists of Caw's children is also spelt Canna and Cannau, and once, when her three sisters, SS. Cywyllog, Peithian (Peillan), and Gwenafwy, are mentioned, her name occurs among the *sons* of Caw. The four sisters are credited with having had dedications in Anglesey. The *Life of Gildas* by the monk of Ruys also mentions Peteova, apparently Peithian.³ It is possible that she may be the Candida, a Latin rendering of Cain, who is culted as a holy abbess at Scaër in Finistère. But it has been also supposed that Candida is S. Nenoc, a reputed daughter of Brychan. So many of the family of Gildas settled in Armorica that it is not improbable one of his sisters may have gone there.

¹ Pp. 101, 109, 117, 139, 142-3.

² It is called *Egliskein* in a Charter Roll of 1247 printed in Daniel-Tyssen and Evans, *Carmarthen Charters*, p. 5.

³ Ed. Hugh Williams, p. 326.

S. CAINNECH, or CENNECH, Abbot, Confessor

THIS Saint's name does not occur in any of the pedigrees and lists of the Welsh Saints, except in the *Myvyrian Bonedd*,¹ a catalogue compiled by Lewis Morris, and therein the name is given, but without genealogical particulars. The name is variously spelt in Welsh Cennech, Cennych, and Cynnych. He is the patron of Llangennech, in Carmarthenshire, though some authorities,² quite erroneously, give the church as dedicated to S. Gwynog. We have his name probably also in S. Kennox, in Llawhaden parish, Pembrokeshire.

There can exist no manner of doubt that Cennech is none other than the great S. Cainnech, better known in Ireland as S. Canice, and in Scotland as S. Kenneth.

His Life is given, very incompletely, by the Bollandists,³ with omission of many miracles and quaint stories, that not a little startled the editors. A complete Life is in the *Codex Salamanticensis*,⁴ and in the *Liber Kilkenniensis* so called, in Bishop Marsh's Library, Dublin. A Life compiled by Colgan exists in MS. in the Franciscan Convent, Dublin. No indication is afforded by which the date of composition of the Latin Lives is given, but they were certainly drawn up at a late period, as they abound in miracles and fabulous matter. Nevertheless, there is sufficient thread of historic material to enable us to draw out the true story of the Saint's life.

Cainnech's father was named Laidech or Lugaidh, and he belonged to the Mac-ua-Dalann sept, from the North of Ireland. His mother's name was Mell or Melda. They lived in the modern barony of Keenaght, in Londonderry, and were needy persons, though of good birth. Cainnech had a brother named Nathi, and a sister named Columba. His birth occurred in or about 517.⁵ He first saw the light at Glengiven in the valley of the Roe, county Londonderry. At that time his parents were destitute of even a cow, but when Cainnech was born, a cow that had recently calved came lowing to the door of their mud cabin, and they deemed that it had been specially sent from heaven to relieve their necessities. However, shortly after, a Bishop Luceth or Lyrech came to their door in quest of some stray cattle of his own, and he consented to baptize the child, and to leave the cow with them.

As a child Cainnech was employed tending cattle, and had as his

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 422.

² *E.g.*, Carlisle and Lewis in their Topographical Dictionaries of Wales.

³ *Acta SS.*, Oct. V. pp. 54-6.

⁴ *Acta SS. Hib. ex Cod. Sal.*, coll. 361-92.

⁵ *Chron. Scot.*, 516, corrected to 517.

companion a foster-brother, Teal Bretach, or Albus the Lyar, son of a petty chieftain. The differing dispositions of the lads showed early, for, whereas Teal fashioned toy spears and shields, Cainnech built doll-churches. Moreover, their stomachs differed in moral perception, for, whereas Teal ate indiscriminately stolen apples as well as others lawfully obtained, Cainnech was invariably sick after having partaken of the former.

At an early age he was sent to Britain and was confided to S. Cadoc at Lllancarfan, to be educated for the ecclesiastical profession. He was a docile, gentle boy, and Cadoc became warmly attached to him, so much so that the steward and others of the monastery became jealous and spiteful, and did their utmost to cross and inconvenience Cainnech.

In the Life of S. Cadoc we are informed that he had two Irish pupils under him, Finnian and Macmoil, and the account of the Saint and his pupils in the *Vita S. Cadoci* agrees singularly with the narrative in the *Vita S. Cannechi*, without one being derived from the other. Probably the Macmoil of the Life of Cadoc is Cainnech, so called as the son of his mother Mel, Mac Mel.

So prompt was Cainnech in his obedience, that once, when he was writing, he began the letter O, when the bell sounded summoning the brethren to work in the fields, whereupon he sprang up and left the letter incomplete. We are told in the Life of S. Cadoc that he built a church for his pupil Macmoil, in Bedwellty, Monmouthshire. See further under S. MACMOIL.

After he had become thoroughly instructed, Cainnech was ordained priest, and then went to the Continent, and made his way to Rome to the "*limina apostolorum*." On his way he made the acquaintance of a certain king—we are not told whom—and Cainnech incautiously promised to remain with him and end his days in that country. But no sooner had he made the promise than he repented of it, and how to get out of his undertaking puzzled him greatly. At last he hit on a device. He cut off the little toe of his right foot, and left that with the king in the certain country, and departed. In that land "the name of Cainnech, as learned men affirm, is held in high honour unto this day." He returned to Ireland, and went into the North to Assaroe of the Salmon's Leap, Ballyshannon, in Donegal. He visited and studied with S. Mobi Clairenach, along with SS. Ciaran, Comgall and Columba. He also visited Teal Bretach, his foster-brother, who was now a petty prince, and he urged him to renounce the world and give himself wholly to God. Teal Bretach, or Albus the Lyar, promised that he would do so, but, changing his mind, cut

off his little finger and gave that to God instead of his whole body, mind and soul—taking a hint how to escape from strict observance of an undertaking from what Cainnech had himself done.

One day Cainnech, Columcille, and Comgall were out when a storm of sleet and snow came down on them with a bitter blast. When it had passed, Columcille said, "My poor fellows who are out in a boat, I have been thinking of them." Comgall said, "I was thinking of my brethren in the hayfield." "The Son of the Virgin knows," said Cainnech, "that my mind all the while was with the angels in heaven."

The two first showed the more generous minds, but the biographer did not think so.

It is not our intention to give the Life of S. Cainnech at length, but we must say something further concerning him, for we are expressly told that he frequently visited Britain,¹ and that he also crossed over the dorsal chain of mountains dividing Lancashire from Yorkshire, and Cheshire from Derby.² He probably was visiting the Britons of the small British kingdom of Elmet, enclosed on all sides by the Saxons. But we are not aware that he has left any trace of his presence there. He is, moreover, said to have settled near the roots of a mountain in Britain, which cut off the sun from him. An angel appeared to him, and volunteered to remove it for him, but Cainnech declined. In the following night, however, the Almighty laid hold of the mountain and tried to root it up, but Cainnech severely reproved Him, and insisted on His letting the mountain remain as it was. "But to this day, the mountain has a rent in it, as the learned assert, in token of the removal that would have taken place, unless prohibited by Cainnech."³

When crossing over the "backbone of Britain" there was much snow on the heights, and Cainnech lighted on a poor woman and her daughter half frozen, and the child all but dead. He had a fire lighted, and managed to revive them with heat and good food.

Once, when on a journey, he put up at a convent during Lent, but the only provision supplied was fat bacon. Cainnech made the sign of the cross over it, and said, "We will take it as bread." According to the biographer, the bacon was transformed into bread,

¹ "Frequenter in Brittaniā vadit." He was on one occasion in Britain for seven consecutive years. *Acta SS. Hib. ex Cod. Sal.*, col. 370.

² "Quadam die (cum) S. Kannechus trans dorsum Britannicæ ambularet," etc. Col. 372.

³ "Deus vero, volens placere Kannecho, in sequenti nocte montem temptavit jacere : donec sanctus prohibens dixit, Exibo, exibo a loco isto ; montem autem nolo mutari usque ad diem judicie. Et sic factum est." Col. 372.

but he candidly admits that after the meal what remained were bacon rinds and not bread crumbs.

On a certain occasion a mother complained bitterly to him of the wilfulness and insubordination of her son. Cainnech had the boy taken and his feet fettered in iron, and took him with him to Britain. On the way he threw the key of the fetter that fastened the lad's feet into the sea, and declared that the fellow should not have his freedom till the key was recovered. Afterwards, when the youth returned to Ireland, he managed somehow to rid himself of the fetters, and pretended that he had recovered the key from the belly of a fish.

On a visit made by Cainnech to S. Columcille at Iona, the two saints fell out. An Irishman named Tulcan had placed himself along with his little son in the monastery. Some of the monks complained to Columcille that Tulcan loved his son better than he loved God, and the abbot bade him take the boy to the top of a cliff and fling him over it into the sea. The heart-broken father obeyed. Happily, Cainnech at the time was returning from a neighbouring island in a boat, and managed to rescue the child. Going to Columcille he said, "From this time we are no more friends, because you gave too cruel a command, and afflicted a miserable stranger."¹

One day Cainnech came to a rich man's house and saw there a wretched starved dog, all skin and bones. He inquired whose duty it was to attend to the dog, and the mistress of the house replied that it was hers. "Then," said S. Cainnech, "till the end of the year give your victuals to this dog, and do you eat only what was given to the poor brute." It is asserted that she obeyed him; which may or may not have been the case.

Walking in winter in the country of the Southern Hy Niall, he saw a cross with the snow capping it and resting on the arms. He inquired whose cross it was, and was informed that it was set up to Colmann MacDiarmid, King of Meath. Cainnech had known him, and had received favours from him. The saint went up to the cross, and leaning his head against it wept, and as he wept his tears melted the snow from the head and arms of the cross.

There was good reason why the Saint should be unhappy for the fate of Colmann, and pray for his soul, for he had been a lawless and lustful prince, and had once carried away the sister of Bishop Aed MacBric, who had been a nun, and retained her in his fort near the hill of Uisneach, in West Meath. As Aed could effect nothing he

¹ "Ex hoc nunc amici non erimus, quia tam crudele imperium precepisti, et miserum peregrinum affixisti." Col. 374.

induced Cainnech to visit the king and induce him to surrender the unhappy girl, and Cainnech succeeded.

Colmann Bec, son of Diarmid, King of Meath, was killed by Aedh MacAinmire, King of Ireland, at Bealachfeadha, in 587.¹

Cainnech was a good deal of his time in Meath and in Ossory. In the latter he was in good repute with the king, Colmann son of Fera-dach, who gave him grants of land and heaped benefits upon him. It was due to this prince that Cainnech obtained Aghaboe, the Field of the Ox, which became his principal monastery. The king's palace was at Kells. The city of Kilkenny takes its name from Cainnech, who had a cell there. Colmann belonged to an intrusive race of kings, and during his reign there were frequent revolts of the Ossorians under Maelgarbh and Maelodhar, of the ancient Ossorian regal family. On one occasion the insurgents surrounded and set fire to the fortress. Cainnech, hearing of the danger of his friend, hastened to the spot, rushed into the burning fort, and dragged the prince forth, and conveyed him to a place of safety. There those of his party rallied about him, and he took the field and routed the insurgents.²

In his old age Cainnech retreated to an island in Loch Cree, since drained, and there wrote a commentary on the Four Gospels, which was called the Glass Kinnich or Chain of Cainnech, long preserved in his church.

S. Brendan of Clonfert was making a gold chalice for his altar, but ran short of the precious metal. So he went to Cainnech and asked if he could supply him with some gold. At the moment the abbot was sick, and pointing to the vomit, bade Brendan take that or nothing. The biographer gravely declares that what he had ejected from his stomach was instantly converted into pure gold.

At Aghaboe, Cainnech is said to have written the life of S. Columcille. Finding his end approaching, Cainnech was unwilling to receive the Holy Eucharist from the hands of a certain priest of his monastery, who was engaged to administer it, because he was in expectation of the arrival of his friend S. Fintan, abbot of Clonenagh, and this latter arrived in time and communicated him. S. Cainnech died on October 11, 598, according to the *Annals of Ulster* and those of the *Four Masters*, at the age of eighty-four.

Next to SS. Brigid and Columba, if we may measure popularity by dedications, the favourite Irish Saint in Scotland was S. Kenneth. His name occurs in the Aberdeen Breviary on October 11. In the city of Kilkenny the feast of S. Canice is observed as a Double of the

¹ *Ulster Annals*, and *Chron. Scottorum* (corrected).

² Colmann MacFeradach died 601.

First Class with an Octave. His name occurs in all the Irish Calendars and Martyrologies ; it is in Usuardus, and in Wilson's *English Mart.* ; Whytford also on October 11, "In Scotland the feest of Saynt Canuke an abbot." He is in the Drummond Calendar, in that of Arbuthnot, etc. One great token of his popularity in Scotland is that he gave a name, Kenneth, to Kings of the Scottish race. A fair, now discontinued, used to be held at Llangennech on October 12th, Old Style, and latterly on the 23rd.

For a brief account of the life and miracles of S. Cainnech, see Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.*, 125, 138 sq. ; Forbes, *Kal. Scott. SS.*, 295-7 ; Butler, *Lives of the SS.*, x. 300 ; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.*, ii, 188, 200 sq. ; *Trans. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, iv, 300 sq., with special reference to his connexion with S. Andrew's ; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 121, 220, and *Eccl. Ant.*, 374 ; O' Conor, *Rev. Hib. Scrip.*, iv, 125 ; Ware, *Ir. Writ.*, 6, 27, and *Ir. Ant.*, 137 ; *Ulster Journ. Arch.*, ii, 7, 235, 242.

S. CAIRNECH, Bishop, Confessor

THIS saint is often confounded with Carannog, who in Irish is also called Cairnech. They, however, belonged to different parts of Ireland. Carannog was British by birth and Cairnech Irish.

The authorities for his history are :—

1. A Life in Irish from the *Book of Ballymote*, printed with translation by Todd and Herbert in the appendix to their edition of the Irish Nennius, Dublin, 1848, pp. 178-193. Mr. Herbert says in a note, "This legend is probably subsequent to A.D. 1092, when the primacy of the see of Lyons was decreed." What grounds he has for drawing this deduction we are at a loss to see. All the Life says about Lyons is that after an apocryphal Council held at Tours, Cairnech went on "to Lien in pilgrimage." There can, however, be very little doubt that the Life is late, probably of the twelfth century.

2. The Tale of the Death of Muirchertach, or Murtoch Mac Erca, in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, written in the fourteenth century, and another MS. about a century younger in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. This tale has been printed, with a translation by Mr. Whitley Stokes, in the *Revue Celtique*, xxiii (1902), pp. 195-438. Of this O'Donovan, in his edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, gave a summary, i, p. 173, note b.

In the Life from the *Book of Ballymote* Cairnech is confounded with Carannog.

Cairnech was the son of Saran, son of Coelchu, son of Tuathal, son of Fedhlim, son of Fiachra Cassan, King of Ulster in 236,¹ whereas Carannog was son of Corun, son of Ceredig, son of Cunedda Wledig, who expelled the Irish from Wales.

Saran, the father of the saint, was king of Dal Araidh, and was an obstinate pagan. He is almost certainly the man who opposed S. Patrick Mac Calpurn when he visited Ulster. He is described in the Tripartite Life as son of Coelbad, instead of Coelchu. A curious story is told of this Saran. Owing to his opposition, Patrick had cursed him that he should never possess heaven. Somewhat later, after a raid, Saran brought a number of captives into his territory, and Bishop Olcan, moved with pity at the brutal way in which they were being treated, begged that they might be given to him. Saran replied that he would do so on one condition only, that Olcan should promise him heaven as his reward. Olcan did so.

A short while after Patrick met Olcan and was furious with him for having promised heaven to the man to whom he had denied it. Olcan entreated forgiveness, and knelt to Patrick in token of submission. But Patrick in a towering rage ordered his charioteer to drive over the prostrate bishop. "I dare not," said the charioteer, "drive over a bishop." Whereupon Patrick cursed the driver soundly for being so scrupulous.²

Saran married Erca, daughter of Loarn, who along with his brothers Fergus and Aengus had been blessed by Patrick. They invaded Alba, and conquered Argyll; Loarn gave his name to Lorne. The latter became king there somewhat later, and reigned from 503 to 513. Erca was, however, an unfaithful wife, and eloped with Muirdach, or Murtoth, son of Eoghain (d. 464) and grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages (378-405). By Murtoth she became the mother of four sons, the most noted of whom was Murtoth Mac Erca, who was one of the most turbulent men of whom we read in Irish history. After the death of Murtoth, Erca was married to Fergus son of Conall Gulban (d. c. 464), another son of Niall, and by him also had four sons.

Saran, as Erca had left him, married her sister Babona or Pompona, and became the father of Luirig, Bracan and S. Cairnech. According to the legend, Saran had extended his conquests into Britain, probably in alliance with his wife's uncles, Fergus and Aengus, and he was succeeded by his son Luirig. S. Cairnech also had come into Britain and established a monastery.

¹ Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.*, Mart., pp. 713, 783.

Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, i, p. 167; Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 147

Murtogh Mac Erca had committed a murder in Ireland. He had put to death some cross-bearers, probably because they had composed lampoons upon him. This had been a legal privilege of the bards, and the right seems to have been assumed and exercised by the *crossans* or cross-bearers in religious ceremonies of the Church. For this murder, Murtogh fled to Alba, where soon after, 513, he murdered his grandfather, Loarn. Fergus at once succeeded his brother (513-540) and drove Murtogh Mac Erca out of Alba. He now went into Britain, intending to do all the mischief he could there, and he asked his cousin S. Cairnech to bless his arms. Cairnech consented on one condition. Luirig, Cairnech's brother, had erected a fortress on the lands that Cairnech claimed as belonging to himself, and this the Saint resented with an implacable spirit. He would bless Murtogh's arms if he would remonstrate with his brother. To this Murtogh cheerily consented, and went to Luirig, who when he heard the message and Cairnech's threats, replied with a scoff, "I value his remonstrances no more than the bleating of his pet fawn." Murtogh, who was double-dealing as well as a ruffian, at once returned to the Saint and repeated these words. Cairnech flew into a fury, and promised heaven to Murtogh if he would kill his (Cairnech's) brother, and he prayed God that a fawn might be the means to this end.

Cairnech then commanded Mac Erca to go and destroy his brother, and he (Murtogh) immediately took upon himself to fight him. And God worked a great miracle there for Cairnech, viz., he sent a wild fawn out of the mountain into the king's assembly, and the host all went in pursuit of it except the king himself and his women. Then said Mac Erca, "If you had been just, my lord, towards your cleric, it is certain that it would have given increase of happiness to wear the royal robe of Luirig." Then Mac Erca ran his spear into the king's side, and he returned to the cleric, and the head of the king with him, as a token; and said, "Here is your brother's head for you, O Cairnech!" Then said Cairnech, "Leave me the bone, and eat thou the marrow, and every third coarb shall be thine for ever, here and in Ireland."

Then Murtogh Mac Erca took hostages and the (royal) power of the district into his own hands, conjointly with Cairnech, for seven years, as also the supreme sovereignty of Britain and Caithness, the Orkneys and the Saxonland.

But it was not likely that a partnership cemented by such a monstrous crime should last. Murtogh took the widow of Luirig (whom he had murdered), as his wife, and this seems to have given great offence to Cairnech.

By her Murtoogh is said to have had, as sons, Constantine and Gaedhil Ficht, who remained to reign in Britain, and especially over the Cornish Britons, after Murtoogh returned to Ireland.

The Irish Annals give us these dates :—

Murtoogh Mac Erca was fighting along with Illand and Ailil, sons of Dunlaing, against Aengus Mac Nadfraich, king of Leinster, and slew him and his wife in 489.

Then we hear no more of him till 497 (498), when he was fighting his former confederate Illand.

In 508 or 509 he was engaged in war with Duach, king of Connaught, and defeated and killed him.

From 508 to 513 were years of anarchy in Ireland, but in the latter year Murtoogh Mac Erca was chosen king, and he reigned till 533.

Erca, mother of Murtoogh, in her old age felt qualms of conscience at her past conduct, and she came to S. Cairnech, her stepson, in penitence, kneeling at every second ridge on her way, so it is said, till the blood oozed from her finger ends. Cairnech received her with these words: "I hail thee, O Erca, and thou shalt go to heaven; and one of every two worthy kings who shall reign over Ireland shall be of thy seed; the best women and the best clerks shall be theirs; success in battle shall be theirs also."

From her eight sons she had received an extensive tract of land in fee-simple in Tir-Connell. She had also possession of Drumleen in Raphoe. All this territory she gave in atonement for her sins to S. Cairnech. Soon after she died, and S. Cairnech blessed the spot, and called it Kill-Erca, and placed S. Croidan, a bishop, in charge there.

Murtoogh Mac Erca was married to Duiseach, daughter of the King of Connaught, but he fell under the fascination of a beautiful girl called Sin. In 524 he had fought the men of Leinster, and in the battle had killed Sigh, son of Dian and his sons; but the daughter of Sigh, Sin, he took to himself, and she employed all her blandishments to gain his love. She was successful, and he banished his wife, who took refuge with S. Cairnech, and was joined by the Hy Conaill and the Hy Eoghain. But Murtoogh, by a cession of a church in his fortress, and by making confession and receiving communion, appeased Cairnech.

Soon after, at night, Sin, who all this while had nursed her hatred of the man into whose arms she had cast herself, had quietly waited her opportunity, which occurred on Samhain, All Hallow E'en, a time of great revelry. The king was at Cletty on the Boyne. Sin made him dead drunk, and summoned to her aid Tuathal Maelgarb, great-grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who surrounded the hall, and set it on fire. Murtoogh was aroused when the fire had caught his

garments, and in an agony of pain plunged into a vat of wine to extinguish the flames, and so perished.

Cairnech now came to the burned fortress to carry off the body of Murtoth and bury it. The story says at Dulane, but this is because the two saints are confounded; or it may have been that the clerics of Dulane took away the body, and this has been attributed to the other Cairnech, whose church was not at Tuilen or Dulane but at Drumleen on Lough Foyle—far away in the North. Sin seems also to have been burnt, for she had only time to make her confession before she died.

“Touching Cairnech, he showed great care for Muirchertach’s soul, but he did not bring it out of hell. Howbeit he composed the prayer which from its beginning is named *Parce mihi Domine*, etc., and he repeated it continually for the sake of the soul of the king, so that at last the soul was given to him out of hell.”

The hymn *Parce Domine* is attributed to S. Meugant. This may have been different. It has not been preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum*.¹

The rest of the story in the *Book of Ballymote* is a farrago of nonsense. A great synod assembled at Tours, consisting of 337 bishops “with the coarb of Peter,” to meet Cairnech, Bishop of Tours and Britain-Corun, or Cornwall, and of all the British; “and the chieftainship of the martyrs of the world was given to Cairnech, because martyrdom was his own choice.”

The mention of the Pope at Tours was suggested to the writer by the presence of Urban II at the Council of Tours in 1096, or by that of Alexander III at Tours in 1163.

After the Council, Cairnech, attended by thrice fifty bishops, goes off on pilgrimage to Lyons, “for the sake of Mac Erca and Murtoth.” The story goes on to say that Cairnech was the first Bishop of the Clan Niall and of Temhar (Tara) and the first martyr of Erin. But it gives no details whatever.

S. Cairnech’s day is March 28; he is given as a bishop on this day in the Martyrology of Tallagh, and in that of Marianus O’Gorman, and that of Donegal. In none of these is the place named where he was bishop.

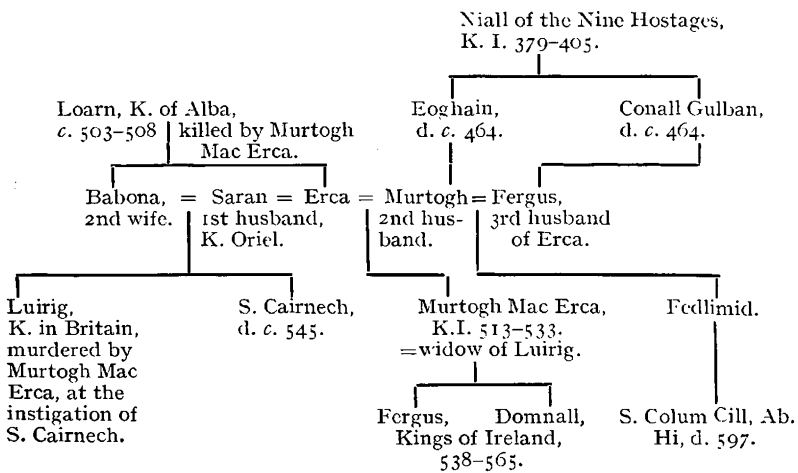
Colgan supposed that Cairnech died about the year 530, and this he attempts to establish by showing that Fergus, son of Murtoth, possessed Cruachan’s farm after Cairnech had been dead twenty

¹ All the portion of the story that concerns the death of Murtoth Mac Erca is from the tale in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*.

years. Now Fergus died in 561, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*.

Under the name of Carnocus Episcopus Culdæus he is given by David Camerarius on June 15, and he had a church on the Haugh of Laithers opposite the Boat of Magie in the parish of Turriff in Aberdeenshire, now in complete ruin.

It will be seen that the spheres of work of Carannog and Cairnech were totally distinct. The former laboured in Leinster, and the latter in Ulster; the former had his church on the Boyne at Tuilen or Dulane, and the latter on Lough Foyle at Drumleen; they both belonged to the first half of the sixth century; and it was solely due to the late period at which their legends were drawn up that they came to be confounded together.



Cairnech's "Misach," apparently a Calendar, was given by him to be one of the relics to be carried in battle before the warriors of the Clan Conall and Clan Eoghain, descended from Niall of the Nine Hostages,¹ "That whenever they had not the leadership or the kingship of Ireland, their power should be over every province around them; and that they should have the succession of Ely (in the barony of Inishowen) and Tara and Ulaid (Ulster); and that they should take no wage from anyone, for this is their own inherent right, the kingship of Ireland; and that they should be without fetter or hostage, and that rottenness should befall the hostages when they abscond; and that they should gain victory in battle, if the cause

¹ "The Death of Muirchertach Mac Erca," in *Revue Celtique*, xxiii (1902), p. 405.

were just ; and that they should have three standards, namely, the Cathach and the Bell of Patrick, and the Misach Cairnech, and that the grace of all these reliquaries should be on (any) one of them in battle."

The case of the Misach of Cairnech is now in the College of S. Columba, near Dublin.¹

S. CALLWEN, Virgin

IN a South Wales calendar ² occur SS. Callwen and Gwenfyl, daughters of Brychan, with festival on November 1. The name of neither is met with in any of the saintly pedigrees, but they possibly belonged to the Brychan clan. To the former is dedicated the church of Callwen, otherwise known as Capel Callwen, in Brecknockshire, at one time a chapel in the parish of Devynock, the church of which is dedicated to Brychan's eldest son, Cynog. Edward Lhuyd gives us to understand that the parish church of Cellan, in Cardiganshire, which he writes " Keth-Lhan," is dedicated to her, and that there is a spring there called " Ffynnon Calhwen." All Saints is the dedication now usually given to the church. On one of the mountains in the parish is a cistvaen called Bedd y Forwyn, the Virgin's Grave.

S. CAMMAB

HIS name occurs only in the alphabetical *bonedd* in the *Myvyrian Archaeology*,³ inserted on the authority of a MS. written between 1578 and 1609. He is said to have been a son of Gwynllyw Filwr, and a brother of S. Cadoc. Nothing is known of him ; in fact, the name, as also Cammarch and Cannen, in all probability represents a mis-reading of the *Kemneu* (read *Kenneu*) of the *bonedd* in Peniarth MS. 16, obviously, as Mr. Phillimore points out, a copy of some very old form of Cynfyw (ab Gwynllyw). See under that name.

¹ Reeves, *Columba*, pp. 328-9.

² Denominated S.

³ P. 423.

S. CAMMARCH, Confessor

His name occurs once in the *Iolo MSS.*¹ pedigrees, and in the *Myvyrian* alphabetical *bonedd.*² He is given as a son of Gwynllyw Filwr. His festival is October 8, which is entered in the calendars in the *Iolo MSS.* and the Welsh Prymer of 1633, and by Nicolas Roscarrock, as well as in a number of Welsh almanacks, principally of the eighteenth century. He is the accredited patron of Llangam-march, in Brecknockshire, though in *Cân Tyssilio*, by the twelfth century bard Cynddelw, the church is enumerated among the Tyssilio foundations.³ The Tyssilio dedication is confirmed by the fact that in the Lives of that saint preserved in Brittany he is said to have spent some time in the region of Buellt, in which cantred Llangam-march is situate. The river Cammarch joins the Irfon close to the church, and the church may, as is often the case, have taken its name from the river. But streams in Wales frequently bear men's names; for instance, the Beuno (or Bennio), Cybi, and Dewi—the last at Mydrim of which the church is dedicated to S. David. See, however, under S. CAMMAB.

The word *cammarch*, which literally means a crooked horse, has been quite recently introduced into Welsh to signify the camel. S. Cynog ab Brychan, it appears, was nicknamed *cammarch*, and it is curious that his festival should be also October 8.

S. CANDIDA

THE Church of Whitechurch Canonorum, in Dorsetshire, is named in King Alfred's will, about 900, as Hwitan Cyrcian. In it is the shrine of S. White or S. Wita, still containing her bones. She is called Wite in the inscription on her reliquary, and also in the Charter of Sir Robert de Mandevil by which he gave Berehayes to "St. Wita or to the church of Whitechurch" about the year 1220. She is also called "White" in the will of Robert Pyke (April 2, 1531), who desired that his body should be buried in the chancell of "Sainte White of Whitechurch," and left 6s. 8d. to the church of "Sancte White." On the other hand she is called "Candida" by John Belde (1505) and John Towker (1521), both of whom bequeathed their bodies to be buried in "the Church of St. Candida the Virgin." Thus only at the beginning of the sixteenth century was a substitution made of Candida,

¹ P. 130.² *Myv. Arch.*, p. 422.³ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

the Virgin, in the Roman Martyrology, for White of local celebrity. Under S. GWEN TEIRBRON will be shown that the S. White of Whitechurch is probably that Saint, the mother of S. Winwaloe and others.

There was a S. Ninocha Gwengastel, a native of Wales, who in Brittany received a cult at Scaer as S. Candida, but she was an abbess, and entirely distinct from Gwen Teirbron.

S. CANNA, Matron

CANNA was the daughter of Tewdwr Mawr or Tewdwr Llydaw, son of Emyr Llydaw.¹ She first married S. Sadwrn, her kinsman, who by her became the father of S. Crallo. They accompanied S. Cadfan to Britain. After the death of Sadwrn, she married Alltu Redegog, and had by him S. Elian Geimiad, the friend of S. Cybi. She was the mother also by him of S. Tegfan. She is supposed to have been the foundress of Llanganna, or Llangan, in Glamorganshire, where so many of the family of Emyr settled, and of Llangan in Carmarthenshire. In the vestry of Beaumaris Church is an altar tomb of the fifteenth century moved from Penmon at the dissolution. On the sides are representations of several of the local saints; one of the figures is of a knight in armour giving benediction with his right hand, possibly intended for Sadwrn, who was designated *Marchog*, or the Knight, and next to it is that of a crowned lady, the crown above a monastic veil, and holding in her hand a staff bursting into leaf and flower. If the former be Sadwrn this latter is probably Canna. The symbol refers apparently to a lost legend like that of the mother of S. Ciaran—that when the pangs of maternity came over her, she laid hold of a rowan that was dry, but which at once put forth leaves and berries; or it may apply to a story that she planted her staff and it became a mighty tree.

The inscribed stone of Sadwrn (or Saturninus) is in the neighbouring church of Llansadwrn (*see* S. SADWRN).

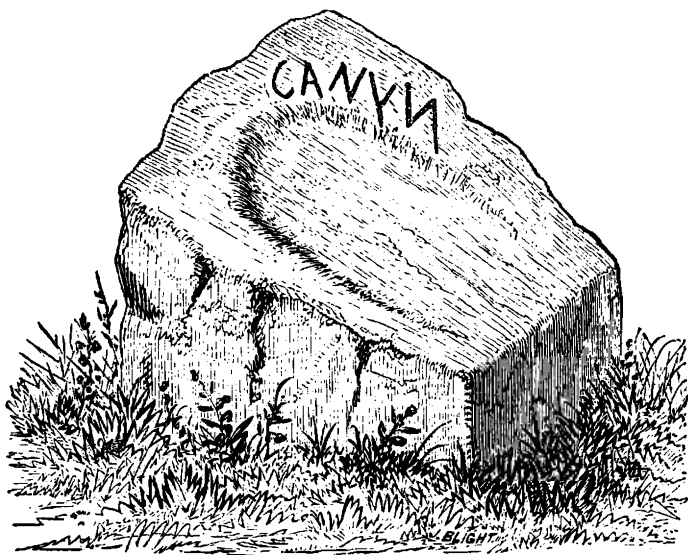
Alltu is also said to have been married to S. Tegwen, daughter of Tewdrig ab Teithfall; ² but this is a mistake, Tegwen for Cenaf (or Cenau) being due to confusing S. Tegfan with his mother.

At the Carmarthenshire Llangan (part of which parish is in Pem-

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 112, 132, 134, 221. In the *bonedds* in Peniarth MS. 45 and Hafod MS. 16 the name of the mother of SS. Elian and Tegfan is written, with the conjunction *a*, as *athecnaw* and *a chenaf*.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 137.

brokeshire) there is a rude stone, forming a kind of chair, which is known as S. Canna's Chair. It lies in a field adjoining the churchyard, about thirty or forty yards from it, and not far from Ffynnon Ganna, the Saint's Holy Well. It is a granite block, rough on its outside, but with the scooping or seat quite smooth. There is an inscription on it, supposed to read CANNA, in Roman capitals of so late a

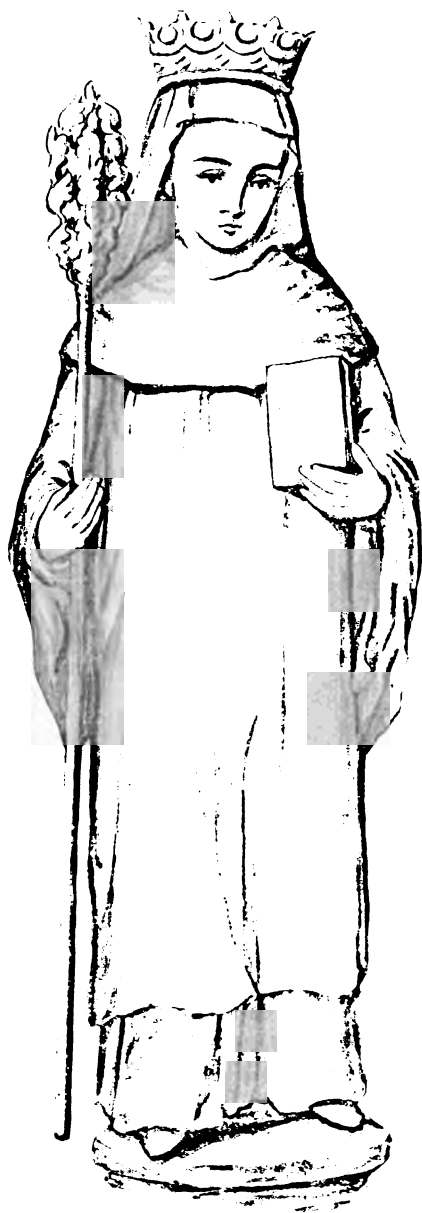


S. CANNA'S CHAIR.

character that its genuineness is doubtful. Miraculous cures were affirmed to have been effected here, particularly in the case of persons troubled with the ague and intestinal complaints. The patient was first required to throw some pins into the well. Then he was to drink a fixed quantity of the water, and sometimes bathe in the well, but the bath was not always resorted to. After this he was to sit in the chair for a certain length of time, and if he could manage to sleep under these circumstances, the curative effects of the operation were considerably increased. This process was continued for some days, even for a fortnight or longer. The well has disappeared since about the year 1840. It was asserted that the hollow in the stone had been produced by the multitude and frequency of the devotees.¹

About the centre of the parish is a field called *Parc y Fynwent* (the churchyard field), where, the local tradition says, the church was

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 1872, pp. 235-9 (chair illustrated); 1875, pp. 376, 409; Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliæ*, p. 89 (illustration).



S. CANNA.

From a Fifteenth-century Tomb at Beaumaris.

to have been originally built ; but the stones brought to the spot during the day were removed at night by invisible means to the site of the present church, and a voice could be heard crying, " Llangan, dyma'r fan" (" Llangan, this is the spot").

The Glamorganshire Llangan adjoins Llangrallo, now generally known as Coychurch. There is a stream there called Canna.

Canna enters also into Canton, now a parish name, a populous hamlet in the parish of Llandaff, forming the western suburb of Cardiff. It was called by the Welsh Treganna, and its northern part is known as Pont Canna. Canna's (or Canons') Farm is in the parish of Llandaff.

Her festival does not occur in any of the Welsh calendars. Browne Willis gives October 25 as the festival at Llangan, Glamorganshire.¹

Canna occurs also as a man's name,² and two documents³ give Canna as a daughter of Caw ; but see under S. CAIN, daughter of Caw.

Mr. Egerton Phillimore is inclined to believe that the correct and original name of the mother of SS. Elian and Tegfan was Cenaf, and that there is no ground for ascribing either of the Llangan churches to her, but that there is good reason for thinking that the Glamorgan church name, as also the Cardiff Canna names, are from Cannou (becoming later Canneu, Cannau, and Canna), the cleric who witnesses a document in conjunction with SS. David, Teilo, Illtyd, Aidan, and Cynidr in the *Life of S. Cadoc*.⁴

S. CANNEN, Confessor

THERE is considerable confusion in the genealogical details given of this Welsh Saint. Sometimes he is given the details which properly belong to S. Catwg, being made to be son of Gwynllyw (or Gwynllew) ab Glywys, of Llangadwg in Gwent, as in *Peniarth MS.* 12 (early fourteenth century) and *Harleian MS.* 4181.⁵ In these Catwg is left out. A "Kemmeu Sant" is given as brother of Catwg in *Peniarth MS.* 16 (thirteenth century), but in *Peniarth MS.* 45 (thirteenth century) he is omitted, Catwg alone occurs. In the

¹ *Survey of Llandaff*, 1719, appendix, p. 4.

² *Book of Llan Dâu*, p. 174.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 109, 142.

⁴ Owen, *Pembrokeshire*, ii, p. 427.

⁵ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 267. This is a copy made before 1714 of a MS. about 100 years earlier.

bonedd in *Hafod MS.* 16 (circa 1400) we have Cannen Sant entered as son of Gwyddllew ab Gwynllew ab Glywys, and connected with Llangadwg in Gwent, but Catwg is here again missing. The document in the *Iolo MSS.*¹ misreads his name as Canneu or Cannau, and he is entered as son of Gwyddlyw ab Gwynllyw, whilst in another we have Cannen a *daughter* of Gwyddlew ab Gwynllyw.² The former credits him with being the patron of Llangannau, in Glamorganshire, by which, it would appear, is meant Llangan, which occurs sometimes written as Llangannev and Llangane.³

It looks as if by Cannen were meant the Kemmeu of *Peniarth MS.* 16 (*see* under S. CAMMAB), or that he was the son of Catwg's brother Gwyddlew or Gwyddlyw.

The patron of Llanganten, in Brecknockshire, is variously said to be Canten and Cannen.⁴ It can be Cannen only on the supposition that it is a later form of the name, but the survival of the Canten pronunciation is against it. In the *Taxatio* of 1291⁵ it occurs as "Langanten."

S. CARADEC (CARTHACH), Abbot, Bishop, Confessor

THIS Saint would not have been included in our collection but that he has been confounded in a most strange manner with S. Carannog.

In Brittany there are two sets of foundations, those of Carannog, at Carantec and Tregarantec in Léon, and those of Caradoc, or Caradec, in the south of Côtes du Nord, and over the border, in Morbihan. Caradec cannot possibly be a corruption of Carannog, and two distinct personages are represented by these names, establishing churches in separate districts.

Nevertheless, liturgically they have been confounded, and in the Breviary of Léon of 1516, and in the collection of Lives by Albert le Grand, the name of Carannog, or Carantoc, has been supplanted in the legend of his Life by that of Caradocus, the vernacular Caradec or

¹ P. 108. Cannou occurs as the name of one of the clerical witnesses to an agreement between S. Cadoc and Rhain ab Brychan, *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 56, 96.

² P. 130.

³ Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 919.

⁴ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 422; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 326; Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, p. 427.

⁵ P. 274.

Carreuc. A deed of 1289 mentions Mostoer-Caradec, and this was S. Caradec near Mur, on the Oust near Loudéac.¹

There have been two treatises on S. Caradec :—Oheix, "S. Caradec appartient il à la Bretagne," in the *Revue de Bretagne*, Nantes, 1880 ; and De la Borderie, "Les deux Saints Caradec," in *Mélanges historiques*, published by La Société des Bibliophiles Bretons, T. ii, Nantes, 1883, but neither helps towards the discrimination between Caradoc and Carantoc. What adds to the difficulty is that Caradoc is commemorated in the Vannes Breviary on the same day as Carantoc in that of Léon, and that in the Léon Breviary Carantoc is called Caradoc.

There is no Welsh Saint Caradog who can be intended by S. Caradec, or Carreuc, unless it were Caradog, son, or, more correctly, father of Ynyr Gwent, but we have no authority for supposing that he was a saint, no Welsh pedigrees give him as a saint, and if the father of Machu or S. Malo had settled in Brittany, and become an abbot there, it would certainly have been mentioned in the Lives of that saint.

Setting aside this Caradog as inadmissible, we must look elsewhere, and we may perhaps find in Carthach the Elder, coarb of Ciaran of Saighir, the man known in the Diocese of Vannes and in that of S. Brieuc as Caradec. Caradog is the Welsh form of the Goidelic Carthach.

Carthach the Elder has had no biographer, or at least no Life of him has come down to our days ; all that is known of him has been collected by Colgan in his *Acta SS. Hibern. Mart. v*, mainly from the Lives of Ciaran of Saighir, his master, and of Carthach the Younger, his pupil. Carthach was the son, or, more probably, the grandson of Aengus MacNadfraich, King of Munster, who had driven the royal family of the Ossorians out of Ossory.

When Aengus suffered Ciaran to establish a monastery at Saighir on the confines of Ossory, and to assume the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Ossory, he must have done so with hesitation and under conditions, for Ciaran belonged to the expelled royal family. Although not stated, we may suspect that a condition imposed on Ciaran was that he should take Carthach, son or grandson of Aengus, as his pupil, and should undertake to make him his coarb, to succeed him in the abbacy, so that eventually the ecclesiastical as well as the secular rule over Ossory should be in the hands of the intruders.

Ciaran found Carthach a troublesome pupil. He carried on an amour with a damsel in the religious establishment of Liadhain the mother of Ciaran ; this was interrupted by a thunderbolt falling at the place of assignation, which so frightened the girl that she ran back

¹ Oheix, "Les Saints inconnus," in *Association Bretonne*, 1880.

to Liadhain and confessed her fault.¹ Then Carthach got into an intrigue with another girl of the convent of Cuacha, the nurse of Ciaran, and when she became a mother by him, the scandal provoked Ciaran to insist on Carthach leaving Saighir for a while and sowing his wild oats abroad.²

According to the scholiast on the *Félire of Oengus*, when the babe was born the mother laid it in a tuft of rushes beside the road. S. Comgall, with his pupils, was passing along the highway when he heard the sobbing of the child, and he bade one of his disciples go to the spot and see what was there. The man kicked the rushes and disclosed the babe, which he took up and tucked under his arm.

"Where is the child?" asked Comgall. "In my arm-pit," replied the brother. "That shall be its name," said the abbot; "*My lua* (kick), son of *Ocha* (arm-pit)." Comgall took the child along with him and reared it; and this is the celebrated S. Lugaidh, or Molua, who is commemorated on August 4.³ But the story does not agree with that given in the Life of S. Molua. In this latter, Sochte, an Ossorian, was the mother, by a Carthach son of Daigre of the Hy Fidgeinte who occupied Limerick. Molua was the youngest of three sons born to Carthach by Sochte, and so far from exposing him, Carthach brought him up at home. He was drunk for nine consecutive days from merely inhaling the breath of the child. It was not till much later, when Molua was grown up and approaching manhood, that S. Comgall took him as a pupil.⁴

It is, accordingly, clear that the scholiast blundered in making Molua the son of S. Carthach of Saighir. He mistook one Carthach for the other, his namesake.

When Carthach was sent away from Saighir for his loose morals, he went to Gaul, where he remained for some years, but in what part we are not informed. He also visited Rome.

It is possible that to this period may be attributed the foundations of S. Caradec in Armorica.

After some years he returned to Ireland. Ciaran was one day bathing, along with a Saint named Germanus, when the latter caught a fish. "That will do for dinner to-morrow," said Ciaran, "when I expect my old pupil to return to me." Next day Carthach arrived and was received with great joy.

¹ *Acta SS. Hib. in Cod. Sal.*, 1888, coll., 814-5.

² "Carthach, Ciaran's pupil, was sent by Ciaran on his pilgrimage to Rome for having come into a woman's company, for it is to him that Molua MacOcha was a son." *Félire of Oengus*, ed. W. Stokes, p. lx.

³ *Ibid.* p. cxxviii.

⁴ *Acta SS. Hib. in Cod. Sal.*, coll., 814-5.

It is supposed that Carthach was ordained by Ciaran, and perhaps consecrated bishop by him, and the Martyrology of Donegal says that on his deathbed, "Ciaran dedicated his congregation to God and to Carthach." He probably could do no other in accordance with an agreement with Aengus MacNadfraich, which would be enforced by Eochaidh, the son and successor in the kingdom of Munster.

Carthach seems to have been for awhile in Kerry, and there took as his disciple the younger Carthach, afterwards founder of Lismore.

The date of his death is not recorded, but it must have taken place somewhere about 580.

The feast of S. Carthach in the Irish Martyrologies of Tallagh, Cashel, Donegal, Marianus O'Gorman, etc., is on March 5, the same day as that of his master S. Ciaran.

But in Brittany on May 16, as he has been confounded with S. Carantoc (Missal of Vannes, 1530; Breviary of Vannes, 1586; Breviary of Léon, 1516; Missal of Léon, 1526).

He is patron of S. Caradec Trégomel, near Guéméné, and S. Caradec Hennebont, both in the diocese of Vannes; of S. Caradec near Loudéac, and S. Carreuc, both in Côtes du Nord; and he had chapels in Plouai, Morbihan, at Mellac and Pontaven.

At S. Caradec near Loudéac is a statue representing him as an abbot, mitred and giving benediction, but without distinguishing symbol. He is invoked in the Litany of the Stowe Missal.¹

S. CARADOG, Monk, Confessor

HIS Life, probably abridged from the lost Life by Giraldus Cambrensis, was adopted by John of Tynemouth into his collection, and thence it was taken by Capgrave and printed in the *Nova Legenda Angliæ*.² Further information concerning him is obtained from the *Itinerary of Wales* by Giraldus, Bk. i, chap. xi. Caradog was a native of Brycheiniog, born of parents in a moderate position of life. He received a good education, and was sent to the Court of Rhys ab Tewdwr, King of South Wales (1077-93), where he was well received, as he was a skilled harper. Rhys committed to his charge a couple of harriers, the King's pets. One day by his neglect the dogs got away. The King was furious, swore at him and threatened him with mutilation.

¹ Warren, *Liturgy of the Celtic Church*, Oxford, 1881, pp. 238, 240.

² *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, ed. Horstman, Oxford, 1893, i, pp. 167-173. Giraldus read the lost Life to the Pope. Its preface has been preserved in his *Symbolum Electorum*.

Thereupon Caradog replied: "If you value my long and laborious service so little, as your words imply, I will go and serve another master who values men higher than hounds."

Breaking off the head of his lance, so as to convert the staff into a walking-stick, he departed, and joined with some others, betook himself to Llandaff. On the way they found a goat that had been transfixt with an arrow, and they skinned, roasted and ate it.

On reaching Llandaff, Caradog was tonsured by the bishop, and served at the church there for a time. But after a while, desiring a quieter life, he went to Gower, and found the church of S. Cenydd abandoned. He built himself a habitation near the churchyard, and set to work to clear the ground. It took him three days before he could get the sacred edifice clear of the brambles and thorns that had invaded it.¹

After having spent some time there, he became restless, and went off to Menevia, where he was advanced to the priesthood.

Then he seceded to the isle of Ary (probably Barry Island, Llanrian), Pembrokeshire. He was not quite alone, he had some companions with him. But he did not obtain the quiet there that he desired, for Norwegian pirates landed and carried him and his comrades off. However, owing to currents and contrary winds, they could not get away, and fearing that they might run short of food, they set Caradog and his fellows on the island again. One night, so runs the story, Satan appeared to him and offered his menial services. "Get away with you," said the hermit, "I don't want your service in any way." Then the Evil One laid hold of his belt and purse, and cut capers and jeered at him. Caradog had some difficulty in ridding himself of so troublesome a guest, and in securing his belt and purse. The Satan in the story was doubtless one of his comrades who was tired of the solitary life, and had to be dismissed, and endeavoured to steal some of his master's property. At last the incursions of the Northmen became so frequent and so menacing, that Caradog was obliged to leave, and the Bishop of S. David's sent him to take charge of the cell founded by S. Ismael, now S. Issell's, Haroldston. But here also he was harassed. This time it was by the Flemings whom Henry I

¹ "Casa juxta cimiterium edificata, spinis ac tribulis non sine labore grandi locum purgans, vix post triduum ecclesiam introire valebat." The *Book of Llan Dâw* (p. 279) states that Bishop Herwald of Llandaff (died 1104) "ordained Caradog, a holy and religious man, to be a monk" in the church of Llangenydd. He may be the "magister Caratocus" of the Life of Elgar the Hermit, in the same book (pp. 1-5), who went to Bardsey to see the hermit "whether he were alive or dead," and wrote from his lips the story of his life.

introduced, and to whom he gave up the district now termed "Little England beyond Wales." To make room for his Flemings, the Welsh were dispossessed, and driven out of the country.

Caradog was specially troubled by one Richard Tankard, who impounded his cattle and sheep. The wife of Tankard, however, treated the holy man with much consideration, and often sent her youngest son Richard to him with provisions. Richard the Elder was governor of the Castle of Haverford. Giraldus says that the young boy so ingratiated himself in the eyes of the hermit, that Caradog often promised him, along with his blessing, that his brothers, who were older than himself, should die before him, and that he would inherit the paternal possessions—a promise not calculated to act wholesomely on the boy's mind. Once it happened that the young man was out hunting, when a violent storm of rain coming on, he turned for shelter to the hermit's cell. "Being unable to get his hounds together either by calling, coaxing or by offering them food, the holy man smiled, and making a gentle motion with his hand, brought them all to him immediately."¹

The annoyance caused by the elder Tankard ceased, as he was carried over the cliffs when out hunting a stag, which bounded into the sea and was followed by the hounds and the steed mounted by Tankard; but this was after the death of the hermit whom he vexed. The elder brothers of young Richard having happily deceased, the young man came into all the inheritance of his father.

Caradog died in the year 1124 at Haroldston S. Issell's.²

He had desired that his body should be conveyed to S. David's, but Tankard endeavoured to detain it. However, being unwell, and attributing this to his having gone against the last wishes of Caradog, he permitted it to be conveyed thither. As the corpse was being transported to S. David's, a storm of rain came on as the procession was traversing the sands of Newgate; when the bearers and the convoy escaped for shelter into a house. On coming forth they found that the silken pall that had covered the bier was not wet and was uninjured, and this was regarded as miraculous.

A chapel, called Cradock's Chapel, was afterwards erected on the spot, and was subordinate to Roch, but it has disappeared, and some mounds only indicate the locality.

The body was buried in S. David's Cathedral "in the left aisle,

¹ *Itin. Kamb.*, bk. i, ch. xi.

His death, as Caradawc Vynach, is entered in the chronicle, *O Oes Gwrtheyrn* (Oxf. *Bruts*, p. 405).

near the altar of the holy proto-martyr Stephen." His shrine is often mistaken for that of S. David.¹

The site of Caradog's hermitage was probably near a place called Portfield, the common on which Haverfordwest races are held, as there is a well there, once noted, called Caradog's Well, round which, till a few years ago, a sort of Vanity Fair was held, where cakes were sold, and country games were performed. It was held on the Monday in Easter or Whitsun week.²

Giraldus Cambrensis endeavoured to get him canonized,³ but failed, which he attributed to spite.

Lawrenny Church is dedicated to Caradog. His day is April 13th according to Nicolas Roscarrock, but the 14th according to the Calendar in *Cotton MS. Vesp. A. xiv* (early thirteenth century).

He is one of the few Welsh Saints who lived after the close of the Age of the Saints.

S. CARANNOG, Bishop, Confessor

THERE is some uncertainty as to whose son Carannog was, whether he was son of Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig, or son of Corun ab Ceredig. According to the *Progenies Keredic Regis de Keredigan*,⁴ at the end of the *Cognatio de Brychan*, in *Cotton MS. Vesp. A. xiv*. (of the early thirteenth century) and his *Vita* in the same Collection, he was the son of Ceredig, and therefore brother of Corun. The genealogies in *Harleian MS. 4181*,⁵ *Peniarth MS. 12*,⁶ *Hafod MS. 16*,⁷ and the *Iolo MSS.*,⁸ give him as the son of Corun.

It is always safest to adopt the fuller descent, as grandchildren are not infrequently entered as *ab* the grandfather. This has certainly taken place in the Brychan family.

¹ William of Malmesbury visited his shrine, and was in the act of cutting off one of the fingers when the saint suddenly withdrew his hand. It is said that the body on being removed some years after his death was found perfect and incorrupt. There is an illustration of the shrine in J. C. Wall, *Shrines of the British Saints*, p. 94, and also in P. A. Robson, *S. David's*, Bell's Series, p. 55.

² Fenton, *Pembrokeshire*, 1811, pp. 144, 201.

³ A letter of Innocent III, dated May 8, 1200, is extant, enjoining inquiry into the virtues and miracles of Caradog. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., i, p. 412.

⁴ *Y Cymmrodor*, xix, p. 27; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 275.

⁵ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 265.

⁶ *Y Cymmrodor*, vii, p. 133.

⁷ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 415, cf. p. 420.

⁸ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 110, 125. The name is mis-spelt here Corwn. It is from the Latin *Coronus*.

The authorities for the Life are :—(1) A *Vita Sancti Carantoci* in the Cotton MS. Vespasian, A. xiv, which has been very inaccurately printed by Rees in the *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, Llandovery, 1853, pp. 97–101. This Life is made up of two parts, (a) a *Vita* short and legendary, (β) the commencement of another. The first is a homily on the festival, and begins “Veneranda est hec solempnitas omnibus hominibus in Deo credentibus,” and intimates that his pedigree could be traced back to Mary the Mother of our Lord.¹ It contains some interesting particulars :—“In istis temporibus Scotti superauerunt Brittanniam; nomina ducum quorum Briscus. Thuibaius. Machleius. Anpacus. xxx. annis ante natiuitatem Sancti Dauid filii Sant; bene Carantocus susceptus est in Hibernia.”²

This Life concludes with : “O vere vir beate, in quo dolus non fuit . . . qui manet sine macula cum gaudio et gloria inter angelorum agmina in secula seculorum. Amen.”

Then follows a fragment that begins : “Quodam tempore fuit vir, nomine Keredic, rex erat, et hic vir habuit multos filios.” This gives the pedigree of Carannog up to Anna, who was the cousin of Mary the Virgin. Then comes an account of Cunedda and his sons, and of the subdivision of Wales among the sons. Then of a raid made by the “Scots” on Ceredigion, and the election of Carannog to head the people against them. This he refused to do, and ran away, having borrowed a staff and bag from a beggar and further disguised himself. To this follows his going to Guerit Carantau, with nothing about his Irish expedition. And there the story breaks off abruptly.

John of Tynemouth worked up the same material for his Life, and put the fragment into its proper position, before the departure to Ireland, Cotton MS. Tiberius, E. i. This is printed in Capgrave’s *Nova Legenda Angliæ*.

2. A second *Vita* is found in the Breviary of the Church of Léon, printed at Paris, 1516. Of this only two copies exist, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris; and the other till recently in the Library of the Frères Lamennais at Ploërmel. This has been reprinted by A. de la Borderie, *Les deux Saints Caradec*, Paris, 1883, and also in *Y Cymmrodor*, xv, pp. 97–9. It begins like the fragment

¹ The pedigree, and the tract relating to Cunedda and his sons, are copied, with some modifications, from the pedigrees and tract found in the Old-Welsh genealogies in *Harleian MS.* 3859. See *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, pp. 170, 182–3.

² The printed text is corrupt here. We give the correct reading of the MS. from Owen’s *Pembrokeshire*, ii, p. 278. It is not the conquest of Britain by the Irish, as the printed text makes out, but the reception of Carannog in Ireland, which is thus dated thirty years before S. David’s birth.

at the end of the *Vita* printed in the *Cambro-British Saints*, but with the change of the name from Carantocus to Caradocus. It omits the genealogy and the account of Cunedda and his sons. It then relates how that Ceredig was old and Caradocus was chosen to be King in his room, and how he ran away, borrowed a disguise from a beggar and went to Guerith Carantoc. Then—"post multos autem dies"—a voice from heaven summoned him to go to Ireland.

This Life in the Léon Breviary is an early document, probably of the tenth century. It also is a mere fragment, and relates to the Acts of the Saint in Ireland, and says nothing further of his settlement at Guerith Carantoc, nothing of any visit to Armorica, and none of the extant fragmentary Lives relate his death.

Leland (*Itin.*, viii, p. 69) gives a brief extract from the Life of S. Carantoc, "Carantacus, filius Roderici regis. Carantocus fuit in Hibernia 30 annis ante nativitatem S. Danielis." This is clearly a corrupted paraphrase of the passage in the *Cambro-British Saints*, *Keredic* being altered into *Roderici* and *Dauidis* into *Danielis*.

We will now take the legendary Life as pieced together from the material at our disposal.

Ceredig was King in Ceredigion, from which had been expelled the Gwyddyl who had occupied the seaboard of Wales. In the names of the Irish chiefs who had held rule over the British we may perhaps recognize three, Thuibaius may be Dathi, 405-428; Anpacus may be Amalgaidh, d. 449; and Machleius may be Lugaidh MacLeoghair, 503-8. Mr. Phillimore is disposed to identify Briscus with Aed Brosc, son of Corath, son of Eochaid Allmuir, and Anpacus with Anlach, father of Brychan.

Notwithstanding that Ceredig had established himself in Ceredigion, these latter made a descent on the coast, and attempted to recover their lost possessions. This may be the occasion when Ceredig, whom we equate with Coroticus, captured so many baptized Irish and held them in durance, calling forth the letter of S. Patrick in protest. This letter is supposed by Haddan and Stubbs to have been written and sent "shortly before 493 (?)." ¹

As Ceredig was aged, and the incursions were frequent, the Bishop of the principality went to him, and said: "Thou art too old to fight, it is therefore well that one of thy sons should be appointed in thy room, and let that one be the eldest." To this he consented. Accordingly they appealed to Carannog to be their king and leader. But he, loving the Kingdom of Heaven above all earthly things, changed

¹ *Councils and Eccl. Documents*, ii, pt. ii, p. 314.

clothes with a beggar, took his staff and wallet, ran away and took refuge at a place called Guerit Carantauc.¹

This place, as appears, was Carhampton in Somersetshire. Carannog resided some time here. On arriving, he borrowed a spade from a poor man, wherewith to dig the ground. And he whittled at intervals, when tired of digging, the staff he had brought with him.

Then he observed a wood pigeon fly out of the nearest grove, and carry off the shavings in its beak. He followed the bird, and found that it had dropped the chips in one particular spot. He determined on building a church there. And this was, as we are informed, the city of Carrov.²

When running away from home, he had thrown his portable altar into the Severn Sea. It had been washed up, and Arthur, who with Cado ruled in those parts at the time, got hold of it, and resolved on converting it to secular uses. However, there was a dragon in the neighbourhood that created great depredation, and this monster Carannog subdued, and in return for the favour Arthur surrendered to him the altar, but with some reluctance. Arthur held his Court at the time in Dindraithou. This is probably the Dun Tradui, the three-fossed fortress erected by Crimthan Mór (366-378) to hold down the British, when he held dominion from Alba to the Ictian Sea (the English Channel).³ This is spoken of by Cormac in his Old Irish Glossary. Cormac was King-Bishop of Cashel, born 831, and killed in battle 903.

This Dun Tradui was apparently in Map Lethain, "in the lands of the Cornish Britons" (dind map Lethain í tírib Bretan Cornn).⁴

After having completed his church, placed in it his altar, and built the city called Carrov,⁵ "in which innumerable persons were buried, whose names are not given," a voice came from heaven bidding him depart for Ireland, and assist S. Patrick in his missionary labours.⁶

The Life, or Homily, in the *Cambro-British Saints* says that after having lived some time in a cave called Edilu, reading the canonical

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 101; Brev. Léon, in *Y Cymmrodor*, xv, p. 97.

² *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 99; cf. K. Meyer's correction of errors, *Y Cymmrodor*, xiii, p. 84. But the correction is defective.

³ "Deinde S. Servanus venit ad Ictium mare, quod distat inter Angliam et Franciam." *Vita S. Servani*, Pinkerton's *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, ed. Metcalfe, ii, p. 123.

⁴ *Three Irish Glossaries*, by W. S. (Stokes), London, 1862, pp. xlviii-ix, 29. Mr. Egerton Phillimore, in a note in *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, p. 90, accepts Dinn Tradui (=the Welsh Dindraithwy) as in Cornwall. It is not, however, clear in the context that it was so. It is the Cair Draitou of the Nennian Catalogue of Cities (*Ibid.*, ix, p. 183).

⁵ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 100.

⁶ Brev. Léon, in *Y Cymmrodor*, xv, p. 97.

lessons in the Old and New Testaments, he went to Ireland, Patrick having preceded him; that they met and conversed and decided to separate, one going to the left, the other to the right, "and Carantocus went to the right, but Patricius to the left, and decided to meet one another once in the year." Each had numerous clergy with him, "vel unusquisque pariter pretium quod requireret sanitatem."¹

The author of the Homily goes on to say that Carannog went to Ireland thirty years before the birth of S. David.

The sphere of his labours was "Legen," *i.e.*, Leinster, "and the works of the blessed Cernach (the Irish form of his name) are read in Ireland, throughout the country, as the miracles of the blessed apostle Peter are read at Rome."

The Life in the Léon Breviary and the fragment at the end of the Homily say nothing about Carannog having been associated with S. Patrick. Moreover, he is not once mentioned in the Lives of S. Patrick, of any antiquity, not even in the Tripartite Life. Nor is he named in the lists of the household and fellow workers with Patrick. This seems conclusive evidence that Carannog did not co-operate with the Apostle as is represented in the Homily.

There is, however, an Irish tradition that Carannog, whom they call Cairnech, was one of the three bishops who assisted in the compilation of the *Senchus Mór*, the other two being Patrick and Benignus. The story is to the effect that the people of Ireland, having embraced Christianity, the old laws no longer suited the new condition of affairs. Accordingly, Laoghaire, the high King, who was not himself a convert, and remained a pagan to his dying day, agreed to have the code revised by a commission of nine, three were to be kings, three Brehons or lawyers, and three Christian missionaries.

The laws, bearing the title of *Senchus Mór*, or "Great Antiquity," were after the revision known as *Cain Patreuc* ("Patrick's Law"), and *Noi-fis* ("the Knowledge of Nine"). But none of the biographers of Patrick mention the circumstance, and it is most improbable that at such an early date the revision and adaptation should have been made. The authorities are as follows:—

The earliest is this—

Laeghaire, Corc, Daire the hardy,
Patrick, Benen, Cairnech the just,
Rossa, Dubhthach, Ferghus, with science,
These were the nine pillars of the *Senchus Mór*.²

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 97.

² *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, 1865, i, preface xiii, p. 5. The earliest authority for this is Cormac's *Glossary*, under the word *Nós*. Cormac was slain in 908.

The order is given differently elsewhere, Patrick and Benen and Cairnech, three bishops, being placed first.¹

In the Commentary on the *Senchus Mór* it is stated expressly that it was Cairnech of Tuilen who took part in the composition. "Patrick and Benen, and Cairnech who is (buried) at Tuilen (Dulane), were they who wrote it in a chalk-book to preserve it for the men of Eire."²

In the *Lebhar na h'Uidre* is the story of Laoghaire's conversion and death, that may be thus condensed:—"There was a folk-mote of the men of Tara in the time of Laoghaire, son of Niall. Now it is for this cause that he held the folk-mote, concerning the Faith. When the fulness of the Faith was settled with the men of Ireland, and when Patrick had preached the Gospel to them (and) Laoghaire with his Druids was vanquished in miracles and in mighty marvels wrought by Patrick before the men of Erin, then it was that Laoghaire believed and submitted to Patrick's full desire.

"Proclamation was made by Laoghaire that the choice of the princes of the men of Erin should come into one place to hold a conference concerning the fitness of their usage and their justice."

Then follows some fabulous matter, and the test is put to Patrick to see whether Patrick's conduct accorded with his teaching. The conversion of Laoghaire is contradicted by the best authorities.

"So then the men of every art in Erin were gathered together, and each showed forth his crafts before Patrick and before the men of Ireland. So then their evil laws were cast forth and the proper ones were arranged.

"Nine eminent persons were engaged in the arrangement, to wit, of the Church, Patrick and Benen and Cairnech, that is, three bishops; Laoghaire, son of Niall, King of Ireland, Daire, King of Ulster, and Corc, son of Lugaidh, King of Munster, the three kings; Dubhthach Maccu Lugair, and Fergus the Poet, and Ros son of Trichem, a sage in the language of the Feni."³

In the *Annals of the Four Masters* the date of the compilation is given as A.D. 438. "These were the nine supporting props by whom this (work) was done:—Laoghaire, Corc, and Daire—the three kings; Patrick and Benen and Cairnech—the three saints; Ross, Dubhthach and Feargus—the three antiquaries."

The *Annals* were carried on to 1172, and were compiled by the O'Clerys in the beginning of the seventeenth century. They drew

¹ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, 1865, p. 17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³ Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, ii, pp. 562 et seq. Extract from the *Lebhar na h'Uidre*.

the information employed in the compilation from the above quoted authorities, and added the date arbitrarily.

When we come to look at the statement, we see that it is open to the gravest suspicion.

1. It is incredible that Carannog or Cairnech should have been associated with Patrick in so important a work, and that he should not be so much as named as an associate of Patrick in any of the most reliable Lives of S. Patrick.

2. It is hardly to be conceived that if S. Patrick had undertaken a work of such supreme importance, the Lives should be silent on the matter.

3. Nor is it credible that at so early a date as the reign of Laoghaire the necessity for the revision of the laws, and their adaptation to the alteration in the religion of the people, should have become an urgent necessity.

4. Corc can hardly have been alive at the time. Corc was the grandfather of Aengus MacNadfraich, King of Munster, who was converted by S. Patrick, and fell in battle 489. Some authorities throw Corc back to 336-366, but this is certainly too early. The more probable date of his death was 430, which is incompatible with the statement that the *Senchus Mór* was drawn up in 438.

The oldest authority for the succession of the kings of Munster is the *Seaan Mór*, a poem by O'Dubhagain, who died in 1372; in that he gives the order of the kings and the length of their reigns, from Oilioll Olum who died in 234, and this gives 399 as the date of Corc's accession and 429 as that of his death.

The next authority is the list in the *Book of Ballymote*, compiled in 1391, which agrees with the above except in the matter of one year, and brings Corc's death to 430.

5. The earliest authority for the compilation, with the introduction of the name of Cairnech, is something like 450 years after it is supposed to have been made.¹

6. It is extremely doubtful whether Cairnech, supposing him to have been son of Ceredig, to make him contemporary with S. Patrick, would have been a *persona grata* in Ireland, after Ceredig had incurred the resentment of the Irish by his raids and ill-treatment of his captives, as shown by Patrick's letter to Coroticus; if we may take Coroticus to be Ceredig.

¹ In Cormac's *Glossary*, ed. W. Stokes, London, 1862, pp. 31-2; *Tripartite Life*, Append. ii, p. 570. Mr. O'Curry strives to sustain the tradition in his *Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, London, 1873, ii, pp. 66-8.

We come now to a series of incidents narrated in the *Léon Breviary*, of which no trace is found in the *Homily* or the fragment that follows it.

Whilst Carannog was in Ireland, he encountered a King called Dulcemius, by whom Dunlang, King of Leinster (died at end of fifth century) is probably meant. Dulcemius had a tree that Carannog coveted, and he asked the King for it, and was refused. However, as the tree was shortly after blown down, it was granted to him, and he cut it up into four "bases." He had engaged a famous architect to build his church for him, and now he got across with the man over the wood.

Some religious personages having visited Carannog, as he was short of firewood and the weather was chilly, he chopped off a portion of one of the bases for his hearth. The architect was furious, and vowed that he would throw up the job. The legend says that the base was miraculously restored. The truth probably was that the architect was mollified and consented to make shift with the mutilated block.

At this time there lived in Ireland a saint named Tenenan, who was a leper. No saint of the name is known in Irish hagiology, but there were, however, several of the name of Ternoc, of which Tenenan is but another form. And we find the disciple of Carannog called Ternoc as well as Tenenan.

When Tenenan came to visit Carannog, the latter prepared for him a hot bath. Tenenan declined it.

"Unless you tub," said Carannog, "you shall not enter into eternal life."¹

Accordingly Tenenan got into the water, whereupon Carannog began to scour him, and he was healed of his cutaneous disorder.²

Then said Tenenan, "You have served me a scurvy trick. It's conceited I shall be with my lovely skin."

"Nay," replied Carannog, "you will be a beauty, and your skin will no longer present a disgusting appearance."³

When Tenenan left the bath, "Now it is your turn, in with you," said he. Whether he had changed the water we are not informed. Carannog declined to enter, but was finally persuaded to do so. And it was so, that Carannog wore seven iron belts round his body, next

¹ "Si non intraveris, non vives in vita eterna."

² "Cum hoc audisset Tenenanus coactus intravit balneum: accedebat iterum Karadocus ut lavaret eum. Animadvertens igitur Tenenanus quoniam ad se ablundum accederet dixit: Non lavabis me in eternum. Respondit Karadocus: Nec tu vives in eternum si non laveris te."

³ "Nequaquam, ille ait: sed pulchrior eris, et tua caro non erit fetida."

his skin, and as he stepped into the bath, and Tenenan touched him, they snapped and fell off.¹

"Now you have played me a scurvy trick," said Carannog; "however, these hands can be easily rivetted again."

"Not if all the blacksmiths were to try, would they succeed," retorted Tenenan.

After this they praised God, and made fellowship.²

Such is the story in the Léon Breviary. It ends abruptly there. But Albert le Grand, in his Life of S. Tenenan, has a very different version of the relations of Carannog and Tenenan. According to him, and he derived his information from the lost Breviary or Legendarium of Folgoët, Tenenan was the son of an Irish king named Tinidor, and he was placed at an early age with "Caradocus or Carantec," and was educated by him till he reached the age of thirteen, when he returned to his parents, and was sent by them to the Court of the King in London!! There he was so handsome that the young ladies fell in love with him.

But having resolved on abandoning the world, he prayed to God, and in answer to his prayer became a leper. The ladies now turned their eyes from him in disgust, and in this condition he returned to his parents. They were greatly distressed, and sent him to S. Carannog, who put him in a bath and healed him. After that, Tenenan abjured the pleasures of life, and practised extraordinary austerities.

An angel appeared to him, and bade him quit Ireland. So he went again to Carannog, and consulted him about the matter, and by the advice of his old master, departed along with S. Senan and S. Ciaran for Armorica, and disembarked in the estuary of the Elorn, settled near Landerneau (Lann-Ternoc), and afterwards founded another church at Plebennec.

On the death of S. Goulven, he was raised to the episcopal throne of Léon, and died about 623.

In the Léon Breviary Tenenan is not a disciple, but a contemporary saint. "In illis diebus quidam Sanctus in Hybernia nomine Tenenanus, et hic erat leprosus."

After Carannog had laboured hard in Ireland, healing many thousands of their maladies, and performing prodigies innumerable, he returned to his native land, and there retired "to his cave" in Ceredigion, and founded the Church of Llangranog.

¹ "Habebat enim Karadocus septem cingula ferrea circa se, et mox ubi tetigit ea Tenenanus fracta sunt omnia."

² "Et post hec verba laudaverunt deum et facta est pax et unitas inter ipsos."

That Carannog was for a while in Ireland, though not at the time of Patrick, appears from his having been regarded as patron of Dulane in the county of Meath, where are the remains of his very rude and primitive church, composed of huge blocks of stone. There he seems to have left a colony of British monks.

In one of the topographical poems of O'Dubhagain, written in the fourteenth century, there is an allusion to three septs that occupied the neighbourhood of Dulane; one of these was the sept of "the Britons of lasting fame."

Early these men quaff their metheglin,
They are the congregation of Cairnech.¹

After having remained awhile at Llangranog, he again threw his portable altar into the sea, and returned to his old foundation of Carrov, near the mouth of the Guellit, at which last point the altar was washed up.

The name of this stream, which enters the Bristol Channel a mile east of Watchet, is still preserved in that of Williton village and parish, close to its mouth, and in Willet Ford and Willet, close to its source.² The mouth of the Willet brook is four miles east of Carhampton, and about six miles east of Marsh Farm, where the chapel of S. Carantock anciently stood, and which was there before the erection of the parish church. When Carannog came to Cornwall and founded there the important church that now bears his name, and which was formerly provided with canons, we do not know. But Carhampton would seem to have been his principal monastic settlement.

Here he remained till a voice came from heaven calling him to depart to his rest. The Homily makes great confusion here. "A voice came to him from heaven, and bade him go into exile, and leave his family . . . and he alone went to the island Hibernia, and was buried on the 17th Cal. June in his illustrious city, the best of all his cities, which is called the city of Chernach. And he departed in peace, and left his peace behind and found it."

His city of Chernach is not Dulane but Carhampton in Somerset or Crantock in Cornwall, and his departure for Ireland took place at an earlier period. That he went at one time to Armorica can hardly be disputed in face of the distinct traces he has left there. But when he was there we do not know.

Carhampton is a mile and a half from Dunster. The church passed

¹ *Irish Archæological and Celtic Soc.*, 1862, pp. 14-15.

² See Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, iii, p. 76, and Mr. Phillimore's identification in the note on Llangranog in Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, pt. iv.

into the possession of Bath Abbey, where his festival was observed on May 16.¹

The only hint we have as to the period when Carannog was in Brittany is found in the Life of S. Guenael. This latter had been in Britain, and returned to Armorica laden with books, and attended by forty disciples; when one of the first things he did on landing was to pay a visit to S. Carannog; and the date of the return of Guenael can be determined pretty nearly as occurring in 546.

S. Carannog has an extended cult in Brittany. A parish in Finistère bears his name, Carantec. And his name recurs in Tregarantec (Tref-Carantoc) in Léon, of which his disciple Tenenan is patron.

The Tréguier MS. Breviary of the fifteenth century gives him, as S. Caranaucus, on May 16. But he has been confounded with Caradec (Carthagh), patron of a church near Loudéac, and of S. Caradec Priziac and S. Careuc.

Caradocus, in Irish Carthagh, is derived from the past participle, whereas Carantocus or Carannog is from the present participle. Carthagh, disciple of S. Ciaran, may have been in Brittany and have made a foundation there. The Léon Breviary of 1516 calls him Caradocus, but gives lections from the Life of Carantocus. The lections in this breviary make Caradocus the son of Ceredig, and the legend begins precisely like that portion of the *Vita S. Carantoci* tacked on at the end of the Life in the *Cotton MS.* Vesp. A. xiv.

The commemoration of S. Caradoc is on May 16, the day of S. Carannog. We can hardly allow that the Caradec of Caradec Priziac and Caradec Loudéac and of S. Careuc, is Carantoc, but we may attribute to him the church of S. Carné, near Dinan.

The day of S. Carannog in Wales is May 16. In the Calendar in *Allwydd Paradwys* (1670) and the Demetian Calendar it is given on May 15, and in that in *Peniarth MS.* 187 on May 17, but in his Life in *Cotton MS.* Vesp. A. xiv, in the *Iolo MSS.* Calendar, the *Prymer* of 1633, and a number of the Almanacks of the eighteenth century, as May 16. The fair at Llangranog was on the last-named day, Old Style, and still is on the 27th, New Style. As already said, it occurs on the same day in the Bath Calendar, also in the Exeter Legendarium, and in the *Altemps Martyrology* of the thirteenth century. Also in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, and in Whytford. "In Yreland the feest of Saynt Carantoke y^t. is also called Saynt Cernach, a kȳgs sone of Englonde applyed al unto vertue from youth, and whan his fader waxed aged he wolde have

¹ Bath Calendar, circa 1383; Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 10,628. "Caranton . . . vocatur a Carantoco Britanno." Camden, *Britannia*, 1594, p. 156.

resigned his crowne unto hym as his heyre, he than stale away pryvely and changed clothyng with a poore beggar. And therein made his prayer unto our lorde to guyde and directe hym wheder he wolde, forthw^t came an aūgell in lykeness of a dove and ledde hym unto a solytary place where he lyved in grete holynes, after the same aūgell in ye same lykenes brought hym in to yrelond to visyte saynt Patryke, and from thens unto many places where ever he did grete myracles, and moche edified the fayth wherin he dyed full blessedly."

On May 16, in the *Félire of Oengus* he is entered as "Cairnech the mighty"; and a gloss adds "Cairnech of Tulén near Kells, and of the Britons of Cornwall was he."

On the same day, in the Martyrologies of Tallagh, O'Gorman and Donegal; also in the Drummond Calendar.

Under the name of S. Carnac, Cairnech had a chapel in Scotland, in the Haugh of Laithers, in the parish of Turriff, but this certainly pertains to a namesake and not to this Cairnech. He is, as already stated, in the fifteenth century Missal of Tréguier, on May 16, as Caranauc, but as Caradoc in the Vannes Missal of 1530, the Vannes Breviary of 1586, the Léon Breviary of 1516, and the Léon Missal of 1526.

The village feast at Crantock in Cornwall is on May 16. His Holy Well there is in the midst of the village. The church has been lately (1902) restored, and his legend has been represented in the nave windows and in the carving of the stalls.

According to the *Vita* in Rees, Ceredigion (now Cardiganshire) was Carannog's "sua propria regio." Ogof Granog, his cave, at Llangranog, to which he returned from Ireland, is in the rock above the church, about 200 yards from the village;¹ and above the little harbour or creek below the village there is a rock, resembling a large chair, which is called Eisteddfa Granog. At Llangranog is also a Holy Well, Ffynnon Fair, later placed under the invocation of Our Lady, but almost certainly earlier named after S. Carannog, as close by it is Lletty Carannog, S. Carannog's lodging. This is an ancient cottage, the property of the Vicar for the time being, and was at one time the Vicarage. There was formerly a Capel Cranog in the parish of S. Dogmael's, Pembrokeshire, which is described as a pilgrimage chapel.² On the borders of the same county, at Egremont, a stone was discovered a few years ago with the name Carantacus on it.³

In art Carannog should be represented with a wood pigeon carrying a shaving at his side.

¹ It is traditionally believed to be a cave of about three miles long, its other end appearing as a cave at Cwm Tydi to the north.

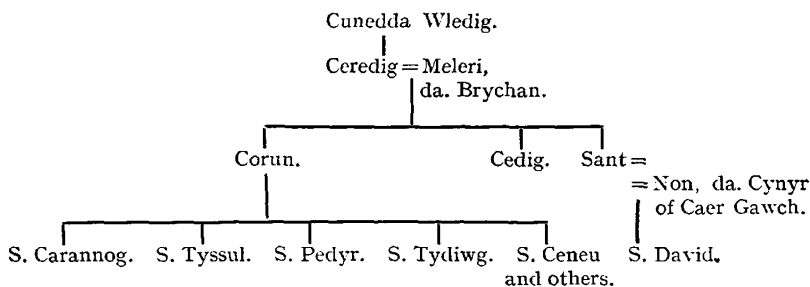
² Owen, *Pembrokeshire*, i, p. 509.

³ *Arch. Camb.*, 1889, pp. 306, 311.

In Brittany his statues show him with a child beside him, intended for his disciple Tenenan.

His death took place probably about the middle of the sixth century.

Carannog must be clearly distinguished from another Saint also known as Cairnech, in Ireland, but who was one of a less amiable and pious character. *See* under S. CAIRNECH. Carannog is invoked in the tenth century Litany published by Mabillon as Carnache.¹



S. CARANTOC, see S. CARANNOG.

S. CARON, see S. CIARAN.

SS. CARWED and CARWYD.

WE couple these two names together because they have been supposed to represent one person. They are, however, quite distinct.

Carwyd's claim to sainthood rests on one document only, which is printed in the *Iolo MSS.*,² and had been transcribed, and possibly compiled, in 1670. There Carwyd is said to have been son of Pabo Post Prydyn, and brother of SS. Dunawd and Sawyl Benuchel (or rather Benisel). They were saints or monks of Bangor on Dee. His name is not given as a son of Pabo in the Old-Welsh genealogies in *Harleian MS.* 3859, but a Kerwyd, which would be Cerwydd to-day, occurs in *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd* in *Peniarth MS.* 45 (late thirteenth

¹ *Revue Celtique*, xi, p. 140.

² P. 105.

century).¹ We have here again two forms which cannot philologically be equated.

There was a hermit, named Carwed, as we learn from two late sixteenth century MSS.,² who lived in the time of Gwaithfoed, Brochwel Ysgythrog, and Ethelbert, King of Kent (died 616). Gwaithfoed, with a band of Welshmen, had gone on a plundering expedition into Gwent, and on his way home "he encountered and killed thirteen highwaymen at Carneddau, near Bwlch y Clawdd Du; also Garwed (or Carwed), a murderous hermit, and the hermit's wife (who had assumed 'the guise of a nun'), as well as a pack of wolves on his way to Strata Florida." In the tradition found at Strata Florida by Dr. John David Rhys, Carwed is called Garwed, and appears as a *cawr*, or giant.³

Carwed was formerly a fairly common man's name. It occurs in Carwed Fynydd, the name of a township of the parish of Llanefydd, Denbighshire, as the father of Bach, and in the "Tuderius ap Karwet," mentioned in a Charter (12 Edward I) printed in Dugdale.⁴

S. CASWALLON LAWHIR, see S. CADWALLON LAWHIR

S. CATHAN, or CATHEN, Confessor

THIS Saint was a son of Cawrdaf ab Caradog Freichfras, and brother of S. Medrod.⁵ His mother is said to have been Peryfferen, daughter of Lleuddun Luyddog, of Dinas Eiddyn (Edinburgh). By her is meant Beren or Perfferen the mother of S. Beuno by Bugi. But this must be a mistake.

Cathen is the patron of Llangathen, in Carmarthenshire; and the commote of Catheiniog (in Cantref Mawr), anciently Cetheinauc and Cethinauc, in which the parish lies, may or may not have been called after him. There is a brook there also called Cathan. But the names might quite as probably be derived from Cathen, son of Cloten, a descendant of Aircol, son of Triphun, and King of Dyfed, mentioned

¹ Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, p. 455.

² J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, ii, p. 350; i, p. 878.

³ *Ibid.*, i, p. 724; cf. the Garwedd, a tributary of the Neath.

⁴ *Monasticon*, 1825, v, p. 674.

⁵ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 107, 123; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 420.

in the Old-Welsh (tenth century) genealogies in *Harleian MS.* 3859, wherein we have also a Caten, son of Caurtam,¹ which looks very like the original of the late pedigree given above. In the place-names of Deheubarth we have the Cathan, near Pant-y-ffynnon Station, Cwm Cathan, N.W. of Pencader Junction, and Cwm Cathen, near Trimsaran, Pembrey. Gwaen and Gwerglodd Gathan are mentioned in the Survey of the Lordship of Ruthin (1737).

Cathen's festival does not occur in any early Welsh calendar, but Rees² gives it as May 17, on which day Catan or Cathan, a bishop in Bute during the sixth or seventh century, who had his cell at Kilcathan or Kilchattan, is also commemorated in the Scottish calendars. There was an Irish saint of the name, commemorated on February 1, and the two are generally confounded, but the pedigree of neither agrees with that of the Welsh saint.

In a Welsh ode the protection of Cathen is invoked for Henry VII.³

S. CATHMAIL, or CATWG, see S. CADOC.

S. CAW, King, Confessor.

CAW was the son of Geraint ab Erbin, prince of Devon and Cornwall. He is variously called Caw of Prydyn, that is Pictland, Lord of Cwm Cawlwyd⁴ in Prydyn, and Caw of Twr Celyn in Anglesey.

There is a singular legend in the Life of S. Cadoc. One day whilst Cadoc was digging about his monastery in Scotland (Cambuslang, of which the church is dedicated to S. Cadoc) he "hit upon a collar bone of some ancient hero, of incredible size." It turned out to be Caw's, who made his appearance to Cadoc and his men as "an immense giant," and, throwing himself at the saint's feet, earnestly besought him that he would not "permit his miserable soul, hitherto suffering dreadful punishment in hell, to go there again." In reply to Cadoc's demands who he was and what his history, he said that he was called Cau, "with the surname Pritdin (Prydyn) or Caur (giant)."

¹ *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, pp. 171, 175; Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii. pp. 224, 407.

² *Welsh Saints*, p. 280.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314.

⁴ His name occurs as Caw Cawllog or Cowllog in *Iolo MSS.*, p. 142, and *Myv. Arch.*, p. 421. There is a Cwm Cawlwyd or Cowlyd, well known for its lake, near Capel Curig. The Owl of Cwm Cawlwyd, one of the ancient creatures in the Tale of Culhwch and Olwen, belonged to it. Cwm Cawlwyd is also the name of a hamlet in the parish of Llandeilo Fawr.

that he had been a king "beyond the mountain Bannauc," and that he and his robber-band were killed at this spot whilst on a plundering expedition. Since then they had been "tormented in the devouring flames of hell." Cadoc promised him his request, as well as longer life in this world, on his "performing due satisfaction for his sins"; and he there and then set to to help the saint's diggers.¹ The resuscitation of a dead giant occurs in other legends, as in that of S. Patrick and that of S. Brendan.

The "mountain Bannawg" is believed by Skene to be the range called the Cathkin hills, in the parish of Carmunnock, which terminates in Renfrewshire, and the modern county of Renfrew was probably the seat of Caw.² In the *Life of Gildas* by the Monk of Ruys Gildas is said to have been the son of Caunus, "a most noble and Catholic man," who bore rule in Arecluda,³ that is, a district on the Clyde, to which description that county answers. The *Life* by Caradog of Llancarfan⁴ calls him Nau, no doubt a clerical error for Cau, and describes him as "King of Scotia, and the noblest of the Kings of the North."

There are several lists of Caw's children, which differ considerably in the number assigned to him. The Monk of Ruys says that he was the father of, besides Gildas, Cuillus (who succeeded his father to the throne), Mailocus, Egreas (Eugrad), Alleccus (Gallgo), and a daughter Peteona (Peithien). According to Caradog of Llancarfan he was the father of twenty-four sons, "victorious warriors," but he does not give their names, beyond saying that his eldest son was Hueil, to be identified with the Monk of Ruys' Cuillus.

There is a list of twenty-one children given in the Mabinogion tale of *Culhwch and Olwen*, nearly all of whom occur among Arthur's warriors. They are Angawd, Ardwyat, Kalcas, Kelin, Koch, Konnyn, Kynwas, Dirmyc, Ergyryat, Etmic, Gildas, Gwennabwy (daughter), Gwarthegy, Gwyngat, Hueil, Iustic, Llwybyr, Mabsant, Meilic, Neb, and Ouan, some of which names are obviously the mere outcome of the fun and fancy of the story-teller. The only ones that are mentioned in any of the other Mabinogion tales are Gildas and Gwarthegy.

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 56-8.

² Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i, pp. 173-4; Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 293; *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, pp. 75, 81. The Bannawg is mentioned also in *Gorchan Maelderw* (Skene, *ibid.*, ii, p. 101).

³ Ed. Hugh Williams, p. 322. We should probably read the name here as Caunus, that is, Caw. It occurs in the *Cavo* of the Llanfor stone (Merionethshire). His name appears also, through some confusion, as Cado (*Mabinogion*, Oxford ed., p. 123, Jesus Coll. MS. 20), and Cadw (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 416; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 268).

⁴ Ed. Hugh Williams, p. 394.

In the *Iolo MSS.*¹ are printed eight lists of his children, which vary from ten to twenty-one in the number given. The following is an alphabetical list of the sons—Afarwy, Afrogwy (probably the same as Afarwy), Aidan y Coed Aur or Aeddan, Aneuryn (Auryn, Euryn) y Coed Aur (the same as Gildas), Annef or Ane, Bangawr (once; possibly the Angawd of *Culhwch* and the Angar of *Iolo MSS.*, p. 256), Blenwyd, Caffo, Caian, Ceidio, Celyn Moel (once; the Kelin of *Culhwch*), Cennydd (a son of Gildas, possibly the Konnyn of *Culhwch*), Cewydd, Cilydd, Cof or Coff, Cyhelyn Fardd or Foel (possibly the same as Celyn Moel), Cynddilig (a son of Nwython), Cyngan Foel (once; possibly Cyngar), Cyngar, Cynwrig, Dirinic (the Dirmyc of *Culhwch*), Eigrawn, Eugrad, Gallgo, Garhai or Garrai (more correctly Gwrhai or Gwrai), Gildas y Coed Aur (the same as Aneuryn), Gwrddelw, Gwrddyly, Gwrthili or Gwrddwdw (no doubt four forms of the same name, Gwrddilig), Gwydion (once), Huail, Idwal (once), Maelog (once Maelon), Peirio, Samson, and Ustig (the Iustic of *Culhwch*). The daughters were Cain, Caen, Canna or Cannau (apparently all representing one name, but the first two also entered as sons), Cywylllog or Cywellog, Gwenabwy or Gwenafwy, and Peithien, Peithini or Peillan.

Late Welsh tradition affirms that Caw was dispossessed of his territory in the North by the Gwyddyl Ffichti or Pictish Goidels, and that he and his family found asylum in Wales. Maelgwn Gwynedd gave him the lands of Twr Celyn in North-east Anglesey, probably 'commensurate with the present-day rural deanery of the name. We are told that "his mother hailed from that place, and that he had claim and right to land there."² Who his mother was the genealogies do not tell us. Some of his children remained in North Wales and became "saints" in the so-called "Bangors" there, whilst others were granted lands, we are told, by King Arthur in South Wales, and became also "saints" in the "Bangors" of Catwg, Illtyd, and Teilo. Caw himself and his brothers Cado, Cyngar, Selyf, and Iestyn are said to have been "saints" of Catwg's "Bangor" at Llancarfan.³ He is also credited⁴ with having founded the church of Llangewydd (S. Cewydd, his son), since removed to Laleston (now S. David), in Glamorganshire.

Caw is best known as the ancestor of one of the Three Saintly Tribes, but his title to saintship rests on quite late documents. In the well known Triad of the "Three Families (or Stocks) of the Saints of Britain," as given in the late and made-up "Third Series of Triads,"⁵ his family has been deliberately replaced by that of the mythical

¹ Pp. 109, 116-7, 136-7, 142-3.

² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 147.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 116; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 421, 423.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 220.

⁵ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 402.

Brân Fendigaid, by those Glamorgan antiquaries interested in bolstering up the Lucius fiction.

Among the "Sayings of the Wise" occurs the following :—¹

Hast thou heard the saying of Caw ?
 " Though it is easy to un-freeze frost,
 It is not easy to un-sort sort."
 (Cyt bai hawdd datrewi rhew,
 Bydd anhawdd datrywiaw rhyw.)

S. CAWRDAF, King, Confessor

CAWRDAF was the son of Caradog Freichfras—the Carados Brebras of romance—by the beautiful Tegau Eurfron, daughter of Nudd Hael. He was brother of SS. Cadfarch, Maethlu, and Tangwn, and father of SS. Cathan and Medrod. For some time he was a "saint" at Llantwit.²

We are told that "the *Côr* of Cawrdaf in Glamorgan was for 300 saints," and that "Einion ab Collwyn founded Llantrisant after Llangawrdaf was burnt."³ The ruins of this religious house are to be seen about a mile and a half south of Llantrisant, on a pretty situation above Miskin Manor. It is also called Gelli Gawrdaf (his Grove).

He is now generally, and has been for some time, accounted the patron of Abererch, in Carnarvonshire, as also sometimes of Llangoed in Anglesey, either solely or conjointly with his brother Tangwn.⁴ In the older saintly genealogies, however, he is never associated with either, nor even included as a saint. There is a Ffynnon Gawrdaf at Abererch, and on a small eminence about a quarter of a mile from the church, is a large boulder stone, with a flat piece cut out of it, called Cadair Gawrdaf, his chair or seat. Angharad Llwyd, in her *History of Anglesey*,⁵ says that Llangoed is dedicated to "S. Cowrda, one of the ancient Colidei, who was buried here." At Bron Llangowrda in Cardiganshire are the remains of a chapel.⁶ Gallt Cawrdaf

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 254.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 123. Cawrdaf was anciently written Caurtam (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix, pp. 175, 180).

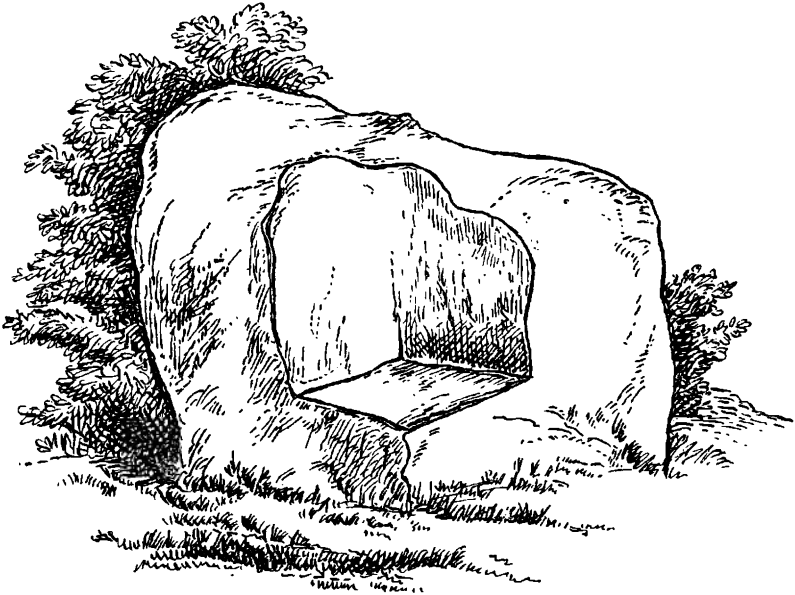
³ *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 221. These late documents must be taken at their value.

⁴ In Browne Willis, *Survey of Bangor*, pp. 275, 287, both are given as dedicated to Cawrdaf.

⁵ P. 284.

⁶ Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains*, p. 103.

(his wood) is mentioned as being in Gwent,¹ but by it is no doubt intended Gelli Gawrdaf. Leland (*Itin.*, iv, fo. 60) calls it Galthé Caurde.



CADAIR GAWRDAF.

His name not infrequently occurs as Cwrda, but it is very doubtful whether Cwrda and Gwrda are corruptions of Cawrdaf, especially the latter. The church of Jordanston, Pembrokeshire, is usually given as dedicated to a S. Cwrda, evolved, as it would appear, from Tre Iwrda, the Welsh form of the parish-name. Llanwrda in Carmarthenshire is sometimes ascribed to S. Cawrdaf, but the form postulates Gwrda, probably for Gwrda. The Llanwrda wakes were November 12 (All Saints' Day, O.S.),² on the first Monday after which, until recently, a fair was held.

The Festival of S. Cawrdaf occurs on December 5 in the Calendars in *Peniarth MSS.* 172, 186 and 187, *Llanstephan MS.* 117, the *Iolo MSS.* (where he is styled Bishop), the Welsh Prymers of 1618 and 1633, *Allwydd Paradwys*, 1670 (where he is called Gwrda), and in a number of eighteenth century Welsh Almanacks. In the Calendars in *Additonal MS.* 14,882, and *Peniarth MS.* 219, Cwrda stands against February 21.

The following extract, referring to Abererch, occurs in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1856:³ "A curious custom prevailed in this

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 102.

² Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 270.

³ Pp. 305-6.

parish within the memory of persons still alive. On the eve of S. Cawrdaf's festival all the children brought into the church a number of candles, which they had been making themselves, or had bought—one candle for each member of their family in whom they were particularly interested, and which they had called after their names. They knelt down, lighted them, and muttered any prayer they recollected as long as the candles continued burning; but, according as the candles became extinguished one after the other, they supposed that the person whose name was attached to the candle that burnt out first would certainly die first; and so on in the order of successive extinctions."

The Triads state that Cawrdaf was one of the three "chief or prime ministers (*Cynweisiaid*) of the Isle of Britain."¹ They were so called on account of their great influence; whenever they went to battle the whole population of the country to a man followed them of their own accord. In the Tale of the Dream of Rhonabwy he is mentioned among the "counsellors" of King Arthur.

The following occurs among the "Sayings of the Wise":—²

Hast thou heard the saying of Cawrdaf,
Son of Caradog Freichfras, the chieftain?
"Let the work of the cautious hand prosper."
(*Llwyddid gorchwyl llaw araf.*)

Hywel Rheinallt, in the fifteenth century, wrote a poem, *Cywydd Cowerda Sant*, in honour of him.³ It contains a few, but vague, allusions to his legend. He is associated with Abererch, otherwise Llan Gawrda, of which the writer evidently regarded him as patron. Here, it would seem, was his shrine, and also his statue, with "his book and holy bell." His sanctuary and the boulder stone are referred to, and "Deiniol and his men" are mentioned as having given him land.

Morgan Mwynfawr, King of Morganwg, we are told lived to a great age, as did also many members of his family. This, it was believed, was "in consequence of a benediction bestowed upon him by S. Cawrdaf."⁴ There were two kings or princes of this district called Morgan. The first, Morgan ab Athrwys, is possibly the Morcant who died *circa* 665. The second, Morgan ab Owen ab Hywel ab Rhys, known as Morgan Hên, died *circa* 974, and it was from him that Morganwg took its name. Evidently the story refers to the latter.

¹ Red Book Triads in Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 302; Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, pp. 458-9; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 405. ² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 253.

³ There are copies of it, e.g., in the seventeenth century MSS., Jesus College MS. cxl (=15), Llanstephan MS. 47, Llyfr Hir Llywarch Reynolds, and also Cwrtmawr MS. 12, and Panton MS. 42.

⁴ D. Lloyd Isaac, *Siluriana*, Newport, Mon., 1859, p. 15.

S. CEDOL

CEDOL occurs only in the Myvyrian alphabetical *Bonedd*,¹ but without the customary pedigree. The name is simply entered as that of the patron of Llangedol, near Bangor, now usually called Pentir.

The Festival of S. Cedol does not appear in any of the early calendars, but it is given as All Saints' Day.²

Cedol as an adjective means munificent, or kind, and Goronwy Owain in one of his poems has a happy play upon the word in reference to Cors y Gedol, above Barmouth.

S. CEDWYN, Confessor

CEDWYN was the son of Gwgon Gwron ab Peredur ab Eliffer Gogorddfawr, by Madrun, daughter of Gwrthefyr Fendigaid.³ His mother was at one time also married to Ynyr Gwent, and is reckoned among the Welsh Saints.

Cedwyn is the patron of Llangedwyn, in Denbighshire. Scrwgan, the name of one of its two townships, is believed to stand for Esgair Wgan, the Ridge or Hill of Gwgan, embodying his father's name. Lewis Glyn Cothi, in the fifteenth century, invokes Cedwyn in two of his poems.⁴

In the *Book of Llan Dâu*,⁵ Lann Cetguinn in Ystrad Yw (a commote in south-east Breconshire) is named among the churches which were consecrated by Bishop Herwald (died 1104), but there do not appear to be any traces of it now. In the same work,⁶ Cum Cetguinn is mentioned in the boundary of the parish of Wonastow, near Monmouth. Nant Cedwyn is the name of a brook which runs into the Ely in the parish of Leckwith, near Cardiff, and Cwm Cedwyn is the woody dell on the right bank of the Ely, between Leckwith and Llandough.

The Cedwyn of Ynys Cedwyn in North Glamorgan, near the junction of the Twrch with the Tawe, is said to have been a giant.⁷

¹ Pp. 422-3. ² Willis, *Bangor*, p. 272; *Cambrian Register*, 1818, iii, p. 223.

³ *Peniarth MSS.* 74 and 75 (sixteenth century); *Myv. Arch.*, p. 420; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 128. His father is mentioned as Gwgawn Gwrawn in the Triads of Arthur and his Warriors (*Peniarth MS.* 45); cf. also *Peniarth MS.* 12, and *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 389, 404. The late saintly pedigrees give the name as Gwgon ab Gwron and Gwgon Megwron.

⁴ *Poetical Works*, Oxford, 1837, pp. 30, 96.

⁵ P. 279.

⁶ P. 202.

⁷ *Peniarth MS.* 118 (late sixteenth century).

S. CEIDIO, or CEIDO

THREE persons of this name are esteemed as saints, but little is known of any one of them.

I. Ceidio, the son of Caw. His name occurs in two published lists only of the children of Caw.¹ He is the tutelar saint of Rhodwydd Geidio (otherwise simply Ceidio²), a chapel under Llanerchymedd, in Anglesey. Browne Willis gives November 18 as the festival.³

II. Ceidio, or Ceido, son of the prince and saint Ynyr Gwent by Madrun, daughter of Gwrthefyr Fendigaid.⁴ He had two brothers, Cynheiddon and Iddon, and a sister, Tegiwg, who were also saints. He is said to have been a saint of Llancarfan.

Ceidio, in the promontory of Lleyn, is under the remarkable isolated hill of Carn Madryn, which takes its name from Madrun. The local tradition is that on the burning of the palace of Gwrtheyrn, under Tre'r Ceiri, Madrun fled with Ceidio, then a child in arms, to the fortress on Carn Madryn; and that later in life Ceidio founded the church that bears his name beneath the mountain. In Madryn Hall is a fine group of statuary representing Madrun flying with her child in her arms.

He is very probably the Cetiau mentioned in the Life of S. Oudoceus⁵ as having been among the principal laymen of the Diocese of Llandaff who, in addition to the clergy, elected that saint to be the successor of Teilo in the bishopric. "Sedes Cetiau" occurs in the boundary of the grant to the Church of Llandaff, made during the episcopate of Oudoceus, of Ecclesia Guruid,⁶ later Llanirwydd, in Monmouthshire.⁷

About half a mile east of Rhayader, in Radnorshire, there is a barrow, in a field called Cefn Ceidio, under which it is supposed that he has been buried.

The festival at Ceidio, Carnarvonshire, is given in the *Cambrian Register* as November 3,⁸ but as the 6th by Browne Willis.⁹

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 142; cf. *Myv. Arch.*, p. 420.

² *Rhodwydd* is not a word of frequent occurrence. It seems to mean "a stockaded mound," from what in Ireland and Pembrokeshire is called a *rath* (mound), fortified with *gwydd* (wood). It occurs in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, f. 46b, as *rodwit*, and in the *Book of Llan Dâw*, p. 126, in the plu. *rotguidou*, its oldest form. We have it also in *Rhodwydd Arderydd*, *Rhodwydd Forlas* (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 96), and *Tommen y Rhodwydd*, also known as the Castle of Iâl, erected by Owain Gwynedd in the parish of Llanarmon yn Iâl. See, further, Loth's note in the *Revue Celtique*, xv, p. 97.

³ *Survey of Bangor*, p. 279.

⁴ *Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 420, 422-3; *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 268, 271; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 101, 138.

⁵ *Book of Llan Dâw*, p. 132.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁷ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 749.

⁸ Vol. iii, 1818, p. 224.

⁹ *Survey of Bangor*, p. 275.

III. Ceidio, son of Arthwys, of the line of Coel. His title to saintship seems to rest upon one passage only in the *Iolo MSS.*¹ He was the brother of Eliffer Gosgorddfawr, Pabo, and Cynfelyn, and the father of Gwenddoleu, Nudd, and Cof, three saints of Llantwit.

"The terrible steed of Ceido," which had "a hoof with bribery upon it," is mentioned with other celebrated horses in a poem in the *Book of Taliessin*.²

A Citawe, for Citiawe, is invoked in the tenth century Litany published by Mabillon, and M. J. Loth supposes that the Welsh Ceidio is meant. Of the three, probably the brother of Gildas is meant. In the Cartulary of Quimperlé he is called Kigavus.³

S. CEINDRYCH, Virgin

THIS Virgin Saint's name occurs in several of the later lists of Brychan's children, and her church is said to be at Caer Godolor (once Caer Golon).⁴ In *Peniarth MSS.* 75 and 131 she occurs as "Ceindeg ab Caer Godolor." The only name approaching it in form in the *Cognatio de Brychan* is Kerdych or Kerdech, which would now be Cerddych or Cerddech. The Vespasian version has, "Kerdych que iacet in Thywin in Merioneth," and the Domitian, "Kerdech apud Llandegwin." In the *Jesus College MS.* 20 the entry runs, "Kerdech yssyd yglan tywi ymeiryonyd." They connect her with Towyn, Merionethshire. We have evidently in Ceindrych a misreading of the "Keinbreit apud Teraslogur" of the Domitian version for the "Kein ythraul ogmor" of the older (Vespasian) version, *i.e.*, S. Cain of Llangeinor.

Mr. Phillimore thinks Cerdych is perhaps commemorated in Cedris, on the Dysynni, below Aber Gynolwyn, which was anciently called Maes Llangedris; but the change of *-ch* to *-s* seems unexampled.

There was a Ceindrech Benasgell (the Wing-headed), daughter of Eliffer Gosgorddfawr, whose wife Efrddyl gave birth to triplets—Gwrgi, Peredur, and Ceindrech;⁵ in the Vespasian *Cognatio* her name is spelt Estedich. In the genealogies in *Jesus College MS.* 20 occurs a "Keindrech verch Reiden," who is given (but the MS. seems here corrupt and confused) as the mother of Owain ab Maccen Wledig.

¹ P. 126.

² Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, p. 176.

³ *Revue Celtique*, xi, p. 140.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 120, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419-20.

⁵ Triads, series i, in *Myv. Arch.*, p. 392.

S. CEINGAIR, Matron

CEINGAIR was one of the married daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog. Her name occurs in the *Cognatio* as Kehingayr and Keyngair, and she is said to have been the mother of S. Cynidr of Glasbury. Her husband is not mentioned. In the *Jesus College MS.* 20 her name is spelt Kingar. In the late Brychan catalogues it appears under a variety of corrupt forms, Rhiengar, Rhieingar, Rheingar, Rhiengan, and Rhieingan. R for K was a very common scribal error. She is therein said to have been a saint at Llech Maelienydd, and her church to be in Maelienydd,¹ a cantred now, in part, in North Radnorshire, but we have not been able to identify it. It is in all probability some late sciolist's corruption of Llech Mellte, *i.e.*, the Petra Meltheu under which, in the Vespasian *Cognatio*, Hunydd, another daughter of Brychan, is said to rest.²

The name is rare. There was a Ceincair, wife of Fernwael ab Ithel,³ King of Glywysing, who died in 775, and a Ceincair, daughter of Merydd ab Tewdos (died 796), mentioned in *Jesus College MS.* 20.

S. CEINWEN, or CEINWYRY, see S. CAIN

S. CEITHO, Abbot, Confessor

IN the Demetian or South Wales Calendar, denominated S, occurs "The festival of Ceitho, Abbot and Confessor, August 5." The same Calendar further mentions him as one of the Pumsaint or Five Saints born at one birth, who were sons of Cynyr Farfwyn, of Cynwyl Gaio in Carmarthenshire, and were commemorated together on All Saints' Day. This is the only Calendar that gives these two festivals, but in the Calendar in the *Additional MS.* 14,886, "Pymsaint" occurs against January 7.

It is not certain who Cynyr was. There was a Cynyr, the son of Gwron ab Cunedda Wledig,⁴ and a Cynyr, called also Cynyr Ceinfarfog, the foster father of King Arthur (called Timon in Spenser) in Penllyn and the father of Cai Hir, who gave his name to Caer Gai, near Bala.⁵

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 429; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 120.

² For the Mellte place-names see Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, p. 299.

³ *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 207-8.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 122.

⁵ Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, p. 458; *Mabinogion*, Oxford, p. 109; Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, pp. 400-1.

Ceitho is the patron of Llangeitho, in Cardiganshire, and his Holy Well there, Ffynnon Geitho, which issues from the rock and forms a stream, is said to possess this peculiarity, that its water is tepid in winter and cold in summer.¹ To the Five Saints—who were Gwyn, Gwyno, Gwynoro, Celynin, and Ceitho—is dedicated Llanpumsaint, in Carmarthenshire, and there was formerly a chapel called Pumsaint in the parish of Cynwyl Gaio (otherwise Caio), in the same county.

The *Iolo MSS.*² state that the patron of Llangeitho (apparently) is a S. Ceitho the son of Tudur ab Arwystl Gloff.

S. Ceithyw is mentioned in an Ode to King Henry VII,³ his protection being invoked for that king.

For the legend of the Five Saints see SS. GWYN, GWYNO, etc.

S. CELER, Martyr

NOTHING is known of the parentage of this saint, and his name, under the form Celert, is simply entered as the patron of Llangeler and Bedd Gelert by Lewis Morris in his alphabetical *Bonedd* in the *Myvyrian Archæology*,⁴ compiled in 1760. The period at which he lived is also unknown. Rees⁵ gives him in his list of Saints who lived in the second half of the seventh century, "including those of uncertain date." All that we know for certain about him is that he was a martyr, for Llangeler church, in Carmarthenshire, of which he is the patron saint, appears in the *Taxatio* of 1291⁶ as *Eccl'ia de Martir Keler*, which implies that the church was originally a *martyrium*. There is on the glebe, near the church, a spring called Ffynnon Geler, which was formerly supposed to possess medicinal virtues.

Dr. Erasmus Saunders, in his *View of the State of Religion in the Diocese of S. David's about the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century*, observes that it was still the custom among the common people "in their ejaculations to invoke, not only the Deity," but Celer and other Saints, who were "often thus remember'd, as if they (the people) had hardly yet forgotten the use of Praying to them."⁷

Celer and Celert are forms of rare occurrence. In the pedigree of Serigi Wyddel, who was killed by Cadwallon Lawhir, occurs "Celert ab Math ab Mathonwy"⁸; but it is very probably a late, made up copy.

¹ There is a poem on the well by Gwynionydd in his *Caniadau*, Aberystwyth, 1867, p. 94. ² P. 142. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

⁴ P. 422. ⁵ *Welsh Saints*, p. 306. ⁶ P. 272. ⁷ London, 1721, pp. 35-6.

⁸ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 81. There was a Celer, proconsul of Africa in 429, who is

The name Beddgelert (locally pronounced Bethgelart) is a little puzzling. It presupposes to-day the form Gelert, not Celert (*bedd* being masculine); but among the mediæval spellings we have Beth Kellarth and Beth Kelert.¹ The combination *rt* makes Celert a late form in Welsh; if it were early we should expect *rth*. It rather indicates a Goidelic form for Welsh Celerth or Celarth.

Beddgelert church is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, Feast of the Assumption. We do not believe that it was at first a hermit's cell, as has been supposed from the prefix *bedd*, nor that a Welsh saint is embodied in the name. The original mound or grave was, in all probability, that of some Goidelic chieftain. Browne Willis explains the name thus, "Bedh significat sepulchrum et Kilart canis nebophroni."² The association of the legend as known to-day with the place is quite recent. The older form of the Kill-hart legend is preserved in the *Additional MS.* 19,713, dated 1592, which says that the Princess Joan, natural daughter to King John and wife to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (the Great), brought this noble staghound with her from England, and that one day it was fatally wounded by a horn-thrust, after a long chase, and buried here. In the same MS. and also in another MS., written about the same time, occurs an *englyn*, now well known, "to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth Drwyndwn's hound (Kilhart) when it was buried at Beddgelert."³

The local legend, in its later form, is very familiar through Spencer's ballad, written and published in 1800. In this form it occurs among the fables of the pseudo-Catwg Ddoeth,⁴ written probably in the sixteenth century, but is therein connected with Abergarwan, somewhere in South Wales it would seem.⁵ There is, however, an Abergarfan in the Corris valley.

addressed by S. Augustine in two epistles, and a Celer, captain of the body-guard to Anastasius, and consul in 508.

¹ Sion Tudur (died 1602), in a long *cywydd*, entitled *Almanac Tragywyddol*, has the couplet—

"Gwell fydd gwenith yn y Ddiserth
Nag yng nghreigiau Beddgelert."

² *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, p. 276. The last word should be *nebrophoni* (νεβροφόνος), fawn-killing. ³ J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, ii, p. 355.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 154-5.

⁵ For the legend, its history and analogues, see Jacobs, *Celtic Fairy Tales*, 1892, pp. 259-64; D. E. Jenkins, *Bedd Gelert*, 1899, pp. 56-74; *Gossiping Guide to Wales*, ed. 1907, pp. 307-8; Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, p. 567; Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths*. The earliest known allusion to it is in the Warwick Roll, written and illuminated by John Rows, the antiquary, before the death of Richard III (1485). The six crests borne by King Richard are there given in colour; and the sixth is a cradle or, a greyhound *Argent*, for "Walys."

S. CELYN FOEL, Confessor

CELYN MOEL (or rather Foel), "the Bald," occurs in one list in the *Iolo MSS.*¹ of the children of Caw. He is the Kelin of the *Culhwch and Olwen* list, and is, no doubt, the same as Cuhelyn Foel (or Fardd) of other lists of Caw's children. Evidently some Glamorgan scribe has mixed up Kelin ab Caw with Cuhelyn Fardd ab Gwynfardd Dyfed, a well-known figure in Demetian pedigrees, who lived in the eleventh century.

S. CELYNIN, Confessor

THERE were two Saints of this name, one belonging to North and the other to South Wales.

I. Celynin, who was one of the twelve sons of Helig ab Glanog of Tyno Helig, whose territory was inundated by the Irish Sea. It is now known as Beaumaris Bay and the Lavan Sands. Losing their patrimony, they became, according to the late accounts, saints or monks of Bangor-on-Dee, and afterwards, some of them, of Cadfan's *Côr* in Bardsey.²

There are two churches dedicated to this Celynin—Llangelynin, in Carnarvonshire, in the neighbourhood of his father's territory, and another, of the same name, in Merionethshire. Browne Willis³ gives the festival at the former as November 22, and at the latter as the 2nd. Rees⁴ gives the 20th against the latter, whilst others⁵ give the 2nd for the former. The Calendars do not give his festival.

Ffynnon Gelynin, his holy well in Carnarvonshire, has a small oblong building around it, with a doorway at the east end. It is mentioned in the church terrier, dated 1739. "There is in the South West of the Churchyard a fine Spring-well, and ye House above it is about four yards in breadth and five in length, and in good repair." A stone seat runs round three sides of the building. It is roofless now. The well was formerly celebrated for its cures. Mothers who had weak and sickly children brought them hither, and they were immersed in it either early in the morning or in the evening, and afterwards wrapped in a blanket and allowed to sleep. There was always a spare bed for the sufferers at a farmhouse close by. The children's clothes were

¹ P. 142.² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 124; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 418, 422.³ *Survey of Bangor*, pp. 274, 276.⁴ *Welsh Saints*, p. 302.⁵ Carlisle, *Topog. Dict. of Wales*, 1811, s.v.; *Cambrian Register*, iii, p. 223.

also washed in the well; if they floated, the child would recover; if they sank, it would die. Children were always baptized with water brought from this well.¹

II. Celynin, one of the Pumsaint, or Five Saints, of Llanpumsaint and the extinct Capel Pumsaint, under Caio, both in Carmarthenshire. They were the sons, all born at one birth, of Cynyr Farfwyn, and were commemorated on All Saints' Day, according to one Calendar, but on January 7, according to another.

Perhaps it was to this same saint that the church in Archenfield, Herefordshire, called Lann Celinni² in the list of churches in that Deanery, *circa* 1100, was dedicated.

See further under SS. GWYN, GWYNO, etc.

S. CENEDLON, see S. CYNHEIDDON

S. CENEU, Confessor

HE was a son of Coel Godebog, and a saint in "Garth Mathrin," by which the late writers in the *Iolo MSS.* mean Brycheiniog. He had Elen and Gwawl as sisters, and was the father of Mor and grandfather of Cynllo.³ He is credited with being the patron of Llangeneu or Llangenny, under Llangattock, in Brecknockshire, where his Holy Well was formerly in considerable repute. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, in removing an old building (on Pen-y-daren farm), near the well, supposed to have been a chapel, a curious old bell was found,⁴ which is now preserved in the Library of the University College, Cardiff. It is quadrangular in shape, made of two iron plates hammered and riveted together, and was once covered with bell-metal. It weighs nearly 7 lbs.

June 15 is given as the festival of S. Ceneu in the Calendars in *Jesus College MS. 22* (late fifteenth century) and the *Iolo MSS.* (*circa* 1500), but it may be that of Ceneu, the son of Corun; in fact, the saintship of Ceneu, the son of Coel, rests on late and very doubtful authority. He was one of the "Men of the North," who were warriors.

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 1867, pp. 60-1, and local tradition. The north and south transepts in this church were called respectively Capel Meibion and Capel Arianws.

² *Book of Llan Dâu*, p. 275.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 126; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 422.

⁴ Jones, *Hist. of Brecknockshire*, ed. 1809, iii, p. 469. For a description, see Newell, *Hist. of the Welsh Church*, 1895, p. 145.

The Ceneu name, which means a whelp or cub, enters into Gwynn-geneu, Morgeneu, etc.

None of the genealogies, not even the late ones, give a Ceneu as daughter of Brychan. See S. CAIN.

S. CENEU, Bishop, Confessor

THIS Ceneu was one of the early Bishops of S. David's, and appears to have been the "Keneu Sanctus," son of Corun ab Ceredig, given in the *Progenies Keredic* in *Cott. Vesp. A. xiv.* He founded the church of Llangeneu, in Dyfed, which is now extinct, and its exact site cannot be determined.¹ Llangeneu is given as one of the "seven Bishop-houses in Dyfed," mentioned in the Laws of Hywel Dda,² and the editor queries whether it was Llangan, in which parish is Whitland Abbey. There is every probability that it was not. It was one of the two that were "free from ebediws, because there was no church land belonging to them." The seven were evidently monastic houses of some kind or other.

Ceneu was the third bishop of S. David's according to one text of Giraldus Cambrensis, but in another he is absent from the list.³ In lists of the Bishops of the Diocese he is generally entered as the fourth.

S. CENWYN, Confessor

CENWYN is mentioned in one document in the *Iolo MSS.* as a Saint of Bangor Badarn, at Llanbadarn Fawr, with his church in Ceredigion, whilst on another page of the same work his name is entered in a list of Saints in Morganwg and Gwent.⁴ His pedigree is not given. He is supposed to be the patron of Cilcennin, in Cardiganshire, but the church is generally regarded as being dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Meyrick,

¹ Rees, *Welsh Saints*, pp. 245, 274; Jones and Freeman, *Hist. of S. David's*, p. 249.

² Ed. Aneurin Owen (Rolls), p. 273; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 962. It has also been supposed to be Swansea (Col. W. Ll. Morgan, *Antiq. Survey of E. Gower*, London, 1899, pp. 234-5), Llangeneu (as also Sein Henydd) occurring in the *Bruts* as an old name for that town (pp. 230-1).

³ *Opp.* vi, ed. Dimock, p. 102.

⁴ Pp. 103, 146.

in his *History of Cardiganshire* (1808), on one page gives the Holy Trinity and on another S. Cenwyn.¹ In the Cenwyn dedication it is assumed that the parish name is composed of *Cil* and Cenwyn, meaning Cenwyn's retreat, or rather cell, and that it does not bear the more obvious meaning of leek-nook. *Cil* in Welsh place-names seems to be merely descriptive, meaning a nook or retreat, whilst the word corresponding to the Irish and Gaelic *cill* is *cell*, a cell, borrowed from the Latin *cella*.

S. CENYDD (KENETH), Solitary, Confessor

ABOUT 1320, John of Tynemouth made a journey through England and Wales to collect material for a Martyrologium and a Sanctilogium of the English Church.

When in Wales he came across a single exemplar of the Life of S. Keneth, and this was in so bad a condition, that he was able to read and transcribe a portion only.² The Life given by him, and taken into Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, is therefore incomplete. It is a most extraordinary tale, a mass of fable. It was certainly composed after Geoffrey of Monmouth had made the fortunes of King Arthur, *i.e.* 1150.³ That it contains earlier matter is not to be doubted; not of an historical, but of a mythological character.

In the days of King Arthur, the prince of Letavia (Llydaw) or Britannia Minor, was Dihoc, and he became the father of Keneth, who was born of incest.

Summoned by King Arthur, as a tributary, to come to his court to celebrate the Feast of Christmas in Gower, he took with him the woman, and she gave birth to a child, who was born a cripple, with the calf of one leg attached to the thigh.

Dihoc ordered the infant to be thrown into the river, but before this was done, a priest baptised it and gave it the name of Keneth.

¹ Pp. 47, 284.

² "Multa alia de confessore isto glorioso in uno solo loco Wallie scripta vidi, que vetustate quasi deleta legi non poterant." His Life by John of Tynemouth in the *Cottonian Collection*, Tiberius E. i (fourteenth century). Apparently the same text occurs in *Bodl. MS.* 240 and *Bodl. Tanner MS.* 15.

³ "Illis diebus Arthurus totam Britanniam regens cum curiam suam in natali Domini in provincia nomine Soyr teneret, principes sibi subjectos ad prefatum locum convenire precepit; inter quos et princeps Letavie, regali jussui obediens iter arripuit." For *Soyr* of the printed text the MSS. read *Goyr* and *Goir*, *i.e.* *Gwyr*, in English *Gower*.

The child was placed in an osier-woven cradle and launched on the stream. This stream speedily carried it down to the river Lothur, and that swept it out to sea. A storm arose and drove the cradle, dancing on the crest of the waves, to the isle of Inisweryn, where it was cast up on the beach. At once a cloud of seagulls fluttered over the child, and the birds with beak and claw removed it to the top of a rock, and there they stripped their breasts of feathers to make a bed for the infant. The birds kept incessant watch over their protégé, spreading their wings over him to shelter him from wind and rain and snow.

Before nine days had passed, an angel descended from heaven, bearing a brazen bell, which he applied to the mouth of the infant, who sucked vigorously at the handle, and received therefrom much satisfaction.

Certain practical difficulties, such as would suggest themselves to a mother, are got over by the author by an ingenious explanation.¹

Thus Keneth lived till he was able to walk, and the garments in which he had been wrapped when exposed, grew with him, expanding, as does the bark of a tree.²

One day, a peasant who lived near the sea, and who had no family, happening to light on the child, took it up and carried it home, and committed it to his wife, who at once put the little Keneth to bed. This caused tremendous excitement among the gulls; they came in vast numbers, and dividing into two bands, one entered the house and pulled the coverlet off the sleeping child, and the other, with screams and by the aid of beak and claw, drove the cattle of the husbandman towards the sea.

The man, alarmed for his live-stock, hastily carried back Keneth to where he had found him, whereupon the gulls drove back his cattle to their pastures, and, in the most tidy manner, replaced the coverlet whence they had plucked it.

And now daily a female stag came out of the forest, and squirted her milk into the bell that Keneth employed as his feeding-bottle, and likewise filled some hollows in the rocks hard by.

Living thus, on milk and roots and herbs, Keneth grew to the age of eighteen, and received instruction in Scripture and the Articles of the Faith from an angel. Then this heavenly teacher informed him he must depart to a reedy spot about a mile distant.

Keneth started; probably on account of his crippled condition he made a slow progress, for we are informed that he halted, and miracu-

¹ "*Sordes vero quas puer naturaliter in secessum emittit, ille nunquam faciebat; subtilissimo enim cibo vescebatur, qui fecem non habebat.*"

² "*Panni in quibus involutus erat, velut cortex circa arborem crescens,*" etc.

lously produced twenty-four springs to assuage his insatiable thirst within the one mile he traversed.¹

Arrived at last at his destination, he built himself a hut of woven osiers and roofed it with reeds. Here he was joined by a man who offered himself as his servant.

One day, nine robbers who infested the district, said to one another, "There is a holy man here who instructs all, and is very good-natured; let us see what can be got from him."

So they visited Keneth, and he hospitably entertained them. Now the men had left their spears outside, and Keneth's servant, coveting one, stole it, and when the robber asked for his lance, swore that he had not seen it. "Bring out the bosom-shaped bell,² and I will take oath on that." When the man had so forsworn himself he went mad, and ran away to Menevia, "where, at the time, David had his seat," and there inhabited remote localities, living like a wild beast, till the hair of his body completely clothed him. At the end of seven years, Keneth prayed for his restoration, and the man returned to his service a sincere penitent. Now it fell out that Morgan, prince of Glamorgan,³ came on a raid and swept together much plunder in the region where was Keneth. The hermit thereupon sent his servant with the woman-breasted bell to demand a share of the spoil. He met with a refusal and abuse. Then the plunderers began to quarrel among themselves over the division of the spoil, came to blows, and many were killed. Morgan, attributing this disaster to the offence given to Keneth and disregard of the sanctity of his bell, went to him and offered compensation. He took him up a height and bade him accept as much ground as he desired. Keneth selected a certain amount up to a certain river, and this was granted to him for ever.

It fell out that David, Teilo and Padarn were on their way, summoning the abbots and bishops of Wales to the Council of Llanddewi Brefi, and were hospitably received by Keneth. David requested him to attend the synod.

"Observe my leg, I am a cripple, how can I go?" answered Keneth. Then David prayed, and Keneth's contracted leg was relaxed, so that he could walk as any other man. This did not please Keneth, and he prayed, and at once up went his limb as before and the calf once again

¹ "Locus est denso arundinum tegmine circumseptus, quasi miliario uno distans. . . Carpens igitur sanctus viam . . . antequam ad locum ab angelo designatum devenisset, in locis ubi lassatus membra quiete fovebat, fontes viginti quatuor tellus in planiciem decurrentes eduxit."

² "Clocula mamillata."

³ "Quidam princeps nomine Morgantius terram, que nunc Glamorgantia dicitur, et terras affines usque fluvium Waiam suo habebat dominio."

adhered to his thigh. Consequently he did not attend the Council of Brefi.

With this the story ends abruptly ; John of Tynemouth only adding that Keneth died on the Kalends of August.

There are several points in this wonderful story that require consideration.

1. The father is called Dihoc, prince of Letavia, *i.e.* Brittany. Possibly Deroc is meant. This was the name of the father of Rhiwal, the first who established a principality in Domnonia, and who received S. Brioc. Rhiwal's son was also named Deroc, and he is supposed to have ruled from 520 to 533.¹ Dom Morice, however, but he is of no authority in such matters, conjectures that Dihoc stands for Dinot, son of Budic, who married Anaaved, and thus was brother of S. Oudoceus and S. Ismael, the disciple of S. David.² That there existed such a Dinot is doubtful. He seems to have been thrust into the pedigree to serve as a hook upon which might be hung the fable of S. Ursula, as her father is called Dinothus (or Nothus), of which the Welsh form is Dunawd.

2. King Arthur is said to have been holding his court at Goyr ; the place was apparently Aber Llychwr (*hodie* Lougher), the old Roman station Leucarum, said by tradition to have been the principal seat of Urien Rheged and his son Owen.³

3. The child, when born, was cast into a stream—probably the Lliw is meant—which carried it into the Lothur (Llwhwr), and thence into the sea, which swept the cradle up on the isle Henisweryn. There can hardly be a doubt that by Henisweryn the Worm's Head Island is intended. It is explained as meaning in Latin *insula turbae*. The name, however, is evidently compounded of *Ynys* and *Gweryn*, and the writer in his explanation took *gwerin*, *i.e.* *turba*, for *gweryn*, the worm or bot that breeds in the backs of cattle. It is also called in Welsh Pen y Pyrod, from *pwyr*, a worm. Worm's Head, like Orme's Head, is to be derived from the Norse *ormr*, a worm or serpent, and is a rough translation of the Welsh name for the headland. The old

¹ De la Borderie, *Hist. de Bretagne*, i, p. 580.

² In the pedigree, *Hist. Eccl. et Civile de Bretagne*, Paris, 1750, also given by Deric and followed by Garaby. Trésvaux, in his additions to Lobineau, *Les Saints de Bretagne*, 1836, hesitates as to whether S. Quidi be Cenydd or Quinidius, Bishop of Vaison, d. 578. But how could the cult of a merely local Provençal saint come to Brittany ?

³ *The Description of Pembrokeshire*, by George Owen, edited by Henry Owen, D.C.L., where is a note (i, pp. 233-4) by Egerton Phillimore. A place called Cae'r Gynydd, possibly for Caer Gynydd, at Waunarlwydd, a few miles from Loughor, may preserve the name of the place where the saint was traditionally born.

maps of Kip and Speed give a chapel of S. Kinetus near Worm's Head. The Burry Holmes, a little to the north, have also been suggested for Ynys Weryn.

4. The name in John of Tynemouth's Life is Kynedus, Kinedus and Kenedus. Llangenydd occurs in the *Book of Llan Dâv* as Lann Cinith (p. 279). William of Worcester, in his *Itinerary* (p. 116), calls the Saint "Sanctus Keneth." Cenydd is a dialectic variant, like *cebydd* for *cybydd*, and Keneth is a mere English corruption.¹

5. The story of the thieving disciple is made up from that of Elisha and Gehazi, and the madness of Nebuchadnezzar.

6. Morgan, King of Morganwg and Glywysing, is certainly an historical character. He murdered his uncle Frioc,² and had to expiate his crime by making grants to ecclesiastical foundations. His name occurs several times in the *Book of Llan Dâv* and in the Life of S. Cadoc. The legend unfortunately breaks off precisely where the fabulous matter might be supposed to end, and history to begin, with the foundation of a monastic settlement in Gower.

Turning from this childish nonsense, we come to the more reliable information supplied by the Welsh genealogies.

In reference to the Maen Cetti on Cefn y Bryn in Gower, split by the sword of S. David, the *Iolo MSS.*³ relate: "There is a church near, called Llanddewi, where they say the Saint was confessor, before he was consecrated bishop; and it is the oldest church in Gower. When, moreover, he became a bishop in Caerleon on Usk, he placed a man named Cenydd ab Aneurin ab y Caw in his stead at Llanddewi, and that Cenydd erected a church called Llangennydd. A brother of his named Madog⁴ erected the church of Llanmadog" (now Llanmadock, in the same deanery of West Gower).

Again:⁵ "Cenydd ab Gildas y Coed Aur ab y Caw Cawlwyd. His churches are Senghenydd (*i.e.* Caerphilly) in Glamorgan, where he founded a Choir, and there the castle of Senghenydd was afterwards erected. Another church of his is Llangenydd in Gower."

Again:⁶ "S. Cenydd ab Gildas y Coed Aur founded a Bangor at Llangennydd in Gower, and another in Senghennydd which was destroyed by the pagan English."

Again:⁷ "The sons of S. Gildas ab y Caw, called Euryn y Coed Aur—Nwython, Dolgan, Cennydd, Gwynnaw, they were saints in the Choir of Illtyd (Llantwit Major), and in that of Catwg (Llancarfan), their kinsman. Cenydd founded a church and choir at Llangenydd in

¹ Owen, *Pembrokeshire*, i, p. 233.

² *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 152.

³ P. 83.

⁴ For Madog, see under S. AIDAN.

⁵ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 102.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

Gower ; and another choir at Senghenydd. The latter was destroyed by the Infidel, and the present castle stands on its site." Again : ¹ Cenydd is given as the son of " Gildas ab y Caw, called Gildas y Coed Aur " ; and, " S. Ffli ab Cennydd ab y Coed Aur. He is in Gower."

Once more : ² " Ffli, son of Cennydd ab Aur y Coed Aur. His church is Rhos Ffli in Gower." This is Rhosilly, now dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. Caerphilly is supposed to be called after this son of Cenydd.

Senghenydd is the name of the mountainous district, now represented by the hundred of Caerphilly, with the town and castle of that name on its southern frontier. It has been generally supposed to stand for *Sant* or *Saint Cenydd*, but its earlier forms make this derivation impossible. It occurs in the *Book of Llan Dâu* as Seghenid, and elsewhere under various forms, as Seghunit, Senghenith, Sainghenydd, etc. In Welsh historical writings it has often been confounded with Sein Henydd, the old name for Swansea Castle.

SS. Tudwg, Rhidian and Madog (his brother) were among the members of Cenydd's Choir at Llangenydd. In *Brut y Tywysogion*, under the year 986, we read, " this year the Black Danes came up the Severn Sea in fleets and landed in Gower, where they burned Côr Cennydd and other of the churches." ³

Among the " Sayings of the Wise " is one attributed to S. Cenydd—⁴

Hast thou heard the saying of Cennydd,
The son of Aneurin the skilful bard ?
" None is free from anxiety but the good."
(Nid diofal ond dedwydd.)

To sum up what we derive from the Welsh authorities :—Cenydd was the son of Gildas, who is identified with Aneurin, but not the Aneurin composer of the *Gododin*. He was himself a married man, and the father of S. Ffli. From other entries we know the name of another of his sons, Ufelwy or Ufelwyn.⁵ He was, for a while, a member of the college of S. Illtyd, then of S. Catwg, and he was placed by S. David in charge of his foundation in Gower ; but afterwards he became an independent founder of a monastic establishment, or

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 137.

² *Ibid.*, p. 109. Cennit occurs in a list of the Abbots of Llantwit Major printed in the appendix to Williams' *History of Monmouthshire*, 1796, p. 50.

³ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 692.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 254. In four lists, pp. 109, 116, 142, Cenydd or Cennydd is given as a " son of Caw," but this should be grandson, in the same way as several of the grandchildren of Brychan are called his sons and his daughters. In this " Saying " he is called " son of Aneurin the Bard."

⁵ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 118, 137.



S. CENYDD.

From Statue at Ploumelin.

Bangor, at Llangenydd, now generally Llangennith, also in Gower. The ruins of a chapel of S. Cenydd, at the new village of Senghenydd, are still pointed out, and there is a Bryn Cenydd or Cynydd at Caerphilly.

It was probably somewhere about 520 that Gildas¹ moved into Brittany and established himself at Ruys. Later, about 544-5, after he had launched his tract *De excidio Britanniae*, there would seem to have been an exodus of his brothers and sons from Wales and Cornwall, to escape the vengeance of the princes assailed by him in that work.

Whether then, or later, we do not know, but at some time, both Cenydd and his sons seem to have been in Bro-weroc, in the neighbourhood of the settlements of Gildas, where they have left their mark.

In Brittany Cenydd is called Kinède, Kidi, Quidi, Guidéc and Kihouet.

His most important settlement was at Languidic,² between Hennebont and Baud, at no great distance from his father's foundation at Castanec. There the name is variously written as Kintic, Guindic and Guidic. Here are five avenues of upright stones, like those at Carnac, now called "les soldats de S. Cornely," but probably originally attributed to S. Kinède, and the tradition is that as they pursued the Saint, he cursed them and they were turned to stone. In the parish are several early Celtic Christian *lechs* or tombstones, one of which bears an inscription. Also, in the same commune is a Kervili, Caer-fili, bearing the name of one of the sons of Cenydd.³

S. Cenydd has a chapel in the parish of Ploumelin, close to his father's monastery of Locminé. It is picturesquely situated on a granite rock in a hamlet, and is in the flamboyant style, cruciform, with a bell-turret to the north transept. A carved Calvary has fallen, and the remains strew the ground at the west end. Within is an early sixteenth century statue of the Saint as a hermit, bare-footed, holding a book in one hand and a staff in the other. A cowl is drawn over his head.

At Plaintel also, near Quintin, in Côtes du Nord, he is patron, and there is a château in the place called after him, Saint Quihouet, now transformed into a hospital. It was formerly a house of the Knights Templars. Here is shown a stone trough, supposed to have been S.

¹ For the dates in the life of Gildas we must refer to our article on this Saint.

² In 1160 Languidéc was called Lankintic; in 1290 Languindic. Le Méné, *Paroisses du Diocèse de Vannes*, 1892, i, p. 408.

³ *Ibid.*, i, pp. 408-15. The *lechs* are sometimes menhirs with crosses and other Christian symbols cut on them; but often quite distinct, round-headed stones. On one in Languidéc is the inscription, Crax Harenbiuib Fil Heranhal. See on the *Lechs*, De la Borderie, *Hist. de Bretagne*, ii, p. 520.

Cenydd's bed, and frescoes represent his legend. Plaintel, again, is at no great distance from the Gildas settlements of Magoar and La Harmoye.

Near Loudéac, in the same department, is S. Caradec, and here is a chapel of S. Quidi, with his statue in it, representing him as an abbot, staff in hand, and holding in the other an open book.

Not far from S. Caradec is La Croix des Sept Chemins. The legend goes that seven brothers, SS. Gonery, Merhé, Connec, Derdanaon, Quidec, Geran and Joret embraced there, and separated to preach the Gospel throughout the land, and each founded a chapel in the direction that he took.

All the seven brothers had been brought up by a doe. In remembrance of this, annually, on the eve of the Pardon, in the chapel of S. Merhé in the parish of Kergrist-Neuillac (Morbihan) fresh straw is strewn in the porch, and the doe is supposed to pass the night there sleeping on it.¹ This is an extension to others of the legend of S. Cenydd, nourished by the doe. Who S. Merhé or Mérec was is unknown; the name seems to be a corruption of Meurig. Connec may be Cynog; Geran is Geraint the great-grandfather of Cenydd; Gonery is known, but not Derdanaon nor Joret.

The sons of Cenydd have left some traces also in Brittany.

S. Cenydd is given in Nicolas Roscarrock's Calendar on August 1. This is the day also in Capgrave. The Pardon at S. Quidi is on the Sunday after August 1.

Garaby gives S. Kinède on August 1, and a short sketch of his life. Whytford on August 1, says: "In Englonde the feest of Saynt Kenede that was lame borne, and therefore he was cast in to a ryver whiche ryver caryed hym in to y^e see, and y^e see cast hym upon a rocke in to an ylelonde where he was fedde and brought up by an aūgel, and he was of singuler holynes and many wonderous myracles died in y^e tyme of Saynt David."

S. Cenydd's body was translated, and his translation kept on June 27. William of Worcester says: ² "Translatio Sancti Kenneth heremitæ die 3^o post nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ; jacet apud ecclesiam villæ Sancti Keneth in Gowerland." But he tells us further that the Saint's relics were removed with those of SS. David and Teilo to North Wales. "Sanctus Davidicus de ecclesia Menevensi, Sanctus Thebaus (Teilo) de Llandaff sepultus. Sanctus Keneth de villa Keneth in Gowerland. Isti tres sancti et non plures sunt translati in North Wallia."

¹ Oheix (R.), *Les Saints inconnus*, in Association Bretonne, 1880.

² *Itin.*, p. 116.

S. Cenydd's day was observed in Llangennith on July 5, and was the greatest and most popular of all the Gower *Mabsants* or wakes. One of its peculiarities was the great quantity of what is called in Gower "milked meat," or "white pot," a mixture of flour and milk boiled together, that was consumed, probably in allusion to the bringing up of the Saint in infancy on the milk of a doe injected into a bell. This bell is said to have been called by the Welsh "Cloch Dethog," *i.e.* the Titty Bell.

An ancient stone, with interlaced work on one side only, in the centre of the chancel floor of Llangennith church, has been supposed to mark the grave of the Saint.¹

S. Caradog, at the close of the eleventh century went into Gower, and found there the church of S. Cenydd abandoned and desolate, and he cleared the sacred edifice of the brambles that had occupied it.² It is probable, therefore, that the elevation or translation took place about this time.

Whether Lesnewth church, in Cornwall, which is said by Ecton to have been dedicated to S. Knet, had originally Keneth or Cenydd as its founder, it is impossible to say. S. Michael is now considered the patron. The church, which was early Norman and of great interest, has been wantonly rebuilt in a most uninteresting manner.

S. CERDECH, or CERDYCH, see S. CEINDRYCH

S. CERWYDD, see SS. CARWED and CARWYD

S. CEWYDD, Confessor

CEWYDD was a son of Caw of Prydyn (Pictland), whose family, on being expelled their territory in North Britain, sought an asylum in Wales. His name occurs in most of the lists of Caw's children printed

¹ Davies (J. D.), *West Gower*, iii, pp. 104-6. Owen, in his *Sanctorale Catholicum*, London, 1880, p. 331, enters Cenydd under August 1.

² See under S. CARADOG.

in the *Iolo MSS.*, where we are also told that he was a saint of Côr Catwg at Llancarfan, and one doubtful entry makes him the father of a S. Garrai of Llanarrai, *i.e.* Llanharri (now S. Illtyd) in Glamorganshire.¹

Local nomenclature to-day connects him more especially with Radnorshire. He is there the patron of two churches, Aberedw and Disserth, in the Deanery of Elwel. His name enters into place-names in two of the neighbouring parishes. There is a farm, Cil Cewydd (his retreat), in the parish of Llanfihangel Bryn Pabuan, and a mountain track above Llandilo Graban bears the name of Rhiw Gewydd (his hill-slope), over which he may have journeyed to visit his brother Meilig, or Maelog, at Llowes.²

To him was also dedicated the church of Llangewydd, near Bridgend, Glamorganshire, now extinct, but its site is still traceable in a field called Cae'r Hên Eglwys. In the fifteenth or sixteenth century tract on "The Winning of the Lordship of Glamorgan" by Sir Robert Fitzhamon and his Twelve Knights, in the eleventh century, it is stated that Sir Richard Grenville, one of the Knights, brought with him from the Holy Land "a famous Sarasin that was turned Christian, Lales, a curious man in masonry . . . which Lales built the Town of Laleston a goodly place, and pulled down the Church of Langewydd and moved it to his new Town of Laleston."³ The church, now dedicated to S. David, is subject to Newcastle.

The Lann Ceuid (translated Podum Ceuid) of the *Book of Llan Dâu*⁴ is believed by Mr. Egerton Phillimore⁵ to be the Landcawet of the grant cited in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, iii, p. 450, the modern Lancaut, on the Wye near Chepstow. Cewydd (as Cewi, like Dewi for Dewidd) is also perhaps found in Kewstoke, North Somerset; in Cusop, anciently Ceushope, near Hay; and in Capel Cawey,⁶ an extinct "capella peregrinationis causa erecta," in the parish of Monachlog Ddu, Pembrokeshire. Steynton church, in the same county, is given as dedicated to a S. Cewyll, afterwards S. Peter, by whom may possibly be intended Cewydd. Cwm Cewydd is the name of one of the town-

¹ Pp. 107, 109, 117, 136, 142. Cewydd means the son of Caw. The Gaulish *jos* termination is patronymic. Cewydd Ynad was one of the laymen appointed to compile the Welsh Laws.

² *Arch. Camb.*, 1888, p. 270.

³ Powell, *History of Wales*, ed. 1584, pp. 124-41; *Cardiff Records*, 1903, iv, pp. 10, 17. According to Caradog of Llancarfan's *Brut* (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 705) Lales removed the church to Trelalys (Laleston) about 1111. It is a doubtful story, as Laleston was named after the family of Lageles (G. T. Clark, *Cartæ*, iii, p. 423). The church may be the "Eccl. de Landewddith" of the Norwich *Taxatio*, 1254.

⁴ Pp. 166, 175.

⁵ Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, p. 189.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i, pp. 96, 509.

ships of the parish of Llanymawddwy, Merionethshire, so called from the brook Cewydd.

Cewydd is the Welsh Rain-Saint, and used to be credited with determining the weather for the period of forty days, according as it rained or otherwise on his festival. The Rainy Saint in England is S. Swithun, July 15; in France, S. Médard, June 8, and SS. Gervais and Protais, June 19; in Belgium, S. Godeliève, July 6; in Germany, the Seven Sleepers, June 27; and in the Tyrol the sainted Queen Margaret of Scotland, called "Wetter Frau," June 10. Cewydd is to-day superseded in Wales by S. Swithun, but he is still sometimes popularly alluded to in Glamorganshire as "Hên Gewydd y Gwlaw" (Old Cewydd of the Rain). No tradition remains to tell us how he became the Welsh S. Swithun. The idea is probably derived from some general pre-Christian belief regarding the meteorologically prophetic character of some day about that period of the year.

The festival of S. Cewydd occurs as July 1 in the Calendar in the *Iolo MSS.* ("Cewydd y Glaw"); as the 2nd (the day on which S. Swithun died) in the Calendars in *Additional MS.* 14,912 ("Gwyl Gewe") and *Jesus College MS.* 22 ("Gwyl y Glaw"); and as the 15th (Translation of S. Swithun) in the Calendar in *Peniarth MS.* 40. At Disserth his Wake was held on the first Sunday after S. Swithun's Day,¹ and at Aberedw in the second week in July.²

Chancellor Silvan Evans, in an article in *Y Brython* for 1859,³ says that in many parts of South Wales July 15 was popularly called Dygwyl Gewydd (or rather, Dygwyl Gawe, as uttered), and that it was generally believed that if it rained on that day it would rain for forty days in succession. Generally throughout North Wales that distinction belonged rather to S. Peter's Day. He adds that it was the popular belief in Dyfed, or South-west Wales, that the Deluge began on July 15, lasting for forty days.

Lewis Glyn Cothi (fifteenth century), in an elegy on Morgan the son of Sir David Gam,⁴ says that at his death Breconshire would shed tears, which, for profusion, would be like the rainfall on S. Cewydd's Festival, which lasted for forty successive days.

Among the proverbial triplets, the "Sayings of the Wise," occurs one attributed to S. Cewydd—⁵

Hast thou heard the saying of S. Cewydd
To his numerous relatives?
"There is no true friend but the Lord."
(Nid car cywir ond Dofydd.)

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 1858, p. 603.

² *Ibid.*, 1888, p. 271.

³ Pp. 153-4.

⁴ *Gwaith L. G. C.*, Oxford, 1837, p. 5.

⁵ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 254.

S. CIAN, Confessor

LLANGIAN CHURCH, under Llanbedrog, in Carnarvonshire, was founded by S. Peris, in conjunction with S. Cian, his servant. They are both commemorated on December 11.¹ Browne Willis gives Llangian as well as Llanberis as dedicated to S. Peris, with festival on that day.²

A Cian is mentioned incidentally in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, the *Book of Aneurin*, and the *Book of Taliessin*, from which it may be gathered that he was a warrior and bard³; but the name was at that time rather a common one, especially in Irish. As a common noun the name means "a puppy."

S. CIANAN (KENAN), Priest, Confessor

CIANAN was a disciple of S. Jaoua (Jöevin), nephew of Paul of Léon, and probably accompanied him from Morganwg to Armorica. He was with him for some years at Landevenec under the Abbot Judual.⁴

He is not, however, named among the disciples of S. Paul in the list given in the Life of that Saint by Wormonoc.⁵

When, about 567, Jaoua was raised to the episcopate on the retirement of his uncle, he summoned his friend Cianan to him, and ordained him priest. He sent him to reside at Plou-ernau, now Plouguerneau, a plebs of Cornish settlers.

After a while Jaoua was entreated to return to a monastery, over which for a while he had been head at Daoulas, to remove a blight that had fallen on the crops after his departure, and he probably took his friend with him. On his way back, Jaoua sickened and died, and was ministered to in his last moments by his disciple. According to the legend of S. Jaoua, Cianan was at Plou-ernau, but knew by revelation that his friend and master was ill, and so went to him. It

¹ *Cambrian Register*, 1818, iii, p. 225; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 302.

² *Survey of Bangor*, pp. 272, 275.

³ Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, pp. 32, 65, 101, 130. The author of the eighth century *Genealogia*, attributed to Nennius, mentions Cian, a bard distinguished "in poemate Britannico" (see Stephens, *Gododin*, pp. 159-60, and *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 201). The Cian of Nant Nimer, now Nevern, whose death is recorded in the *Annales Cambriæ*, s.a. 865, is too late. A cleric of the name occurs as witness to a grant in the *Book of Llan Dâu*, p. 174, during the episcopate of Bishop Berthwyn.

⁴ Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.*, p. 413. ⁵ *Vita S. Pauli Leonensis*, ed. Plaine, p. 28.

is more probable that he accompanied Jaoua to Daoulas, and was with him on his return journey when he sickened.¹

We know nothing more about him. Canon O'Hanlon, in reference to him, quotes Thomas de Hibernia, who says that Ciaran resembled Ruth, who, having no field of her own, was content to glean in those of Boaz the ears which the reapers left behind them.²

Ciaran is to be distinguished from Ciaran of Duleek, and Kenan or S. Kea, the latter of whom worked in Armorica.

He does not seem to have received any cult in Brittany. Colgan supposed that he was the same as a namesake found in the Irish Martyrologies on February 25, without any particulars as to where he lived.

In the Llanthony Abbey Calendar (Corpus Christi Coll., Oxford, cod. 197) Kynan, Confessor, is entered on November 24; but this is Ciaran of Duleek. (*See further under S. Kenan.*)

S. CIARAN (PIRAN), Abbot, Bishop, Confessor

THE authorities for the Life of Ciaran of Saighir are—

A Latin Life in the Salamanca Codex of the Lives of the Irish Saints, *Acta SS. Hibern.*, Edinburgh, 1888, pp. 805-18; the same in *Acta SS. Boll.*, Mart. i, pp. 394-9. Another from the Codex Kilkeniensis, in Colgan, *Acta SS. Hibern.*, i, p. 458 *et seq.*

The Latin Lives are derived from, and are condensations of an early, probably Irish, Life. This early Life is supposed to have been composed either before the devastation of Saighir by the Northmen in 842, or that by the men of Munster in 952; after which latter it remained desolate for twenty years. In one of these plunderings of Saighir, Ciaran's bell, called Barcon Ciaran, was cracked, and thenceforth was called Bearnan Ciaran. In the Irish Lives, the bell bears its first name, and moreover in them is no mention of the destruction of the monastery, either by the Norse or by the men of Munster. In 846 Cormac the Scribe became Abbot of Saighir, and it has been supposed that he had composed the Life before the Northmen raided and plundered the Abbey.

¹ *Acta SS. Boll.*, S. Jaoua, 2 March, i, p. 138; after the lections in the Breviary of Léon. Also the Life of S. Jaoua from the same lections in Albert le Grand, new ed., 1901, pp. 52-6.

² *Lives of the Irish Saints*, ii, p. 699.

A fragmentary Irish Life is in *Egerton MS.* 91. Another, a transcript made in 1758 by John Murphy of Carrignaver, in Cork, is among the MSS. of the Royal Irish Academy; and another in the *Egerton MS.* 112. It has been printed in the *Silva Gadhelica*, 1891; also by Mulcahy, *Life of S. Kiaran the Elder of Seir*, Dublin, 1895. A Latin Life by John of Tynemouth is in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, as *Vita Sti. Pirani*.

The original basis of all these Lives was probably *The Migrations of Ciaran*, attributed to his scribe, Cairnech the Bald, a book long preserved at Saighir. The glossator on the *Félire of Oengus* says that it existed in his day, and that it was a book of wondrous writing, with many *gressa* (illuminations?) and with the colophon—"Let everyone who shall read it give a blessing to the soul of Cairnech the Bald."¹

A work on S. Ciaran by John Hogan, *S. Ciaran, Patron of Ossory, Kilkenny*, 1876, deserves notice. It is an ingenious attempt to show that Ciaran preceded S. Patrick in Ireland. His calculations are based mainly on the early genealogies. By allowing thirty years for a generation and taking Ciaran as tenth in descent from Oengus Osraighe, he gives 375 as the date of Ciaran's birth.

But in order to arrive at this, some serious assumptions have to be made; as that A.D. 105 was the true date of Oengus Osraighe, and next that the pedigree is complete, and that there are no blanks in it.

The period at which the saint lived has been confused by interested persons for a definite object. At the beginning of the eleventh century, perhaps as late as the twelfth, a desire manifested itself among the chieftains of Munster to have an archbishop of their own; and to give colour to a demand for one, it was pretended that there had been four bishops in the South of Ireland before the arrival of S. Patrick, and these were Ciaran, Ailbe, Declan and Ibar. Something to this effect was accordingly foisted into their Lives. This naturally produced anachronisms.

According to the garbled Life, at the age of thirty he went to Rome, where he was ordained by Pope Celestine (422-30), after he had spent twenty years in Rome. This would throw his birth back to about 376 or 378. But Ciaran was allowed to make his foundations by Aengus MacNadfraich, who fell in battle 489. He was visited at Saighir by Lugaidh, son of Laogaire, who ruled from 483 to 506, and he was the associate of saints who belonged to the close of the fifth century. The Martyrologist of Donegal, confronted with these difficulties, extricated himself by fabling that Ciaran lived to the age

¹ *Félire of Oengus*, ed. Stokes, p. lxii.

of 360 years,¹ which was indeed a liberal and quite unnecessary allowance.

In order to understand the history of S. Ciaran, it is necessary for us briefly to consider the limits and condition of the old kingdom of Ossory. This kingdom anciently occupied the entire tract of land between the Suire, the Barrow and the Slieve Bloom Mountains. The name signifies the land between the waters. The Nore flows through it, and all three rivers unite in Waterford Harbour.

It is a district that comprises three extensive plains, separated from each other by ranges of mountains. Northernmost is the Magh (plain) Airget Ros, extending approximately through the present Queen's County. The second plain is Magh Reighna, bounded in the north by the Thornback range, and in the south by the Dundergh mountains. It is roughly represented by the county of Kilkenny. This communicates by the "Wind Gap" with Magh Feimhin in Tipperary, a wide plain in which rises the Rock of Cashel.

From a century before the Christian era the kings of Munster claimed a fine from the kings of Leinster, called the Eric of Eidersceal, to be levied annually on the two southern plains of Ossory. The enforcement of this fine proved a fruitful source of feuds down to the end of the tenth century.

The Ossorians attempted to shake off the burden in the second century. They were assisted by Lughaid Laoghis, from Leinster ; but, as a price for his aid, were forced to surrender a portion of the northern plain between the Nore and the Barrow, which was formed into the little kingdom of Leix, under the suzerainty of Leinster.

Another cession of land took place later, when a slice was yielded up to the Hy Bairrche.

Next, Corc, King of Munster, abandoned the old royal seat at Knock Grafton, and seized on the Rock of Cashel in Magh Feimhin, commanding the whole plain. At the same time he re-demanded the payment of the hated tax. At this time Ruman Duach was king of Ossory, and he was founder of the Hy Duach, a sub-clan of the royal race of the Hy Connla.

Corc of Munster, who died in 420, was succeeded by his grandson, Aengus MacNadfraich, who was converted to the faith by S. Patrick about fifty years later.

Before 470 a struggle had been undertaken by the Ossorians to free their country from subjection to Munster ; but with the most disastrous effects. From Cashel Aengus poured his forces over Magh Feimhin,

¹ Todd, *Life of S. Patrick*, 1864, pp. 198-221.

at the same time that his kinsman Cucraidh burst into the two other plains and overran them. A series of battles ensued. The Ossorians were driven out of one plain after another, and Aengus constituted of the two plains, Magh Airget Ros and Magh Reighna, an Ossorian kingdom which he gave up to Cucraidh, to be held under the overlordship of Munster; and he swept all the Ossorians out of Magh Feimhin and delivered it over to the Southern Deisi of Waterford, to repeople and to hold as their own.¹

The date of this high-handed proceeding is given in the *Chronicon Scottorum* as 445.

Most of the royal race of Ossory were slaughtered, but Lughaidh, grandson of Ruman Duach, was spared, and sent among the Corca Laoighe, his wife's family, in the south, on the sea-board of the present county of Cork from Cork to Bantry Bay. It was precisely from this district that Cucraidh, the usurper of Ossory, came. Lughaidh could be safely kept and watched among the people of Cucraidh's own clan, the Corca Laoighe. His brothers were forced to embrace the ecclesiastical profession, so as to incapacitate them from becoming claimants for the confiscated crown. They were suffered for a while to have churches in the Hy Duach (Odagh) country.

In exile, Lughaidh lived with his wife Liadhain, daughter of Maine Cerr, related to Aengus and to Cucraidh, and it was due to this that his life was spared. He seems to have been sent to Inis Ciar, now Clear Island, the southernmost point of Ireland, as a further precaution against his giving trouble. Here Ciaran was born, and was given to be nursed by an exile, Cuach of the Clan Cliu, and she was a Christian; she formed his young mind, and instilled into his heart the love and fear of God. We are hardly wrong in attributing to her the giving of direction to Ciaran's whole after life (see S. CIWA).

Cuach returned with her tribe from exile in 458 or thereabouts. Ciaran's birth cannot be fixed with certainty. It might have taken place as early as 438, when the Clan Cliu were exiled, or it may have taken place somewhat later.

We are told in his Life that Ciaran did not leave Ireland till thirty years old, and he was not then baptized; and we are informed that he remained twenty years abroad.²

¹ *The Expulsion of the Dessi*, by Prof. Kuno Meyer; in *Y Cymmrodor*, xiv (1901); O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, ii, p. 243; Hogan, *S. Ciaran*; Keating, *History of Ireland*, etc.

² "Permansit itaque ibidem per annos xxti.," *Vita* in *Cod. Sal.*, col. 806. In this Life his age before leaving Ireland is not given. The Irish Life says: "Thirty years did Ciaran spend in Erin . . . before he was baptized," *Life*, ed. Mulcahy, p. 31.

Whither he went we do not know, for all the story of his expedition to Rome and ordination by Pope Celestine must be dismissed as unhistorical. Probably he visited Cornwall and Armorica, whither, apparently, many Ossorians had fled when Aengus devastated Magh Feimhin, and gave it up to the Deisi.

If we are to believe the author of the Irish Life, Ciaran was aged fifty when he returned to Ireland. He is spoken of as a disciple of S. Finnian of Clonard. Finnian died in 548, and Clonard was founded in 464. If Ciaran were at any time with him, he cannot have spent so many as twenty years on the Continent, or cannot have been so old as thirty when he went abroad.

Probably Ciaran returned to Ireland in 474,¹ and went first to his native island of Inis Ciar, for a church and cross are shown there that bear his name, or he may have attempted to settle at Rath Ciaran in Kilkenny, as this place bears his name. But he was very quickly summoned to the presence of Aengus MacNadfraich, King of Munster. A son of Erc MacDuach, one of his own kinsmen, perhaps the son of Erc his uncle, son of Ruman Duach, and therefore his first cousin, had maliciously killed a horse belonging to S. Patrick, whilst the Saint was visiting Aengus. The king, not sorry for an excuse to deal sharply with one of the family of the Hy Duach, obtained his arrest, and declared his intention of putting him to death. Ciaran interceded for his kinsman, and undertook to pay the *eric* or legal fine for the horse. When, however, he endeavoured to raise the money, he found it impossible to collect the sum required. He was happily succoured by accident. Aengus caught a chill that settled in his eyes, producing acute inflammation. He at once concluded that Ciaran had "ill-wished" him, and in a panic sent for him, made peace, released the man who had killed the horse, and remitted the fine.²

However, Aengus would not suffer Ciaran to settle and make a foundation in the land of his fathers, and the saint wandered off to a place just beyond the confines of the intrusive Cucraidh. It was a spot near the centre of Ireland, on the boundary between the northern and southern divisions of Ireland, but on the Munster side. This, Seir-Ciaran or Saighir, is now a small village in the barony of Ballybritt, in King's County, not far from the north-western extremity of the Slieve Bloom Mountains.

¹ This is the date as near as can be determined of the meeting of S. Patrick and Aengus, and the conversion and baptism of the latter. Shearman, *Loca Patri-ciana*, 1882, p. 453.

² *Vita in Cod. Sal.*, coll. 810-1; *Life in Colgan*, p. 460.

In the legend, as afterwards elaborated, it was a spot to which Patrick, whom he had met abroad, had bidden him repair, and where was the well of Uaran, probably one to which sanctity attached in pagan times.

According to the story, Ciaran began by occupying a cell in the midst of a wood, living as a hermit, and his first disciples were a boar, a fox, a badger, a wolf and a doe. Happily we are able to unravel this fable. One of his pupils was S. Sinnach, of the clan of the Hy Sinnach, or the Foxes, in Teffia, near Saighir. Another may have been a member of the Broc tribe in Munster. Os (doe) was unquestionably an Ossorian disciple. S. Ciaran's wolf was none other than his uncle Laighniadh Faeladh. But *faeladh* has a double meaning, it is "hospitable," as well as "wolfish." There is a Kiltorcan, which must have been founded by a Torc (boar), another pupil. By this we can see how marvels were developed out of simple facts.¹

S. Ciaran induced his mother, Liadhain, to found a religious house for women at Killeen, not far from Saighir. "A maiden came to Ciaran, and he made her a Christian, and a true servant of God; and Ciaran constructed for her a little honourable cell near to the monastery, and he gathered other holy virgins around her." Who this damsel was we are not informed in the text, but it would seem to have been Liadhain, a namesake of his mother, and a granddaughter of Cucraidh, who afterwards became abbess.

Saighir, the name of Ciaran's monastery, is explained in the gloss on the Festilogium of Oengus as "nomen fontis"; and there can be little doubt that such was the ancient orthography, *Saig* being the proper name, and *uar*, cool, the descriptive epithet. The injunction already referred to, given by Patrick to Ciaran, when they met on the Continent, was—

Saig the Cold,
Erect a city on its brink,
At the end of thirty revolving years
Then shall I and thou meet.²

The same inference may be drawn from the words of the first Latin Life of the saint printed by Colgan, "Adi fontem—qui vocatur Fuaran"; whilst the immediate import of the word is fixed in the *Tripartite Life*, "*Huaran* enim, sive Fuaran, idem Hibernis sonat quod Fons vivus, sive viva vel frigida aqua e terra scaturiens."

The cell erected by Ciaran was of the humblest materials; its walls of wicker-work, its roof of dried grass.³

¹ Hogan, *Life of S. Ciaran*, pp. 124-6.

² *Tripartite Life*, i, p. 77.

³ The boar collects for the Saint "*virgas et fenum ad materiam cellæ construendæ.*"

Rapidly, however, the monastery grew in size, as disciples came to Ciaran from every quarter. In the treasury was a miraculous bell bestowed by S. Patrick on Ciaran, and which the apostle of Ireland had prophesied should remain mute until the latter arrived at the place designated as the site of his future resurrection. This bell, which was called "Bardan Kierani," had been made under the inspection of Germanus, the Gallican instructor of Patrick. It was extant, and held in high veneration at Saighir, when the first Life of Ciaran was written; it was also universally honoured throughout Ossory, being carried to the treaties of princes, sworn on for the defence of the poor, and used to sanction the collection of the tribute due to the monastery by the people of Ossory. The Paschal fire was lighted every Easter and kept burning during the entire year.

Ciaran was given a pupil, Carthach, son, or more probably grandson, of Aengus MacNadfraich, and who succeeded Ciaran as abbot. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that this was due to an arrangement arrived at by Ciaran with the king of Munster and the usurper of Ossory. Aengus agreed to allow Ciaran to organize the religious communities on the Ossorian frontier, on condition that his son or grandson should be made coarb; and that when he had arrived at a suitable age, Ciaran should resign in his favour. In like manner Cucraidh sent his granddaughter to Killeen on the stipulation that she was to succeed there. By this arrangement it was provided that the headships of the two great ecclesiastical and educational establishments for Ossory should pass ultimately into the hands of scions of the usurpers.

Carthach, who was thrust upon Ciaran, gave him much trouble. He carried on an amour with one of the young pupils of Liadhain's establishment; and when Cuach, Ciaran's nurse, had either succeeded Liadhain at Killeen, or had founded another convent close by, Carthach carried on the same game with one of her damsels. At length the scandal became so flagrant that Ciaran advised Carthach to travel and sow his wild oats at Rome. S. Itha said of this escapade—

Carthach will come to you,
A man who exalts Faith;
A son will be born to Carthach,
Who will do no credit to his parentage.¹

A damsel named Bruinech the Slender was with Liadhain at Killeen. She inspired Dioma, chief of the Hy Fiachach tribe in West Meath, with a violent passion, and he carried her off. The story has already been told (*see* S. BURIEN).

¹ *Féilire of Oengus*, ed. Stokes, p. lx.

The relation in which Ciaran stood to S. Patrick is uncertain. That the sons of Erc, Ciaran's cousins, did steal his horses, we are told in the Life of S. Patrick, as also that he cursed them for so doing.¹ There is, however, no mention in it of the intervention of Ciaran. Why they showed such hostility to the great apostle we are not informed. There exists a popular tradition among the natives of Ossory that Ciaran and Patrick were not on good terms, and that when they met Ciaran refused to salute Patrick. The tradition may be worthless. One thing, however, is clear, the apostle did encounter carping criticism and disparagement of his work on the part of some fellow workers, and his "Confession" was written to disarm this opposition.

In the Life of S. Ciaran we read that King Aengus went with S. Patrick to Saighir, twenty years after Ciaran and Patrick had met abroad, and Ciaran slaughtered eight oxen and broached so many casks of wine that it was said he must have turned the water of his well into wine to furnish so much good liquor.

Aengus, no doubt, did visit Saighir at some time before 480; and it was between 480 and 490 that Patrick wrote his "Confession." It is possible enough that he may have visited Saighir and have met with a cool reception. There exists jealousy even among the best of men, and Ciaran may have thought that Patrick was taking too much upon him in trying to extend his influence in Munster.

Whether on this occasion or on another we do not know, but eight of King Aengus's harpers or bards were laid hold of and concealed in a bog. It is likely that the abduction was committed by some of the Meic Duach, who did not relish hearing the bards sing exaggerated accounts of the achievements of the victor, who had expelled them from the heritage of their fathers. Aengus took the matter in this light, sent for Ciaran, and stormed and threatened. Ciaran was able to appease his resentment only by recovering for him the eight men, who had been kept in concealment in an inaccessible fortress surrounded by morass. In the Life this was developed into a resuscitation of the bards from the dead. In the Irish Life we are told that Aengus consulted Ciaran about his harpers, because, having become a Christian, he did not like to consult a Druid.

There is, however, another way of reading this story. The harpers had been actually murdered, and all Ciaran did was to discover their bodies. In the south-west of the county of Kilkenny and on the borders of Munster is the church of Tullaghought, the Cill of the Tomb of the Eight, which may or may not represent the place of the

¹ *Tripartite Life*, i, p. 109.

sepulchre of these bards. But against this is the statement in the *Life*, that the murder took place in Maskerry Tirc, which is close to Saighir.¹

One autumn day Ciaran noticed a magnificent bank of blackberries, so large and luscious that, to preserve them from rain and frost, he threw his mantle over it.

Now it fell out that Aengus and his wife Ethne Uatach, or "the Odious," at whose instigation Aengus had expelled the Ossorians and planted the Deisi on their lands, arrived on a visit to Cucraidh, the usurper, in his *dun*. Ethne was daughter of Crimthan and granddaughter of Enna Cinnselach, who had banished the Clan Cliu, and with it Cuach, Ciaran's nurse. She was the second wife of Aengus, who by this time was an old man, and she was young; had, in fact, been married to him whilst still a girl. A prophecy had been made to the Deisi, so says legend, that the man who should marry Ethne, who was being fostered among them, would give them wide and fertile lands to colonise. So they fed her on the flesh of infants to ripen her early.² This is the bitter comment of the Ossorians on her conduct in goading on her uxorious husband to invade Magh Feimhin and expel the Ossorians. What is true is that, when she married Aengus, mindful of her obligations to the Deisi of Waterford, she urged her husband to the wanton invasion of Ossory, and the colonizing of the land by the Deisi after he had driven out the natives.

When the royal pair arrived at the residence of Cucraidh, they were well received, and Ethne conceived a criminal passion for her host. This put Cucraidh in difficulties. He had no desire to embroil himself with his over-king; and in his dilemma he sent for Ciaran, who arrived, bringing with him a basket of the blackberries he had preserved from the frost, as a present to the queen.³

The legend writer, so as to distort a very ordinary fact into a marvel, pretends that the season was Easter. It is far more probable that it was Samhain, the great feast and visiting time on November 1. Partaking of the fruit served the purpose of cooling the queen's irregular desires, probably by upsetting her stomach, which blackberries out of season are notoriously liable to do; whence the popular saying that blackberries after Michaelmas Day belong to the devil.

The incident occurred after Saighir was well established, and probably not before 480. Ethne Uatach and her husband fell in the battle

¹ Colgan, from the *Kilkenny Book*, p. 460; *Irish Life*, ed. Mulcahy, pp. 40-1.

² *The Courtship of Ethne Uatach*, in O'Curry's *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Irish History*, p. 586.

³ Much the same story is told of S. Cyndeyrn.

of Kelliston in 489, and, according to the Life, Aengus was succeeded by his son Ailill. But the *Book of Leinster* and MacFirbis do not name him; they make Eochaidh succeed, who reigned thirty years and died 519, or, according to the *Four Masters*, 523. But it is possible that Ailill may have had a brief and uneventful reign or may have been associated with his brother Eochaidh.

A gloss in the *Lebhar Brecc* on the *Félire* of Oengus thus describes the monastic establishment at Saighir.—“Numerous were his cattle. There were ten doors for his kine, and ten stalls at every door, and ten calves at each stall, and ten cows to every calf. . . . Moreover, there were fifty docile horses for the tilling and ploughing the ground. And this was Ciaran’s meal every night—a little bit of barley bread, and two roots of *Murathach*, and water from the spring. Skins of fawns were his raiment, and a wet hair-cloth over these. He ever slept on a pillow of stone.”¹

The gloss is late, but it represents the tradition that Saighir was or became a large place, and that the head of it lived abstemiously.

Cairnech the Bald was Ciaran’s scribe. We have no means of saying whether he were the Carannog whose life as Carantocus we possess, and who is said to have founded a church in Cornwall; but it is a significant fact that Crantock adjoins S. Ciaran’s foundation of Peranzabuloe. Cairnech wrote books for Ciaran that were long preserved at Saighir, and among them a record of Ciaran’s travels.²

Situated as Saighir was on the confines of Munster and Meath, it was liable to be ravaged in times of war. We hear of the king of Ireland, probably Lugaidh,³ son of Laoghaire (483–506), marching against Ailill, King of Munster, and camping on the north side of the river Brosnach, and Ailill was encamped on the Munster side, on Ciaran’s land.

Happily so much rain had fallen on Slieve Bloom that the river was in flood, and this interfered with military operations. Ciaran took advantage of the occasion to pass over the stream in his coracle, and to negotiate a suspension of hostilities. This must have taken place shortly after 489.

Lugaidh had not embraced Christianity, and he favoured the reaction which was setting in against the new faith. When he died by a flash of lightning, it was boldly asserted by the Saints that this was due to the vengeance of Heaven for his obstinate paganism.

He was succeeded by the turbulent Murtagh MacErca, who had

¹ *Félire*, ed. Stokes, pp. lxi–ii.

² *Ibid.*, p. lxii.

³ John of Tynemouth gives his name as Loigair, but Laogaire died in 463.

been mixed up in internecine war in Ireland ever since his return from Britain in 488. His name does not occur in the Life of S. Ciaran. He reigned from 508 to 533.

As Saighir grew in importance, and its daughter establishments increased, it became inevitably a resort for all the discontented and disaffected of Ossory. Members of the Hy Duach took refuge within its territory or enjoyed the privileges of sanctuary. Ciaran had, moreover, extended his authority north, over the Hy Fiachach, and the king of Munster and the intrusive king of Ossory perceived that Saighir was a danger to them. This, we can hardly doubt, was the primary cause of Ciaran abandoning his foundation and quitting Ireland. Carthagh had returned from his travels, and it might be hoped had mended his morals; and Liadhain, the younger, had grown up and was capable of governing a convent.

Although we are not told that Ciaran received an order to quit and make room for Carthagh, we cannot hesitate in admitting that it was so.

We are informed that Ciaran expressed pleasure at the return of Carthagh, which we are disposed to doubt. The *Martyrology of Donegal* says that "Ciaran dedicated his congregation to God and to Carthagh," that is to say he surrendered the abbacy to him.

It was probably now that Ciaran quitted Ireland and made his settlements in Cornwall.

He addressed those whom he left behind as follows :—" My brethren and dearest sons, by Divine disposal it behoves me to quit Ireland and to seek Cornwall and there await my end. It is not in my power to resist the will of God. I exhort you, brothers, build up this place by good works and good example, for those who will come will be sons of perdition and death. There will come mortality and wars; the churches will be destroyed and deserted, and truth will be converted into iniquity. Faith will not shine in good works, the pastors will look to themselves rather than the sheep, feeding themselves in preference to their flocks. I beseech you, brethren, pray to God that my journey may not be dark, and lest after my death I should find my Lord wroth, but rather merciful and placable and glad, when I appear before His face."

This is found only in John of Tynemouth's Life of S. Piran; it is not in any of the Irish Lives. It is obviously an addition after the destruction of Saighir. When Ciaran left Ireland he took his pupil Bruinech with him, as also, if we are correct in our identification of S. Kew with Cuach, then his faithful foster-mother as well, to organize the female education in Cornwall, where already many Ossorian

families were settled. His mother was dead, we judge, as there is no trace left of her presence in Cornwall. But a companion, Medhran, accompanied Ciaran, and Medhran's brother is probably the Saint of Lanhydroc (see SS. MADRON and HYDROC).

The Irish hagiographers have nothing to tell us about the close of the life of S. Ciaran.¹ The Lives terminate abruptly, and his name does not occur after about 480 in the accounts we have of contemporary Saints.

John of Tynemouth says, on reaching Cornwall, he made for himself there a habitation (*mansionem sibi fecit*), and performed many miracles. At length failing through infirmity of body, having convoked the brethren, he gave them instructions concerning the Kingdom of God. Then he ordered his grave to be prepared, and into it he descended, and there expired on the third of the Nones of March. "Quiescit autem in Cornubia supra mare Sabrinum, a Petrockstowe miliaribus quindecim, et a Mousehole vigintiquinque." That is to say, at Perranzabuloe.

Leland, quoting from the legend of S. Piran preserved at Perranzabuloe, says:—"Piran, who is also Pieran and Kyeran in Ireland, was born in the province of Ossory. His father's name was Domnel, and that of his mother Wingela. He was a disciple of S. Patrick. He came to England and died, and was buried in Britain."²

The quotation from the legend shows that the version by John of Tynemouth came from the same Life as that preserved at Perranzabuloe.³ Leland drew a wrong inference from the words "*Ossiriensi provincia . . . originem traxit.*" It was true that he derived from Ossory, but he was not actually born in Ossory.

The English version of the Life of S. Ciaran makes sad havoc of the Irish names. Lughaidh, his father, it converts into Domuel, and his mother Liadhain into Wingella. Aengus of Munster it calls Cohingus, and Cucraidh converts into Concolor. His nurse Cuach becomes Cota, and his disciple Medhran is rendered Medardus. In it is also mention of a King Corban, who was possessed of the evil eye, and whomsoever he stared at fixedly he killed. Cairbre Crom is perhaps meant he was the great-grandson of Aengus, and was king of Munster in 542 ;

¹ In the *Life in the Salamanca Codex* it is merely stated that he died, but not where he died, on March 5. In not one of the first Lives in Colgan's possession was it stated where he died.

² *Itin.*, iii, p. 195.

³ "Beatus Piranus qui a quibusdam Keranus vocatur, in Cornubia ubi quiescit Piranus appellatur . . . Piranus itaque Ossiriensi Hibernie provincia, ex patre Domuel et matre Wingella originem traxit." Capgrave, *Nova Leg. Angl.*

but he cannot have been a king at the time that Ciaran was in Ireland. The story is to this effect. Ciaran was holding a gathering (*consilium*) which was largely attended. Corban was present and stared at a youth who came to consult Ciaran, and the youth at once fell dead. Ciaran was very angry and the king was struck with blindness. Then he fell at the Saint's feet and was healed, and the youth restored to life.

If there be any basis of fact to this story it is this—Cairbre the Crooked, a malicious boy, inheriting the prejudice of his family against the royal stock of Ossory, which had been driven out of its lands and had lost its position, disturbed a religious gathering held by Ciaran, and maltreated a lad who attended it, but did not mortally injure him.

Some of the legends that attach to S. Ciaran may be added.

He was on intimate terms with Ciaran of Clonmacnois and the two Brendans, but Brendan of Clonfert must have been young at the time, as he was born in 483.

One day, Ciaran of Clonmacnois and the two Brendans visited the house of Saighir. The steward came to the abbot in dismay and said, "There is nothing to offer these distinguished guests except some scraps of bacon and water."

"Then serve up the bacon and water," said the Saint; and when they had been brought on the table, the guests courteously assured Ciaran that his bacon tasted better than anything they had hitherto eaten, and as to the water, it was as good as wine. But there was a lay brother at the board, and he thrust his platter away angrily, for he was tired of bacon, and had expected something better when distinguished visitors were present. "Hah!" exclaimed Ciaran, flaring up, "The time will come when you, son of Comgall, shall eat ass's flesh in Lent, and soon after you will lose your head."¹

At Clonmacnois was a child named Crithid, "and in good works he was a fool of a fellow, and wicked in malicious works." He came to Saighir and remained a while with the senior Ciaran. Now it was customary for fire to be lighted at Easter, and kept burning throughout the year, and it was regarded as a transgression to let the fire out, and to rekindle it before the next Easter came. Consequently always some one watched the fire night and day. But Crithid, maliciously it is asserted, but probably by carelessness, let the fire out. Ciaran was furious, and cursed the boy and said, "There shall be no fire in this church till Easter, unless God kindle it."

¹ *Vita in Cod. Sal.*, coll. 816-7; *Irish Life*, ed. Mulcahy, pp. 47-8. Here told somewhat differently.

Next day the boy, who had run away, was attacked by wolves and killed. Ciaran of Clonmacnois at once went to Saighir. He found the place very cold, with snow on the ground and no fire. Then, we are assured, the abbot of Saighir received it miraculously from heaven. The head of Clonmacnois demanded his boy Crithid, who, as he heard, had been devoured by wolves. "Here he is!" replied the head of Saighir, and produced the child.¹ It is easy to see here that the story has grown. The boy, having let the fire out, ran away in alarm. Ciaran of Clonmacnois heard a rumour that he had been killed by wolves, and came to Saighir, where the child was produced, and he was satisfied that he had been deceived by a false report. As to the fire, Ciaran the Elder overcame his scruples and rekindled it by friction. Ciaran of Clonmacnois died in 548²; Brendan of Clonfert in 577; Brendan of Birr in 571³; Finnian of Clonard, with whom Ciaran of Saighir studied, though, as we are assured, when he was an elderly man,⁴ in 552.⁵ Another contemporary Saint was S. Ruadhan of Lothra, and he died in 585.⁶ As we have seen, he survived Aengus MacNadfraich, who was killed in 489, and also Patrick MacCalpurn, who died in 493. It is, therefore, quite impossible to accept the early date given to Ciaran, and for which Mr. Hogan has contended.

Approximately we place his chronology as follows:—

Expulsion of the Clan Cliu by Enna Cinniselach	c. 438
Expulsion of the Ossorians by Aengus MacNadfraich	445
Ciaran born in exile on Inis Cliar	c. 446
Return of Clan Cliu; Ciaran loses his nurse	c. 458
Ciaran leaves Ireland and is baptised	c. 476
Ciaran returns to Ireland	c. 479 ⁷
Ciaran meets S. Patrick at the court of Aengus at Cashel; founds Saighir	c. 480
Ciaran meets Lugaidh, King of Ireland, at Saighir	c. 483
Carthagh obliged to leave for his immoral conduct	c. 484
Aengus MacNadfraich killed	489
Carthagh returns, and Ciaran resigns and departs for Cornwall	c. 491
Ciaran dies	c. 530

¹ Life, ed. Mulcahy, pp. 48-50.

² *Ann. Four Masters.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Life, ed. Mulcahy, p. 51.

⁵ *Annals of Innisfallen*; but *Four Masters*, 548.

⁶ *Annals of Tighearnach*; Ussher, *Britt. Eccl. Antiq.*, ii, p. 533.

⁷ The Life in the *Codex Sal.* says he was twenty years abroad, but does not say he was thirty when he left Ireland. The Irish Life says he was thirty when

The dates for the most part are approximate. Mr. Hogan's date for the death of Ciaran is 465. Dr. Lanigan thinks he was alive after 550. This is certainly too late.

By the above calculation we make Ciaran aged only thirty-four when he founded Saighir. He cannot have been much older, as his mother accompanied him thither and founded her convent at Killeen. The time when Ciaran resigned is uncertain. Carthagh was abroad for seven years. But as Ciaran, on leaving Ireland, apparently took his nurse Cuach with him, and she became a foundress there, he cannot have been very much over forty-five years old.

The dates that are fairly determined are that of the expulsion of the Ossorians from their land by Aengus in 445; the other is much more certain, the fate of Aengus in the battle of Kelliston in 489. Now it was on the expulsion of the Ossorians that Ciaran was born among the Corca Laoighe—at least this seems the most probable explanation of his birth so far from the land of his paternal ancestors. Yet Ciaran visits Aengus, who drove his people out, and obtained his consent to found Saighir some time before 489. It is consequently certain that Ciaran was quite a young man when he made this settlement. It is absolutely impossible that he can have been aged fifty when he returned to Ireland and founded Saighir, if he had been born when the Ossorians were driven from their land. At that age, his mother could hardly have been younger than seventy, too old to become the manager of a monastic and educational establishment.

S. Ciaran is represented as having been a bishop, consecrated abroad, and "he ordained a great number of bishops and priests and other grades of the church."¹

In the Martyrologies of Tallagh and Donegal, a certain Nem Mac Ua Birn, abbot, is entered on June 14, and the latter says that he was brother of Ciaran at Saighir. This, however, is uncertain. The name shows that he was of the Hy Birn, the same as the Hy Duach.² He had seven uncles, forced into the ecclesiastical office to save their throats from being cut, Cairbre, Cellach and Cennfaladh, Conaill, Muiredach, Ruagussadh and Ubnea, two of whom were bishops. They were the founders of the church of the Hy Duach or Odagh, now

he left Ireland, and that he was twenty years abroad. But this foreign excursion has been much altered to suit the scheme of making Ciaran to be commissioned by Celestine, and to precede S. Patrick.

¹ Life, ed. Mulcahy, p. 51.

² Laoghaire Birn, son of Aengus Osraigh, gave his name to the clan, which it bore till Ruman Duach, grandfather of S. Ciaran, gave that of Hy Duach to his branch. Nem Mac Ua Birn may have been of the family; he died 654, three generations after S. Ciaran.

Castleodogh or Three Castles, near Kilkenny. Here is a great tumulus, most probably the *tulach* or family burial-place of the Hy Duach.

Some account of what remains of Saighir may be of interest. Its cemetery came at an early date to be esteemed of peculiar sanctity; for the Saint, in answer to one of his three last petitions, is said to have obtained for it the privilege that the gates of hell should not, after the Judgment Day, be closed upon those who were buried near his "Cathedra." The posterity of Dymma, prince of the Hy Fiachach, were interred there. From a passage in Keating's *History of Ireland*, it would seem also to have become the burial-place of the kings of Ossory. The cemetery was probably, at first, enclosed by the customary earthen rampart or stone cashel; but be this as it may, there was no trace of cashel or rampart remaining in the year 917—perhaps it may have been obliterated when the Danes ravaged Saighir in 842. Then Sadbh, daughter of Donnchadh, son of Kellagh, Lord of Ossory, grieved that Saighir, the burial-place of her ancestors, should remain neglected and exposed, induced her husband Donnchadh, son of Flann Sinna, King of Ireland, to build a wall round the cemetery. Whilst the wall was a-building, it fell out that the father of Sadbh died and was buried there. On the following night, and for several after, nine spectres were seen squatted on the grave with gleaming white eyes and teeth, howling forth a long Irish song. Twenty-four men died of fright at the hideous spectacle.¹ Notwithstanding this mark of royal favour, the monastery was plundered by the people of Munster, thirty-five years after the piety of Donnchadh's consort had procured the enclosure.

"The circuit of the ecclesiastical *civitas* may yet be traced with tolerable exactness. It apparently embraced an area of about ten acres in extent, enclosed by a fosse and double rampart of earth. On the north side these defences are tolerably perfect; they are in good preservation, also, towards the south-west, where the inner rampart is still of considerable height, and strengthened by an external facing of stone; and the south-western angle is defended by a lofty earthen fort or tumulus. The principal entrance seems to have been placed at the north side, and another gate may be traced in the southern rampart. The entire area slopes with an eastern exposure down to a small stream, and its upper portion is very much intersected with earthworks, many of them running at right angles to each other, and

¹ This curious story is not given in the English translations of Keating, having been considered too fabulous. It is given, along with the "*Carmen Hibernicum*," which the ghosts howled discordantly, in Graves and Prim's *History, Architecture and Antiquities of Kilkenny*, Dublin, 1857, p. 9, note.

presenting the appearance of streets. The present churchyard lies nearly central in the larger area, but nearer the upper or western side ; it contains about one acre, and is clearly the original precinct of the monastery : its boundary wall is, for the most part, extremely ancient, and may, with great probability, be assumed to retain some portions of the *septum* erected early in the tenth century at the instance of the queen of Donnchadh, monarch of Ireland." ¹

For an account of the churches and wells in Ireland bearing the name of the Saint, we may refer to Mr. John Hogan's *S. Ciaran of Ossory*, Kilkenny, 1876, and to Canon O'Hanlon's *Lives of the Irish Saints*, March 6, vol. iii, and to Graves (J.) and Prim, (J. G. A.), *History, Architecture, and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of S. Canice, Kilkenny*, Dublin, 1857.

Among the Celts of Brythonic speech the Goidelic form Ciaran or Cieran appears as Piran, Perran, and Peryn, in accordance with a well-known phonological law, whereby such Latin loan-words as *pascha* and *purpura*, which appear in Welsh as *pasc* and *porphor*, become *caisc* and *corcur* in Irish. When, however, the Welsh, probably at a later period, adopted the name from the Irish, they took it over as *Carawn*, later *Caron*.

As usual in the case of Irish Saints culted by the Welsh, what they know of Caron is very little. The early copies of *Bonedd y Saint* know nothing of him. In a *Bonedd* in *Cardiff MS.* 25 (p. 115), copied in 1640, he is, however, said to have been a son of Ithel Hael of Llydaw, and brother to SS. Trillo, Tegai and Llechid. Nicolas Roscarrock, from the MSS. of Edward Powell, says the same, and that he is revered in South Wales. Here, probably, Caron is a misreading of Twrog.

He is the patron of Tregaron, Cardiganshire, which sometimes occurs as Plwyf Caron. Lewis, in his *Topographical Dictionary*, says of Tregaron that it is "the burial-place of Caron, a Welsh king, who, from a low situation in life, raised himself, by his bravery and generous deportment, to the sovereignty, which he held seven years ; after his death, in the year 219, he was canonized." ² Rees includes him among the Welsh Saints of the seventh century and "those of uncertain date." ³

The local tradition, still current, varies—that he was a prince, a brave chieftain, or a bishop—but it agrees in saying that he was buried where the church tower now stands, and that over his grave

¹ Graves and Prim, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

² The extract is an expansion of Meyrick, *History of Cardiganshire*, 1808, p. 252. In Geoffrey's Welsh *Brut* Carawn is the form for Carausius.

³ *Welsh Saints*, p. 306.

a large mound was raised. We have here evidently traditions of two distinct persons, a chieftain and an ecclesiastic, who have become mixed up in the popular mind.

The festival of Caron or Ciaran, on March 5, occurs in the Welsh Calendars in *Cotton MS. Vesp. A. xiv*, *Additional MS. 22,720*, *Peniarth MS. 191*, the *Iolo MSS.*, and the Prymers of 1618 and 1633, and he is entered as bishop. He is also given in the Demetian Calendar (denominated S), and the copy of it in *Cwrtmawr MS. 44* (sixteenth century) adds that on his day there was "a fair, at which people used to swear over Caron's grave and to offer." This fair, called Ffair Garon, held on the 15th, 16th, and 17th, N.S. (the eve, day, and morrow of his festival, O.S.), was in the olden days one of the largest fairs in Wales, and even to-day (held on the two last days only) it has not lost its popularity. Lewis Glyn Cothi, in the fifteenth century, who invokes Caron in several of his poems, in one passage exclaims, "By Caron's hand!"¹ which seems to point to a statue or hand-relic of the Saint.

His Holy Well there, Ffynnon Garon, was at Eastertide, in days gone by, a centre of great attraction for the young of both sexes. On Easter Eve crowds of children resorted thither, each one bringing a small mug or cup and a quantity of brown sugar, and drank copious draughts of the water sweetened with sugar. On Easter Day, or Low Sunday, the swains met their sweethearts at the spot, and made them gifts of white bread (*bara cân*), which they ate, washing it down with the crystal spring-water in token of affection.

Vuarth Carawn (Buarth Caron), Caron's cattle-fold, at Castell Fflemish, near Tregaron, is mentioned in the charters of Strata Florida.²

A chapel was formerly dedicated to him as Piran in Cardiff. Giraldus Cambrensis says that King Henry II, on his way home from Ireland, heard Mass in "Capella Sancti Pirani" at Cardiff on Low Sunday, 1172.³ It stood in Shoemaker Street, in the parish of S. John, and it would seem that at the Reformation it was transformed into the Guild Hall of the Cordwainers and Glovers, in whose records for 1550 it is mentioned as "Seynt Peryns Chappell."⁴

Ciaran is the Kerian to whom a church is dedicated in Exeter.

The church and holy well at Perranzabuloe in Cornwall mark the

¹ *Gwaith*, Oxf., 1837, p. 473; cf. *Myv. Arch.*, p. 330.

² Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 1825, v, p. 632; *Arch. Camb.*, 1889, p. 51; cf. Buarth Llwni. Caron occurs in three of the Tregaron township names.

³ *Itin. of Wales*, i, c. 6; *Conquest of Ireland*, i, c. 39.

⁴ *Cardiff Records*, Cardiff, 1901, iii, pp. 349-50. Lewis Morris (*Celtic Remains*, p. 346) mentions a Melin Beiran, in Anglesey.

principal foundation there of the Saint, and there he was buried, and his head was preserved in a shrine and exhibited to the faithful. The relics of the Saint were highly venerated, and were resorted to by crowds of pilgrims. Bishop Bronescombe taxed the Vicarage on August 13, 1269, assigning to the Vicar, *inter alia*, "omnes obvenciones de turnis Reliquiarum obvenientes." They were again referred to in the Visitation of 1331; the parishioners were then accused of abusing their trust, by carrying the relics from place to place, and even to a great distance; an irregularity as to which they had been warned before. In the Will of Sir John Arundel, Knight, dated 18 April, and proved 7 June, 1433, is the following bequest:—"Item, lego ad usum parochie Sancti Pyerani in Zabulo, ad claudendum caput Sancti Pyerani honorifice, et meliori modo quo sciunt, quadraginta solidos."¹

In Domesday the church (Lampiran) is spoken of as collegiate.

The ancient oratory of Perranzabuloe lies among the sandhills or towans of Penhale, that extend three miles in length, and almost two inland in parts. The moving hills of sand are held in check to the north and north-east by the little stream that finds its way into Holy Well Bay. The sands encroached to such an extent on the church that the parishioners built a second about 300 yards off. This again was invaded by the moving hills of sand, and a third church was erected further inland in 1804. The original church was found and dug out, in 1835, by Mr. William Michell of Comprigney near Truro, but unhappily nothing was done to preserve it. The walls are extremely rude, no mortar having been used. It is not, however, more ancient than the eighth or ninth century. Several skeletons were found about two feet below the floor. Three were discovered with their feet lying underneath the altar, one of them of gigantic dimensions, measuring about 7 feet 6 inches. Of late years a railing has been erected around the ruin.²

Another church of S. Ciaran in Cornwall is Perran-ar-Worthal, where there is a holy well, but no structure of antiquity now remains over the spot. A third church is Perran-Uthno.

The church of S. Kevern was anciently a foundation of S. Achebran, but he was forgotten, as his legend did not exist, and the dedication was transferred to S. Ciaran. In 1266, in Bishop Bronescombe's

¹ Hingeston Randolph, *Register of B. Grandisson*, 1897, pp. 610-1, note.

² For Mr. Wm. Michell's account of the excavation see Randolph, *op. cit.*, pp. 608-10. There was an account by C. Collins Trelawny, *Perranzabulo: the Lost Church Found*, which went through seven editions, 1837-77. In 1844 the Rev. W. Haslam published a book, *The Church of St. Piran*. He returned to the subject in *From Death to Life*, in 1880. Both gentlemen borrowed from Mr. Michell.

Register, it is S. Kaveranus or Keranus, but Sta. Keverana in the same Register, 1269. In Stapeldon's, 1310, it is the church Sti. Keverani, but in Stafford's, 1403, in that of Grandisson, 1341 and 1362, and that of Brantyngham, 1380, it is the church Sti. Kyerani.

A good number of local traditions relative to S. Ciaran linger on in Cornwall. Hals relates how in his time people said that he had come over from Ireland floating on a mill-stone. This means no more than that he brought his *lech* with him. He is supposed to have been the first discoverer of tin, for which reason the miners adopted him as their patron Saint.

The name of S. Ciaran occurs in the Hereford Missal, and is among the later entries in the twelfth century Exeter Calendar. It is in Grandisson's Legendarium and Calendar in the fourteenth century, and in the Norwich Calendar of the fifteenth century. Whytford, in his "Martiloge," 1526, gives him as S. Ciaue. He occurs in every Irish Martyrology. The Welsh Calendars we have already mentioned. He occurs in the Bodmin Calendar given by William of Worcester, and in that of Nicolas Roscarrock, who enters him both as S. Piran and, after Whytford, as S. Caue on the same day, March 5. Grandisson in his Martyrology, "In Cornubia Sti. Pyrani Ep. et Conf.," on March 5.

William of Worcester says that November 18 was observed in his honour at Launceston, probably on account of a Translation. A metrical Rule of S. Ciaran exists in MS. in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. The MS. is dated 1467; and it is found MS. 23, P. 3, fol. 14.

S. CIGWA, see S. CIWA.

S. CILYDD, Confessor

IN various lists of Caw's children, esteemed to be Saints, is entered a son named Cilydd.¹ He is stated to have a church dedicated to him in Dyfed, but we are unable to identify it.

¹ *Peniarth MS.* 75 (sixteenth century); *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 109, 117, 142-3.

S. CINFIC, Confessor

IN the grant by Caradog, son of Rhiwallon, of "Villa Gunhucc in Guartha Cum" to the church of Llandaff, in the time of Bishop Herwald, who was consecrated in 1056, mention is made of "the four Saints of Llangwm, Mirgint, Cinficc, Huui and Eruen."¹ There are two Llangwms in Monmouthshire, Llangwm Ucha and Isa, forming one benefice, the churches of which are to-day dedicated to S. Jerome and S. John respectively.

Cynffig, or Kenfig, is a chapelry attached to Pyle, in Glamorgan-shire, and dedicated to S. Mary Magdalene; and there is a Kiffig in Carmarthenshire, which appears in the *Book of Llan Dâv* as Lann Ceffic.²

S. CIWA (CUACH or KEWE), Virgin, Abbess

CIWA occurs on February 8 in the Welsh Calendars; in *Cotton Vesp.* A. xiv (of the early thirteenth century) as "Sce. Kigwe virg.," and the *Prymer* of 1618 as "Ciwa," and on the same day in the Exeter Martyrology of 1337, "Item in Cornubia Stæ. Kywere virginis," (*i.e.* Ciwa the Virgin—*wyry*), by Bishop Grandisson, and also in the Calendar of Nicolas Roscarrock. In those of the Welsh *Prymer* of 1546, and *Peniarth MS.* 219 she is entered by mistake on February 6.

The Welsh genealogies know nothing of her, which shows that most probably she was not of Welsh origin. The church of Llangiwa or Llangua, in Monmouthshire, now dedicated to S. James, is generally supposed to have been dedicated to her. It occurs as Lann Culan in the *Book of Llan Dâv* (p. 216), in the grant by Cynfyn, son of Gwrgant, in the time of Bishop Cerenhir, about the ninth century, and as Languwan and Langywan in the fourteenth century additions to it (pp. 318, 320). In the Norwich *Taxatio*, 1254, it is spelt Lagywan.

In Cornwall she is patroness of a church in the parish of Lannow (Lan-ciw), now called after her S. Kewe. Docwin or Cyngar was the patron of the church, and Lannow is at some distance from the church town, but he has been superseded as titular Saint of the parish.

In 1370, owing to both her chapel, which had been removed to the churchyard of the parish church, and the latter having been polluted,

¹ *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 274. The same name, as Cinfic and Conficc, borne by laymen, occurs on pp. 189, 208.

² P. 114.

the Bishop of Exeter issued a commission to John, Bishop of Com-magene, acting as his deputy, to reconcile both.

Carew calls the parish Lanowseynt. In Domesday the manor is called Lanehoc, in the Exeter transcript Lannohoc.

Kigwa or Ciwa is almost certainly Cuach, the nurse of S. Ciaran, and a notable abbess in Ireland.

In the Irish Calendars she is commemorated on January 8, instead of February 8. The transfer in the Welsh and English Calendars is probably due to her having been confounded with Coynt, or Quinta, a virgin martyr who is given on February 8 in the Roman Martyrology. Cuach's name is given also as Coinegean (Coīn the Virgin), or Coincha, and as Coinche she was easily identified with Coīnt or Coynt (Quinta). On February 8 Whytford gives "the feast of S. Coynt a virgin and martyr, that bycause she wolde not worshyp ydolles was drawn by y^e heles or feet through y^e cite, and so they brake her bones and tare her flesshe tyll she dyed."

Grandisson, who gives S. Kywere on February 8, also gives S. Cuaca V. on June 24. Roscarrock calls her Kewe, Kue, and Kigwe, but he also calls her Cota, following Capgrave, who misprinted John of Tyne-mouth's Coca as Cota. Roscarrock says she was the "ghostlie childe of S. Piran, and lived an austere and solitarie life on an island or a Rock in the sea to which he had often access, without shippe or boote, going miraculously dry foot on the water to administer the sacraments unto her, and he also raised to life her priest called Geranus, quenched the fire that was burning in her house by prayer, and interrupted the carnall love that was between her mayd and his servant in sorte as the mayde was stricken with blindenes and remained soe, and his man did seaven years of penance in Banishment and Studie."

Here Roscarrock owes his information to the Life of S. Piran in Capgrave.

She occurs in the Tallagh and Donegal Martyrologies on January 8, but also on June 6; O'Gorman also on June 6, as "Cocca whom I love"; also on June 29; and on January 8 as "dear modest Cuaca." She occurs also as Coinegean on April 29 in nearly all the Martyrologies. She acquired the name "Wolf-girl" from a malformation of one nail of her finger, caused by an injury to it, but on account of which it was fabled that she had been suckled by a wolf.¹

There can, however, be little doubt that Coinche or Coinegean is the same as Cuach, for in the Latin Life of S. Ciaran she is called

¹ *Félire of Oengus*, ed. W. Stokes, p. lxxvii. "A great nail there was upon her like a wolf's nail. She was daughter of a king of Leinster. Sed unguem canis quodam casu accepit."

Cocca, and in the Martyrology of Donegal she is spoken of as nurse to Ciaran, whereas in the Irish Life she is called Coinche. In the Drummond Calendar is given, on April 29, "Apud Hiberniam Natale Sanctorum Confessorum Coiningin et Fiachna." In the *Féilire of Oengus* on April 29.

No Life of the Saint is known to exist; but all that can be found concerning her has been collected by Colgan in his *Acta SS. Hiberniæ* under January 8. It is mainly derived from the Lives of her foster son Ciaran of Saighir.

Cuach was daughter of Talan and Coemel. But there is some doubt about the name of the father, who is given by MacFirbis as Fergus MacRoich. It is probable that Coemel was twice married. Her brother Caiman and her sister Atracta are numbered among the Saints. The latter was veiled by S. Patrick.

The family belonged to the small tribe of Cliu Cathraighe, which occupied the northern slopes of Mount Leinster. This little clan was converted, about 430, by S. Isserninus, whereupon Enna Cinniselach, king of the district, drove them from their possessions into exile, and Isserninus accompanied the tribe into banishment. The persecution lasted after the death of Enna in 444. He was succeeded by his son Crimthan, who, like his father, was a pagan. However, in 458 S. Patrick succeeded in converting and baptising him, and the Apostle used the occasion to urge him to restore the exiles. This he consented to do, after they had been in banishment near on twenty years. Where they had tarried we are not told, only that it was somewhere in the south. As Cuach was the nurse or foster-mother of S. Ciaran, she must have been among the Corca Laoighe in southern Munster.

We cannot set down Ciaran as born later than 446, and we may suppose that when the exiled families of the Hy Duach and Clan Cliu met in banishment, an intimacy sprang up between them, and in token of this amity, the newly-born Ciaran was given to the still young Cuach or Ciwa to nurse and to love.

Certainly Ciaran was with her for longer than the period of unremembering infancy, for he ever held Cuach in the deepest and tenderest affection.¹

¹ "Thereafter came to his family a small tribe in Cliu, Catrige its name. From this he (*i.e.* Bishop Fith or Iserinus) went till he set up at Toicuile. He left a saint of his family there. After this he went till he set up a rath under Alascath. He left another saint in this. From this he went to Latrach Dá Arad. Herein went to him Cathbu's seven sons; he preached to them *et crediderunt et baptizati sunt*, and he went with them southward to their dwelling. . . . Enna Cinniselach expelled them because of believing before every one. Bishop Fith went with them into exile, each of them apart. After this Patrick came, and Dun-

He himself was not baptised till he was thirty, but she was an exile for the faith, one of the first Confessors for Christ that the island possessed, and she must have impressed the religious character on Ciaran's mind. The summons to return came in 458, or perhaps a little later, and then Ciaran parted with his nurse. He was then not over twelve, and he was destined not to meet Cuach again for many years.

On her return to the land of her fathers, her two brothers and her sister embraced the religious profession. It is probable that this had been part of the agreement; on these terms only had Crimthan, king of the Hy Cinnselach, permitted them to come back.

For some reason unrecorded, S. Patrick did not veil Cuach, but handed her over to MacTail, whom he consecrated Bishop and placed at Kilcullen. Bishop MacTail was to instruct Cuach in religion, but ugly reports circulated relative to his undue intimacy with her, and his clergy denounced him for it—apparently to Patrick; what was the result is not related.¹ Nothing further is known of Cuach till Ciaran arrived at Saighir, which was about the year 480, when she unreservedly placed herself in his hands. She became the head of two establishments for women, one at Ross Benchuir in Clare, the other at Kilcoagh (Cill-cuach) near Donard. Persuaded by S. Patrick, Crimthan, king of the Hy Cinnselach, had restored the Clan Cliu Cathraighe to their land. They ill repaid his liberality. In 484 they joined cause with the Hy Bairrche against him, and Eochaidh of the Hy Bairrche killed Crimthan, who was his grandfather, with his own hand. Several battles followed, at Graine in 485, another in 492, in which Finchadh, king of the Hy Cinnselach, was slain.

It is told that when ploughing time came, Ciaran was wont to lead forth a team, bless it, and send the oxen across country to the settlement at Ross Benchuir. They arrived without a driver, and remained lowing outside Cuach's walls till she received them. Then, as soon as her ploughing was accomplished, she said to the oxen:—"Depart to my foster-son again." Whereupon the beasts started of their own accord and went across country to Ciaran. This they did every year. Translated out of its fictional adornments into plain fact, this resolves itself into a simple transaction. Ciaran attended to Cuach's

lang's seven sons believed in him. After this he went to Crimthan, son of Enna Cinnselach, and he himself believed in Rath Bilech. Patrick, after baptizing him, besought him to let go Cathbad's sons and Iserninus together with them, and he obtained the boon." Add. to Tirechan, ed. Whitley Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, ii, p. 343.

¹ "It was she who was pupil to MacTail of Cell Cuilind, and on account of her the clergy of Leinster reviled MacTail." *Féilire of Oengus*, p. lxxvii.

farming arrangements, and managed the annual ploughing for her, not at Ross Benchuir, but at Cill-Cuach, which was nearer to Saighir.

At Kilcoagh by Donard is her Holy Well, Tubar-no-chocha, at which stations were formerly made. The cill is mentioned in a grant of 1173 to the Abbey of Glendalough as "Cell Chuachæ." S. Coemgen was probably a nephew, though represented in a pedigree of the Saints as her half-brother ; but this is chronologically impossible.

On Christmas Eve S. Ciaran said Mass at midnight, and at once departed from his monastery, and walked to that of Cuach, and communicated her and her nuns, and then returned in the morning to Saighir. This would seem to show that for a while Cuach was superior of Killeen, near Saighir, where he had at first established his mother. The same conclusion may be drawn from the escapade of S. Carthagh, his pupil, who seduced one of Cuach's pupils and by her became a father. This also points to close proximity of the houses.

Near Ross Benchuir was a rock in the sea to which Cuach was wont to retire at times for prayer. Ciaran is reported to have stepped on to a stone and to have employed it as a boat in which to cross the water to her. Here again, under a fable a simple fact lies concealed, that he was wont to visit his old nurse in her island hermitage, and there minister to her in holy things.

One day Ciaran went with a great crowd (*multa turma cum eo*) to the cell of Cuach, and they were given as a repast a pig's shoulder. "And out of that shoulder he made corn, honey, fish and ale." Probably here we have a misunderstanding—she gave him what she had, a shoulder of bacon, and that had to serve the party for lunch in place of the corn, honey, fish and ale they had reckoned on.¹ His *turma* consisted of nine hundred and forty men, so that the poor little community was hard put to it to feed such a host.

Geran, or Cieran, was the priest of Cuach, and when he died, S. Ciaran restored him to life again.² One day her monastery caught fire through carelessness, Ciaran himself extinguished the flames, the writer says, through the sign of the cross, probably by throwing buckets of water over the fire.³

At what date Ciaran removed to Cornwall we do not know. It was due to an arrangement with the kings of Munster, that he should surrender the abbacy to Carthagh, who was of the royal family, so soon as this dissolute youth should have reached the age of discretion and have gained experience. Almost certainly Ciaran would induce his

¹⁻³ These three incidents are related in John of Tynemouth's Life of S. Piran, and are not found in the Irish Lives of S. Ciaran.

nurse to accompany him, to become the head of societies for women in the country to which he migrated.

Ladock in Cornwall is probably Lan-ty-Cuach, and was one of her houses. The patronal feast is observed there on the first Thursday in January, and this fairly agrees with her festival as marked in the Irish Calendar, January 8.

In the Episcopal Registers the church is given as *Ecclesia Sanctæ Ladock*, Bronescombe 1268, Quivil 1281, Grandisson 1330, 1337; Brantyngham, 1372, 1373, 1391; there is consequently no justification in Mr. C. Borlase supposing that the church was dedicated to a male Saint, S. Cadoc. Ladock is on one side of the dorsal ridge of Cornwall, and Perranzabuloe, the foundation of S. Ciaran, on the other. They are about nine miles apart.

But the principal foundation of Cuach in Cornwall was apparently Lanowe. To the north lies high bleak land, with poor soil over slaty rock, rising some five hundred and fifty feet above the sea. This high land drops suddenly, forming a step, and this step is cleft with gullies or combes down which murmur streams to the richer land below. One of these, clothed in gorse and coppice, with spires of lichen rock rising above it, has on the east side a platform of warm red friable rock, dominating the lower land, but sheltered by the hills from the prevailing north-west winds. An ancient watercourse has been cut, leading a stream from the brook to this terrace, where it fills a pool and supplies farm and fields with water. Here is Lanowe, the original site of Cuach's church and monastery. In her day all the high land to the north was covered with oak forest; and tradition has it that it was infested by a wild black boar, that ravaged the pastures and with its tusks gored men and beasts.

S. Cyngar, or Docwin, locally called S. Dawe, lived where is now the parish church, and Cuach visited him, but he refused to see her till she had tamed the wild boar. Nicolas Roscarrock, who relates the tradition, says that she did this, and then he opened his cell door and conversed with her. The tradition of the place, at the present date is, that five parishes united to hunt the boar and at last slew it; whereupon Kewe (Cuach) moved the site of her church from Lanowe to where is now the parish church, a place less exposed to the ravages of wild beasts.¹

¹ Gilbert, in his *Historical Survey of Cornwall*, 1820, ii, p. 608, gives the story thus: "The person who showed the author the church declared that this was the figure of a wild boar which in former days had greatly infested S. Kew and the neighbouring parishes, but was at length slain by a man named Lanow in Lanow woods in this parish."

In this faint and faded form we have perhaps a reminiscence of the old tale of the Twrch Trwyth, and the depredations of the Irish Gwyddyl on this coast.

In the church windows are the arms of Cavell of Trehaverick, Arg. a calf passant sable ; but the villagers persist in believing these black heraldic calves to represent the wild black boar of tradition.

The site of S. Kewe is one of the sweetest and loveliest in Cornwall—a narrow valley enfolded by hills, where trees and flowers luxuriate, the haunt of song birds, and where the stream from Lanowe, joined by another, has swollen into a brook much frequented by the azure kingfisher. The church is singularly stately and beautiful, and contains much old glass of the finest quality.

In one of the side windows is a figure, presumably of S. Kewe, crowned, with waving golden hair. But Ciaran's little nurse-girl never wore a crown on earth, hers was to be one eternal in the heavens.

She is thought to have been buried at Killeen Cormac, near Dunlavin in Wicklow. The name Killeen, like the other by Saighir, points to a foundation by Liadhain, Ciaran's mother. There are several churches in Ireland that look to Cuach as a foundress, and she must have been very active as an auxiliary to S. Ciaran. Kilcock in Kildare was the most flourishing of these. An interesting account of Killeen Cormac, with its ancient graveyard and Ogam inscriptions, is given in Shearman's *Loca Patriciana*, 1882.

Kewestoke in Somersetshire, though now dedicated to S. Paul, by its name seems to indicate S. Ciwa as its original patron.

In Brittany, she seems to have had a monastery near Cleguéré. This place was apparently an Irish Colony, for the church was under the invocation of S. Brigid, indeed the parish, Perret, taken from it, bears her name in its Breton form. Here, up to 833, was a little monastery, Lann-ty-Cocan, which in that year was made over to the abbey of Redon, and ceased thenceforth to exist. The place was then called Du Cocan or Ty Coca. The act of transfer was registered in the church porch in the presence of the Mactiern Alfrit, and was written by S. Convoyo, abbot of Redon.¹ In the following century it was devastated by the Northmen and was never refounded. The monastery probably stood by the beautiful lake, des Salles, to the north-east of which rise well-timbered heights. The stream that feeds the lake flows on between hills and through forest to expand once more in the Etang des Forges, and then discharges into the Blavet.

Lobineau supposed that the monastery was of SS. Ducocæ. That

¹ *Cartulary of Redon*, p. 354.

is of the two Saints of the same name, *Duæ Coccæ*, the Cuach of June 6, and the Saint of the same name on June 29—though he gives only July 29. But it is much more probable that Ducocca is Ty-Cuacha, as such is the form the name assumed in Cornwall after Lan, at Ladock.

Bishop MacTail, concerning whose intimacy with Cuach scandalous reports circulated, died in 548, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, but it is not easy to allow him so long a life, as he succeeded to be Bishop of Kilcullen about 460, following Isserninus.

If Ciaran died about 530, we would suppose that his foster-mother departed this life some years earlier.

The Holy Well of S. Kewe exists on the glebe in the parsonage grounds at S. Kewe. It is in sound condition, but of no structural interest.

Nicolas Roscarrock makes S. Docwin, whom he calls Dawe, to be living as a hermit in the parish, and he says that according to popular tradition she and S. Dawe were sister and brother.

Leland calls her Cua. "The family of Cavell in S. Cua paroch at Trearack."¹

S. CIWG, Confessor

Ciwg was the son of Arawn (or Aron) ab Cynfarch Gul, of the line of Coel Hên.² Rees places him among the Saints who flourished in the middle of the sixth century.³

Cynfarch was a Northern prince, who married Nyfain, daughter of Brychan, by whom he became the father of the celebrated Urien Rheged. Geoffrey, in his fabulous *Brut*, says that King Arthur apportioned the districts which he had wrested from the Saxons between three brothers, Urien, Llew, and Arawn. To Arawn he gave Yscotlont or Prydyn,⁴ and one of the Triads speaks of him as one of the three "counselling knights" of his court.

The church of Llangiwg or Llanguicke, in Glamorganshire, is dedicated to Ciwg.⁵ Browne Willis⁶ gives his festival as June 29.

The following occurs as the first of the "Sayings of the Wise"—⁷

¹ *Itin.*, ed. Oxf., 1745, iii, p. 7.

² *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 108, 146: see also p. 145, where "Cirig" is a misscript for Ciwg.

³ *Welsh Saints*, p. 271.

⁴ *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 194.

⁵ For an account of the church and parish see W. Ll. Morgan, *Antiquarian Survey of East Gower*, 1899, pp. 53-9.

⁶ *Parochiale Anglicanum*, 1733, p. 191.

⁷ *Iolo MSS.*, 251.

Hast thou heard the saying of Ciwg,
The truly wise bard of Gwynhlywg?
"The possessor of discretion is far-sighted."
(Perchen pwyll pell ei olwg.)

From this it would appear that he was a bard as well as Saint.

S. CLAUDIA, Matron

CLAUDIA, the wife of Pudens, to whom S. Paul sent a salutation in his Second Epistle to Timothy, has been supposed to have been a British princess. She was, possibly enough, the daughter of Claudius Cogidubnus, whom Tacitus speaks of as a British king, and as acting at the same time as an imperial legate.¹ A marble tablet discovered at Chichester commemorates the erection of a temple to Neptune and Minerva by a Guild of Craftsmen, on a site given by Pudens, son of Pudentianus, under the sanction of Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus.² The *nomen* and *prænomen* assumed by this Briton would indicate the special favour in which he was held by the emperor.

Tacitus says that he acted as imperial legate, that is, as provincial governor, over, probably, the Cantii and Regni in Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. Martial has an epigram on the marriage of the British Claudia Rufina to Pudens, a member of the Aemilian gens.³

The fact that Claudia was an adopted member of the Rufine family shows that she was connected with the gens Pomponia, to which this family belonged; and it may have been in consequence of this marriage that Pudens joined with Claudius Cogidubnus in the erection of the temple at Chichester.

Aulus Plautius, the conqueror of Britain, had married a Pomponia,

¹ Tac., *Agricola*, 14.

² NEPTVNO ET MINERVAE
TEMPLVM
pro SALVTE DOMVS DIVINAE
ex AVCTORITATE Ti. CLAVD.
COGIDVBNI R. LEGATI AVG. IN BRIT.
CollegiVM FABRO ET QUI IN E.
. . . . D. S. D. DONATE AREAM
PVDENTE PVDENTINI FILIÆ.

³ "Claudia cœruleis . . . Rufina Britannis edita." *Epig.* xi, 34.

"Claudia Rufe, meo nubet peregrina Pudenti,
Macte esto tædis, O Hymenæe, suis

Diligat illa senem quondam; sed et ipsa marito,
Tunc quoque cum fuerit, non videatur anus." *Epig.* v, 13.

who in A.D. 57 was accused of practising an illicit religion, and although pronounced guiltless by her husband, to whose domestic tribunal she was left, according to the practice of Roman law, spent the rest of her life in a depressed condition, by which Tacitus probably means religious retreat and abstinence from attendance at public games.¹ This lasted for forty years, "non cultu nisi lugubri, non animo nisi maesto." That she was a Christian is most probable. The Pomponii Bassi, another branch of the family, were; that is shown by two inscriptions found in the catacomb of S. Callixtus; and in the same catacomb was discovered by de Rossi a third inscription to Pomponios Græcinus, who consequently was akin to Pomponia Græcina.²

Now the house of Pudens was one of the first used in Rome for Christian worship, and over it was erected the church now known as Sta. Pudentiana. The house had been bought by Pudens from Aquila and Priscilla.

"Short of actual proof it would be hard to imagine a series of evidences more morally convincing that the Pudens and Claudia of Martial are the Pudens and Claudia of S. Paul, and that they, as well as Pomponia, were Christians."³

Claudia and Pudens were the parents of Novatus, Timotheus, Praxedes and Pudentiana, all of whom are numbered with the saints. It was she and Pudens who are said to have received S. Peter into their house. The Acts of S. Pudens, S. Praxedes and S. Pudentiana are extant, but they are quite untrustworthy.

After a long life spent in the exercise of Christian virtues, Claudia died at her husband's villa at Sabinum in Umbria, at the beginning of the second century. Her body was translated to Rome by her sons, and laid in the tomb of Pudens, beside her husband.

A good deal of wild conjecture⁴ has been indulged in relation to Claudia Rufina, who has been supposed to have been the daughter of Caratacus who so bravely resisted Aulus Plautius and Ostorius Scapula. We know that finally Caratacus was taken, along with his wife and daughter, and that all were sent in chains to Rome. But the inscription at Chichester leads us rather to take Claudia

¹ "Pomponia Græcina insignis femina, A. Plautio, quem ovasse de Britannis rettuli, nupta ac superstitionis externæ rea, mariti iudicio permissa. Isque prisco iustitio propinquis coram de capite famaque conjugis cognovit et insontem pronuntiavit. Longa huic Pomponiæ ætas et continua tristitia fuit." Tac., *Ann.*, xiii, 32.

² De Rossi, *Roma Sott.*, ii, 360-4; Kraus, *Roma Sotteranea*, pp. 142-3.

³ Conybeare, *Roman Britain*, 1903, p. 257.

⁴ See, for instance, John Williams (Archdeacon), *Claudia and Pudens*, Llandovery, 1848.

to have been the daughter of Ti. Claudius Cogidubnus or Cogidumnos.

There is no mention of Claudia in Welsh tradition, and she has received no cult. She is included in no martyrology save only in that of Wilson, who, purely arbitrarily, gives as her day August 7.

Theophilus Evans, in his *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, first published in 1716, gives her name under the Welsh form, Gwladys Ruffydd (ii, c. 1) ; but Gwladys could never represent Claudia.

S. CLEDWYN, see S. CLYDWYN

S. CLEATHER, Confessor

IN the Life of S. Brynach (*Cotton MS.* Vesp. A. xiv) is mention of a certain lord of a district in Carmarthen where he was, called Clechre. But in John of Tynemouth's version of the story it is "dominus loci illius, nomine Cletherus." He was surnamed the Aged, and he feared God.

Probably the Clechre of the *Cotton MS.* is a scribe's error for Cletherus, misreading the *th* as *ch*, possibly under the influence of the cognomen *Senex*,¹ which, if he had a Welsh original before him, may have read *clairch*,² a decrepit old man.

Whether he was akin to Clydwyn, who had expelled the Goidels from Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire, we cannot say ; but the Brynach country is also the Clydwyn country. Clydwyn was a son of Brychan ; and when Clether went to Cornwall, it was into that part colonized by the Brychan family.

Brynach had come into the country, and squatted in a valley, and lighted a fire. In the morning Clether, or Clechre, saw the rising smoke, and summoned his twenty sons, and bade them see who had dared to intrude on their land, for to kindle a fire was an assertion of possession.

They came to Brynach, and discovered that he was the husband of the sister of Clydwyn, and if, as is probable, Clether was of the

¹ "Senex cognominabatur," *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 9.

² Welsh *clairch*, Cornish *cloirec*, Med. Irish *clérech*, and Manx *cleragh*, are all derived from the Latin *clericus*.

Brychan stock, he would welcome Brynach as a kinsman by marriage. He received Brynach well, placed his sons under his tuition, and himself, inspired by the desire of leading an eremitical life, departed for Cornwall, "where, serving God, he gave up his happy soul to the Lord."¹

The place in Cornwall where he settled was in the valley of the Inny under the lofty hog's-back of Laneast Down, that cuts off the winds from the Atlantic. Here igneous rocks project like horns above the grassy valley, forming rock shelters beneath them. Perhaps he selected one of these, and put a screen in front to complete the shelter. Hard by a copious spring that never fails gushes out of the hillside. A sweeter spot could hardly have been selected; blue as the sky in the spring with wild hyacinths, and in the bottom the glittering stream winding along with a gentle murmur. Here to this day is the sanctuary, or sentry, and one rude granite cross remains marking its bounds.

In the eleventh century, perhaps earlier, the parish church of S. Clether was built further down the valley, on a height. Bishop Bronescombe re-consecrated the church that had been rebuilt, on October 23, 1259; but it bears traces of earlier work.

The chapel of S. Clether, the original oratory of the Saint, was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, and the holy well reconstructed. The chapel is a building running east and west, and measures internally 19 feet 1 inch by 11 feet 4 inches. It possesses a door to the west, and another to the north. The holy well is situated 7 feet from the north-east angle of the chapel, and the water from it is conducted by a channel under the floor to the altar, beneath which it bubbled up, and then ran away and fell over a sill at the south-east end into a small (second) holy well, to which access was obtained from without.²

The idea was certainly taken from the description of the living waters in Ezek. xlvii, 1, 2. "He brought me again unto the door of the house; and, behold, waters issued out from under the threshold of the house eastward . . . and the waters came down from under from the right side of the house, at the south side of the altar . . . and, behold, there ran out waters on the right side."

The existing building is of the fifteenth century, but it is possibly a reconstruction out of the material of the original chapel. No mortar

¹ "Pater vero senex valedicens, osculatusque omnibus, secessit in partes Cornubiæ, ibidem Deo serviens beatam Domino reddidit animam." *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 9.

² See *S. Clether's Chapel and Holy Wells*, by Rev. A. H. Malan, in *Journal of the Royal Inst. of Cornwall*, 1898, p. 541; and an article in *The Cornish Magazine*, Truro, 1898, p. 449.



S. CLEATHER'S HOLY WELL, CORNWALL.

had been employed in the masonry. The chapel and well, having fallen into ruin, were restored in 1898, and re-dedicated.

From S. Clether's, probably, the Saint moved south and settled at what is now called S. Cleer. Cleer is a possible substitute for Clether. There were two chapels of S. Cleer, or Clare, at Hartland in Devon, one at Pelham, the other at Gawlish. S. Nectan of Hartland was probably the uncle of S. Clether. There is a Cleder in Léon near Plouzévéde, but the patron of the church is S. Quay, or Kea.

The Feast of S. Clether is on October 23, the day of the re-dedication of the church.

The probable true day of the Saint is August 19, and that of Clydog of Clodock, November 3. However, Nicolas Roscarrock gives November 4, and November 3 for Clitaucus.

The church at S. Clether appears in the Exeter Episcopal Registers as *Ecclesia Sti. Clederi*, Bronescombe, 1259, 1260-1; *Sti. Cledri*, Brantyngham, 1380.

S. CLODFAITH, Virgin

THIS Saint occurs in a few MSS. as a daughter of Brychan, but in none, we believe, of earlier date than the sixteenth century. In *Peniarth MS.* 178 (sixteenth century) she is given as a saint "in Emlyn," but in *Llanstephan MS.* 187 (*circa* 1634) as "in Talgarth, in the south." In these MSS. she has been mistaken for the Clydai and Gwen, respectively, of the *Cognatio de Brychan*. Nicolas Roscarrock also enters her in his Brychan list. The name is probably a misreading of Clydai.

S. CLOFFAN, Bishop, Confessor

CLOFFAN is said to have been of the race of the mythical Brân ab Llyr Llediaith, and a bishop in the time of Cystennin Fendigaid. His church, it is added, is in Dyfed.¹ By it, no doubt, is meant Llangloffan, in Pembrokeshire, but there is no trace of a church there. It is in the parish of Jordanston; but, as that church is usually said to be dedicated to a Welsh S. Cwrda, of whom, however, nothing is known, the church meant is presumably the neighbouring Granston

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 116, 136.

(S. Catherine). In an early seventeenth century list of Pembrokeshire manors we have "Stangnaveth *alias* Llangloffan." ¹

Cloffan means a lameter, from *cloff*, lame.

S. CLYDAI, Virgin

CLYDAI was a daughter of Brychan. There is a remarkable unanimity about this daughter. Her name appears in the two *Cognatio* versions and in practically all the later lists. Her church is stated to be in Emlyn. It is that of Clydai or Clydey, in north Pembrokeshire, which is known also as Swydd Clydai, *swydd* here being employed in the restricted sense of commote. Her festival occurs on All Saints' Day in the Demetian Calendar (denominated S), and in no other. It also gives a Clydvn or Clydau as a son of Brychan on November 3, clearly a misreading for Clydog, his grandson.

S. CLYDNO EIDDYN, Confessor

CLYDNO EIDDYN was a son of Cynwyd Cynwydion, of the race of Coel Godebog, and the brother of Cynan Genhir, Cynfelyn Drwsgl, and Cadrod Calchfynydd.² He and his brothers, it is said, were disciples of S. Cadoc at Llancarfan. They were all northern chieftains, whose title to sainthood rests entirely upon the late *Achau'r Saint* printed in the *Iolo MSS.* Eiddyn was the name of a district in which Din Eiddyn, now Edinburgh, and Caer Eiddyn, now Carri-den, were situated. Clydno was the father of Cynon, Eurnaid, and Euronwy, the mother of S. Grwst.

No churches are dedicated to him, but he is associated with Carnarvonshire. There is a Cefn Cludno in that county, which is mentioned in the *Mabinogi of Math ab Mathonwy*.³ Rhisierdyn, an Anglesey bard of the early fourteenth century, refers to his prowess and daring in two of his poems.⁴

¹ Owen, *Pembrokeshire*, i, pp. 399, 412.

² *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd*; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 105, 128. With his name compare Gwyddno, Machno, Tudno, etc.

³ Ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 71. He was one of the Northern chieftains who invaded Arfon to avenge the death of Elidyr Mwynfawr (*Welsh Laws*, ed. Aneurin Owen, p. 50).

⁴ *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 290-1.

S. CLYDOG, King, Martyr

THE legend of Clitauc or Clydog is first told in the twelfth century *Book of Llan Dâv*, ed. Evans and Rhys, pp. 193-5.

A Life in the *Cotton MS.* Vesp. A. xiv (early thirteenth century) is an imperfect transcript from the above (*ibid.*, preface, p. xxxiii).

A Life by John of Tynemouth, *Cotton MS.* Tiberius, E. i (fourteenth century) is from the same, condensed. This has been printed in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, and in *Acta SS. Bolland.*, Aug. iii. p. 733.

Both series of the *Cognatio de Brychan* make Brychan's son, Clydwyn, father of SS. Clydog and Dedyu, or Dettu; but the *later* Brychan lists make Clydog son of Brychan.¹

The Taliessin pedigree in *Iolo MSS.* pp. 72-3, like most of the documents in that collection, is late. There are three copies of it there, and it runs thus, taken together—Taliessin ab Henwg Sant (*al.* Henwg Hên, Fardd) ab Fflwch Lawdrwm ab Cynin ab Cynfar(ch) ab Clydog (*al.* Clydog Sant, Clydog Sant o Dir Euas) ab Gwynnar . . . up to the mythical Brân.

If we might trust this pedigree, there were two S. Clydogs. The name Clydog, however, was not uncommon, and the portion within brackets is clearly an interpolation; for the first copy gives Clydog simply, without the addition.

According to the *Vita*, Clitauc was a king in Ewyas (now partly in Herefordshire and partly in Monmouthshire), son of Clitguin, ruling with justice and peacefully.

A certain girl, daughter of a noble, fell in love with him, and declared that she would marry no one else. One of the comrades of Clitauc, filled with jealousy, he having already made up his mind that this girl should be his, murdered the king one day, when he was out hunting, with his sword.

The body was placed on a cart to which were yoked a couple of oxen, which were driven towards the river, where was a ford. The river was the Monnow. On reaching the bank the yoke broke and the oxen refused to be driven further; it was, therefore, resolved to build a church on the spot, and this is Clodock.

The legend then goes on to relate how two men who had long been enemies, vowed upon the tomb of S. Clydog to be reconciled. On their way back one treacherously murdered the other; but immediately after, conscience stricken, fell on his own spear and died miserably.

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 119, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419-20.

One church alone seems to have been dedicated to this Saint, Clodock, in Herefordshire, which in the *Book of Llan Dâv* is sometimes called Merthyr Clydog—his *martyrium*.

In the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 119—"His church is in Euas, where he was killed by pagan Saxons." In the *Myv. Arch.*, p. 420, he "is in Caer Gledog in England," where notice the word *caer*. By it is probably meant Longtown, where is an ancient camp. This Life affords proof that the Brychan rule extended into Herefordshire.

"The hermits Llibio, Gwrfan and Cynfwr were the first inhabitants and cultivators of the place after the martyrdom of Clydog the Martyr." They built there an improved church.¹ Ithael, King of Glywysing in the time of Bishop Berthwyn, made a grant of it to the church of Llandaff.

In the churchyard of Llanychllwydog (dedicated to S. David), in Pembrokeshire, are two upright stones supposed to mark the place where is buried the Saint who gave his name to the parish; but this is more probably S. Llwydog or Llwyddog,² than S. Clydog, as Fenton supposed.³

The festival of S. Clydog is November 3 in the Calendars in *Cotton MS. Vesp. A. xiv*, the *Iolo MSS.*, the Welsh Prymers of 1546, 1618 and 1633, Nicolas Roscarrock, and a number of old Welsh Almanacks, principally of the eighteenth century. But *Allwydd Paradwys* (1670) and Rees, after Cressy,⁴ give August 19. So also Wilson's *Martyrologie*, 1608, and the Bollandists, who follow him.

Whytford gives, on November 3:—"In England y^e feest of Saynt Clitauke a martyr, a kynges son of straye iustyce, a louer of peace, and of pure chastite, and of straye and perfyte lyfe y^t was cruelly slayne by a fals traytour at whose deth were shewed many myracles and at his tombe after many moo."

In art he should be represented holding a sword in one hand and a lily in the other, and crowned as a prince.

Clydog was the name of the eleventh or twelfth bishop of S. David's.⁵

S. CLYDWYN or CLEDWYN, King, Confessor

BOTH versions of the *Cognatio de Brychan* give Clydwyn as son of

¹ *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 194-5.

² *Arch. Camb.*, 1865, p. 182; Westwood, *Lapid. Walliæ*, p. 122.

³ Fenton, *Pembrokeshire*, 1811, p. 570; Cressy, *Church Hist. of Brit.*, lib. x, c. 15.

⁴ *Welsh Saints*, p. 146.

⁵ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, vi, ed. Dimock, p. 102; Stubbs, *Registrum Sacr. Anglic.*, p. 155.

that great father of Saints. They state that he "invaded the whole land of South Wales," or "conquered Deheubarth," and that he was the father of SS. Clydog and Dedyu or Dettu. In *Jesus College MS.* 20 his second son is called Hedetta sant, which stands for *ha Dettu*, "and Dettu," and this name is the daughter, S. Pedita, that has been ascribed to him.¹ All the late Brychan lists make him a son of Brychan. One entry adds that he "conquered Deheubarth," and another that he was "King of Ceredigion and Dyfed."²

The statement that he conquered South Wales cannot be strictly accurate, as Rees has shown.³ What is meant is the Dyfed of that time. His reputed conquest has brought him into the pedigrees of the kings of Dyfed, one form of which gives him a daughter named Gwledyr.⁴

The only church said to be dedicated to him is Llanglydwen in Carmarthenshire, on the confines of that county and Pembrokeshire; but the identification of Clydwyn with Clydwen is to be assumed.

It is stated in a poem in the *Book of Taliessin*, relating to the northern chieftain Gwallog ab Lleenog, that "the following of Clydwyn co-operated" with him;⁵ but another person of the name may be intended. A place called "Cruc Cletwin" (his Mound) is mentioned in the Talley Abbey charter of 1331.⁶

According to Willis⁷ his festival is All Saints' Day, which is the festival also of his sister, Clydai. Clydvn, Clydyn, or Clydau occurs in the Demetian Calendar (S) on November 3, on which day we have also Clydog.

S. COEL, King, Confessor

COEL HËN, or, as often, Coel Godebog, is included among the Welsh Saints in the *Iolo MSS.*⁸ only, but more especially as the ancestor of Saints. He is there said to have "founded a church in Llandaff," and to have been the father of SS. Elen, Gwawl and Ceneu. He is mentioned as king of the Isle of Britain, and son of Tegfan, whose

¹ Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 146.

² *Myv. Arch.*, p. 420; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 119.

³ *Welsh Saints*, p. 140.

⁴ Owen, *Pembrokeshire*, ii, pp. 277-8. His name as Gloitguin has been foisted into the Demetian pedigree in *Harleian MS.* 3839, and he is given a son, Clodri (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 171).

⁵ Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, p. 149.

⁶ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 1825, iv, p. 162; Daniel-Tyssen and Evans, *Carmarthen Charters*, 1878, p. 63.

⁷ *Parochiale Anglicanum*, 1733, p. 188. On the paten cover (1574) belonging to the church the parish-name is engraved "Llangloydwen." ⁸ Pp. 126, 147.

genealogy is traced up to Aedd Mawr, the mythical "first sole monarch of the Isle of Britain."

His correct pedigree, however, will be found in the Old-Welsh genealogies in *Harleian MS.* 3859,¹ where he is made to be the son of Guotepauc, the son of Tecmant—Godebog being his father's name, and not his epithet, which was Hên. According to these genealogies he was the father of Garbaniaun and Ceneu. Of his race, especially through Ceneu, were descended most of the "Men of the North."²

Skene says that "Ayrshire—divided into the three districts of Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick—seems to have been the main seat of the families of the race of Coel, from whom indeed the district of Coel, now Kyle, is said traditionally to have taken its name. There is every reason to believe that Boece, in filling up the regions of his phantom kings with imaginary events, used local traditions where he could find them; and he tells us 'Kyl dein proxima est vel Coil potius nominata, a Coilo Britannorum rege ibi in pugna cæso'; and a circular mound at Coilsfield, in the parish of Tarholton, is pointed out by local tradition as his tomb."³

Geoffrey of Monmouth, who styles him Earl of Gloucester, says that he had only one child, Elen Luyddog, or Helen, the wife of Constantius, and the mother of Constantine the Great. However, the old Welsh saga, the *Dream of Maxen Wledig*, makes Elen Luyddog the daughter of Eudaf, son of Caradog, and the wife of Maxen.

S. COF, Confessor

THERE were two Saints of this name.

I. Cof, the son of Ceidio ab Arthwys, of the race of Ceneu ab Coel. He and his brothers, Gwenddoleu and Nudd, were Saints at Llan-twit.⁴

II. Cof, the son of Caw. His name occurs in two lists of Caw's children, reputed to have been Saints.⁵

The saintship of both rests entirely upon the authority of the *Iolo MSS.*

¹ *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 174.

² *Peniarth MS.* 45.

³ *Four Ancient Books*, i, p. 170.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 106, 128. His name occurs in the "Descent of the Men of the North" (*Peniarth MS.* 45).

⁵ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 137, 142.

S. COFEN, see S. CWYFAN

S. COLLEN, Abbot, Confessor

THERE is a Life of S. Collen in Welsh, but no copies of it appear to exist of earlier date than the sixteenth century.¹

According to this Life he was the son of Gwynog ab Caledog (*al.* Cydebog) ab Cawrdaf ab Caradog Freichfras, and his mother was Ethni (*al.* Eithinen) Wyddeles, daughter of Matholwch, an Irish lord.² The Welsh genealogies differ as to his pedigree. Some agree with the Life³; others make him son of Pedrwn ab Coleddog ab Gwyn.⁴ They give his mother as Ethni or Ethinen Wyddeles, a name not uncommon as Ethne or Eithne in Irish. The Life states that she was Matholwch's daughter by one of his wife's handmaids, and was sent to Britain to be reared.

Ethni, the night she conceived, dreamt that a dove flew to her, took her heart out of her bosom, and bore it up to heaven, whence the bird returned, and restoring it to its place, with sweet odours, disappeared.

Collen, when a youth, was sent to France to study at Orleans, where he remained for over eight years, during the time, it is said, of Julian the Apostate, but this is an anachronism, as Collen lived in the seventh and not the fourth century.

To bring the incessant wars that were then being waged between the Pagans and Christians to a speedy termination, a paynim named Bras (possibly a Saracen) challenged to fight in single combat any one that the Christians might choose to pit against him, stipulating

¹ The earliest known MS. containing the Life is *Hafod MS.* 19, written in 1536. The copy to be printed in the appendix to this work is from this MS. There are also copies in *Llanstephan MSS.* 117 (1544-52), 34 (late sixteenth century), 18 (early eighteenth century), and *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.* 14,987. The Life has been printed in *Y Greal*, London, 1807, pp. 337-41. In *Llanstephan MS.* 117 he is called "Collen Filwr." *Collen* (pl. *cŷll*) is the common name for the hazel, but it also occurs, very rarely, for a sapling, as in *collen derwen* (*Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 129). For the name compare Onen Greg, Yspyddaden Bencawr, etc.

² The Life tells us that his "lordship" or district was called *Rwngkwl*, *al.* *Rwngkwc*, at the time it was written. Its situation is unknown to us. There is a Rathcoole near Dublin, another in co. Cork, and another in co. Louth.

³ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 270; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 420; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 108, 123. They, however, give his grandfather as Coleddog, Clydog, Cadello, and Cadell.

⁴ *Hafod MS.* 16 (c. 1400); *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 268; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 420.

that the losing side should henceforth adopt the religion of the conqueror. The Pope was greatly perplexed, for he could not find any Christian brave enough to accept the challenge. At last he was divinely directed to go to Porth Hantwn,¹ and the first person he met there should be his choice. He traversed land and sea until he reached that port, and the first person he met was Collen, who cheerfully accepted the challenge.

The champions met. In the first encounter Collen's hand was slightly wounded. Bras counselled him to give in, adding that he would cure the wound for him by the application of a precious ointment that he had in his basinet, and at the same time magnanimously handed him the ointment box. Collen applied some of the ointment to the wound and it was healed forthwith, but instead of returning the box to Bras, he threw it into the river, so that neither should get any further benefit from it. Collen next felled his antagonist, who, imploring him not to kill him, promised to embrace the Christian religion. The Pope baptized him there and then, and "the whole nation of the Greeks believed, and they were all baptized."

As a souvenir of this signal victory, the Pope presented Collen with a "relic, none other than the lily that blossomed before the pagans, when one of them said that it was no truer that a son was born to the Virgin, than that the withered lily in yonder pot should ever bear fair flowers. Then that lily blossomed. That lily the Pope gave to Collen, who brought it into this Island, and it is said to be still at Worcester."²

Collen, landing in Cornwall, came to Glastonbury Abbey, where he took the religious habit, and in three months' time was chosen abbot. Then, with the convent's leave, "he took upon him a life that was heavier and harder than being abbot," which consisted in preaching and upholding the Catholic Faith. This he daily pursued for the space of three years, and then returned to the abbey, where he remained five years. "Then he became angry with the men of the land for their wrong-doing, and cursed them." His choleric temper now drove him to Glastonbury Tor, and "there he made himself a cell under a rock in a secret place out of the way."

One day, whilst in his cell, he overheard two men talking about Gwyn ab Nudd, and remarking that he was king of Annwn (the Under-

¹ *Al.* Porth Hamwnt; now Southampton. The *South* is modern. It occurs as Porth Hamtwn and Porth Hamwnt in Geoffrey's *Welsh Brut*.

² We fear nothing is known to-day of this relic at Worcester, any more than of S. Oudoceus' butter-made cup turned into gold, said to be still "in Ecclesiâ Landaviæ honorifice reservatur" (*Book of Llan Dâw*, p. 137).

world) and the Fairies. This was too much for Collen. He put out his head and bade them stop their foolish talk immediately ; these were none other than demons. They replied that he would have to answer for such words as those. He then drew in his head. Presently he heard knocking at his door, and got for reply, " I am here, the messenger of Gwyn ab Nudd, King of Annwn, to bid thee come by mid-day to-morrow to speak with him on the top of the hill." Collen declined to go. The same messenger—" in raiment the one half red and the other half blue"—came again the next day, and the day after, when at last, losing patience, he said, " If thou dost not come, Collen, it will be the worse for thee." The menace disconcerted him, and, taking with him some holy water he had prepared, he proceeded up the hill.

" On reaching the top, he saw the fairest castle that he had ever beheld, manned by the best-appointed troops ; and there were numbers of musicians with every manner of song, vocal and instrumental ; steeds with youths riding them, the handsomest in the world ; maidens of noble mien, sprightly, light-footed, gay-apparelled, and in the bloom of youth ; and every magnificence becoming the court of a sumptuous king. He beheld a courteous man on the rampart, who bade him enter, saying that the king was waiting for him to come to dine. Collen entered the castle, and found the king sitting in a chair of gold. He welcomed Collen with due honour, and bade him seat himself at the table, adding that, besides what he saw thereon before him, he should have the rarest of all dainties and luxuries his mind could desire, and should be supplied with every liquor and sweet drink his heart could wish ; and that there were in readiness for him every luxury of courtesy and service, of banquet and honourable entertainment, of rank and gifts, and of every respect and welcome due to a man of his wisdom. ' I will not,' said Collen, ' eat the tree-leaves.' ' Hast thou ever seen men better apparelled than these in red and blue ? ' asked the king. ' Their apparel is good enough,' said Collen, ' of the kind it is.' ' What kind is that ? ' inquired the king. Then answered Collen : ' The red on the one side betokens burning, and the blue on the other betokens cold ' ; and with that he drew out his sprinkler (*siobo*), and dashed the holy water over them, whereupon they vanished out of his sight, so that there was neither castle, nor troops, nor men, nor maidens, nor music, nor song, nor steeds, nor youths, nor banquet, nor the appearance of anything whatsoever but the green tumps."

That night, on his return to his cell, Collen prayed God that he might have a place to dwell in for the rest of his life, and he was

bidden to go a journey next day until he met a horse, which he was to mount; and as much ground as he could compass that day should be "his sanctuary until Doomsday." He met the horse at a place called Rhysfa Maes Cadfarch¹; and "he rode it round his parish, and in the centre of the sanctuary made his cell," in which he spent the remainder of his days, and within it was laid to his rest.

This strange legend, which makes Collen act the part of S. Michael the Archangel—the common champion of Christianity against the Powers of Darkness in Celtic as in other lands—is still current, in a slightly altered form, in the Vale of Llangollen. The older and fuller version printed is to the following effect. Long ages ago there dwelt at Bwlch Rhiwfelen, an elevation commanding an extensive view of the country round, a giantess popularly called Cawres y Bwlch (the Giantess of the Pass), who had a *penchant* for killing and devouring every human being that attempted to go through the pass. The good man S. Collen, who lived hard by, determined to rid the district of the pest. So one day, having specially whetted his sword, he proceeded up the Bwlch. The giantess duly made her appearance, and he asked her who she was, and what was she doing there. She replied, "It is I myself killing myself" ("Myfi fy hun yn fy lladd fy hun.") They both engaged in combat, and Collen knocked off her right arm with his sword. She quickly picked up the bleeding dismembered arm and began to strike the Saint with it, but he next cut off her other arm. Then she cried aloud on Arthur the Giant to come to her aid out of his stronghold in the Eglwyseg Rocks. But Collen had the mastery over her, and slew her, and washed himself of her blood-stains in a well near at hand (on the mountain), which is known to this day as Ffynnon Gollen.²

S. Collen is the patron of Llangollen,³ Denbighshire, an extensive parish comprising originally nineteen or twenty-one townships.

¹ "The Course of the Charger's Field." *Greal*, simply Rhysfa Cadfarch. It has been supposed that it is in Somersetshire (Owen, *Sanctorale Catholicum*, 1880, p. 248). The *Greal* copy, which is in some respects fuller in detail than that in *Hafod MS.* 19, states here that he was to proceed from the Tor "until he saw a road leading on towards the east (yn cyrchu wyneb y dwyrain), which he was to follow until he met a horse," the same day. That would not be in the direction of Wales. But there must be some mistake here, as the "sanctuary" meant is surely Llangollen.

² The legend is given in the Welsh quarterly, *Taliesin*, Ruthin, 1860, p. 286; the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1878, pp. 426-7; and *Y Geninen*, 1900, p. 4. The last version, which was picked up near Corwen, varies a little. It says that she lived in a cave on a hill-slope; that cattle, as well as human beings, were her victims; and that Collen was of the female sex.

³ Sawyl, son of Llywarch Hên, was buried at Llangollen, and another son,

The Rural Dean's Report of 1749 says of the church, "There is a building adjoining the tower, westward, called 'the Old Church,' in which the tutelar saint Collen lies." This has since disappeared, as also the recumbent figure of an ecclesiastic, popularly supposed to represent S. Collen. Norden, in 1620, mentions a field called "Capel Collen" in the township of Dinhinlle Isaf in the parish of Ruabon, Denbighshire. Edward Lhuyd (died 1709) wrote of it: "Capel Collen is the name of a field, wherein is a cross, in the parish of Ruabon. They keep their wake on S. Collen's Day, the third week of summer." The "Capel Collen" probably represented the "Ecc'a Sancti Colyem" (in Maelor) of the Norwich *Taxatio*, 1254. There is a farm named Castell Collen, near an ancient camp called Y Gaer, in the parish of Llanfihangel Helygen, Radnorshire. Trallwm Gollen is one of the townships of the parish of Welshpool, Montgomeryshire. A brook called Collen runs into the Towy at Llanegwad, Carmarthenshire, and another into the Trowi, near Llanarth Hall, Cardiganshire.

He is probably the patron of S. Colan, Cornwall, called in the Register of Bishop Bronescombe "Ecclesia de Sancto Choulano," also "Sancti Culani," 1272 and 1276. In the *Taxatio* of 1291, "Ecclesia Sancti Colani." So also in the Register of Bishop Grandisson, 1341 and 1355, and Bishop Stafford, 1406 and 1412.

In Brittany is a Langolen, where is his statue in the church, and the Pardon is held on the second Sunday in August. Langolen is near Briec in Finistère. The statue represents him as an anchorite, with head and feet bare, and a staff in his hand.

S. Collen's festival is the 21st of May, which occurs on that day in all the Welsh Calendars except one, that in the Prymer of 1546, where it is entered on the 22nd, no doubt by mistake. Browne Willis,¹ followed by Rees,² gives it on the 20th, but the error is due in all probability to the fact that the Wake-fair was held (Old Style; New Style, 31st) on the eve of his day. But it was not unusual for fairs to fall on the eves of Festivals, as may be proved from existing Welsh fairs in parishes where the patron is, for instance, the B. V. M., or S. Michael the Archangel; in fact, the vigil, feast, and morrow was the common charter phraseology.

Gwell, at Rhiwfelen, according to a poem attributed to Llywarch (Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, p. 266).

¹ *Survey of Bangor*, p. 365.

² *Welsh SS.*, p. 302. See *Jesus College (Oxon.) MS.* 18, p. 34, for the Llan-gollen Gwyl Mabsant.

S. COLMAN, Bishop, Confessor

To this saint are dedicated Llangolman, subject to Maenclochog, in Pembrokeshire, as also Capel Colman in the same county.

Llangolman stands on high ground above the old Roman road that strikes from the Tâf, below Llanglydwen, to Maenclochog, and thence to S. Dogwells, where it falls into the Ffordd Ffleming and Via Julia. A strip of Teilo land curiously intervenes between Llangolman and Maenclochog, the mother church, now dedicated to S. Mary, implying that the Teilo land was cut out later, and that the foundation of S. Colman is very early.

There are over a hundred Colmans named as saints in the Irish Calendars and by hagiographers, and it is difficult to say which was he who founded Llangolman. But we are, perhaps, right in attributing this church and the chapel to Colman of Dromore, for this Saint was a pupil of S. Ailbe, or Ailfyw, who was grandson of Cynyr of Caer Gawch, and he is, moreover, associated in his legend with S. David.

Colman's Life is in the *Salamanca Codex* of the Lives of the Irish Saints, coll. 827-34, also in *Acta SS. Boll.*, Jun. ii, pp. 25-9.

The Life is full of anachronisms, and is eminently fabulous. He was of an illustrious family in Dalriada, and had an uncle, a bishop of the same name, who baptized him. His first master was S. Caylan of Nendrum. This Caylan or Coelan became Bishop of Down about 499. From him Colman passed under the tuition of Ailbe of Emly. Ailbe died between 526 and 541.

After having studied with him, he visited Bishop Macniss, then very aged, and who died in or about 514. Acting on his advice he founded a monastery near the river Lagan, that flows past Dromore in the county of Down.

Diarmid MacCearbhal, King of Ireland (544-558), had a fortress near by, and Colman invited the king and his suite to lunch, and to entertain them killed seven cows and as many calves, and, marvellous to relate, the veal of the latter tasted like pork.¹ But for drink he could furnish nothing stronger than milk and water.

He was associated with Aidan, Bishop of Ferns, in the troubles that were caused by the slaughter of Brandubh, King of Leinster (605). Thrice he made a pilgrimage to Rome; and on one of these visits was consecrated bishop by S. Gregory (590-604). On his return from one of these journeys he was in Britain, when the queen gave birth

¹ "Vituli in porcos conversi sunt pingues." *Cod. Sal.*, col. 831.

to a dead son, but by his merits, the infant came to life and became the illustrious S. David!¹ Then he took and educated him.

One day a girl was washing her smock by the side of a lake, when a water monster swallowed her. Colman made the creature disgorge her safe and undigested, and bade it never play such tricks again.

Some bards—one of the peripatetic bands which became more than once an intolerable nuisance in Ireland—came to him, and ringing their bell, demanded imperiously a largess. Colman replied that the only thing at his disposal to give them was the Word of God.

“Keep that to yourself, we don’t want it,” replied the bards. “You are a parcel of fools,” said Colman. “You have rejected what is good, and chosen what is bad.”

His mother sent to say that she wanted to see him and have a talk with him. He returned the message, “She may see me or talk with me but not both.” The good woman elected the latter.

It was accordingly contrived that he should stand on one side of the trunk of a great tree, and she on the other, and they should thus hold commune together. But the old woman was not to be balked thus, and, dodging round the tree bole, she had a good sight of Colman after having enjoyed his conversation. This is not exactly as the story is told; but it is, doubtless, the way in which she got the look she so desired.²

For three days the monastery was on short commons. This puzzled Colman, so he went into the cellar to examine into the supplies, and discovered that the cellarer was a rogue and had been purloining the provisions and drink of the brethren. This, of course, Colman discovered “divina revelatione,” as if he were incapable of finding it out by the light of common sense. The fraudulent cellarer was thrust out of the monastery.

It is not possible to determine with any certainty when S. Colman of Dromore died. It has been generally assumed that it was about 610, to allow of his ordination by S. Gregory, and his association with S. Aidan at the burial of King Brandubh. But probably, if

¹ “Dum vero inde rediens domum regis Britanniae pervenisset; contigit quod illa nocte regina mortuum filium pararet. Quem beatus . . . resuscitavit, nutrit ac docuit. Ipse est enim David, gloriosus Britanniae episcopus.” *Cod. Sal.*, col. 832.

² “Deinde juxta arborem quandam convenientes, ille ex hac, illa ex alia parte, ne se invicem viderent, colloqui ceperunt. Interea divina clemencia, cui nichil est impossibile, eorum obtutibus viam, qua se nullo obstaculo impediante conspicerent, per medium robur fecit.” *Ibid.*, col. 833. What was the good of a miracle, when all that was required was for the woman to dodge round the tree? Doubtless in the original the story was so told, but the redactor saw no point in it unless it were converted into a miraculous event.

there be any truth in either of these stories, they belong to another Colman, and cannot well belong to the Colman who entertained Diarmid, and who taught S. David, and had been himself taught by S. Ailbe and S. Coelan. We shall be probably nearer the truth when we put his death as occurring about 585.¹

His day is June 7 in the *Féire of Oengus*, the Martyrologies of Down, Tallagh and O'Gorman, and the Drummond Calendar; Whytford as well, and Nicolas Roscarrock. The Aberdeen Breviary, however, gives June 6. Browne Willis² gives November 20, as the festival at Llangolman.

At Capel Colman there is a crossed stone, without any inscription, which serves as a gate-post, near the churchyard. It is still called Maen-ar-Golman, the stone on Colman,³ which perpetuates the belief that he was buried here.

Llangolman is the name given to some meadows on Penwallis, in Fishguard parish. The names Bryn Colman and Cynffon Golman occur in the parish of Llanfihangel Tre'r Beirdd, Anglesey; also Ffôs Golman, in the same island. There is a Porth Golman near Aberdaron, Carnarvonshire.⁴

S. COLUMBA, Virgin, Martyr

Two churches in Cornwall are dedicated to this Saint, and S. Columb Major is one of the largest parishes in the diocese, comprising 12,046 acres.

But S. Columba, Virgin, Martyr, is a very puzzling person. There was a Columba at Sens, who was slain with the sword, according to the Roman Martyrology, in the reign of the Emperor Aurelian, about 273. The Acts are fabulous. The cult of S. Columba is certainly ancient. She is the only Gallic female Saint who found a place in the Mozarabic Liturgy of the seventh century, and her name is found

¹ S. Patrick is said to have foretold his birth thirty years before this took place. S. Columcille is said to have also foretold his birth. If S. Patrick died in 493, the rough calculation that Colman was born some thirty years after Patrick's visit to Sabhal may be approximately correct. But the prophecy of S. Columcille is impossible, he was born 520.

The story of the birth of S. David is, of course, absurd. But it may be true that Ailbe committed the youthful David to his pupil Colman for instruction.

² *Parochiale Anglicanum*, 1733, p. 177.

³ Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliæ*, pp. 120-1, where it is figured; also in *Arch. Camb.*, 1861, p. 210.

⁴ These names probably point to an Irish invasion under a chieftain of the name (L. Morris, *Celtic Remains*, pp. 181-2).

in the Gothic Liturgy of a still earlier period. The legend is a poor and extravagant romance, which probably rests entirely on popular tradition, but which has been filled in with inflated and tedious discourses.

But this is not the Columba of Cornwall. Her legend has happily been recovered from Nicolas Roscarrock's MS. *Lives of the Saints*, in the Cambridge University Library.

He took the story "out of an olde Cornish Rythme containing her legend, translated by one Mr. Williams a Phisicion there," *i.e.*, at S. Columb Major. Would that Roscarrock had inserted the ballad in Cornish! Columba was daughter of King Lodan and Queen Manigild, both pagans. The Holy Ghost appeared to her in the likeness of a dove, assuring her of His blessing and love, whereupon she vowed virginity, and forbearing to go with her parents to the idolatrous temple, she withdrew into a solitary place to pray, and there was granted a vision of the Blessed Trinity. Her parents urged her to quit her solitude and return to them, but this she refused to do, and confessed herself to be a Christian. This "greived her parents so greatlie, as they p̄fed all means, first by kinde usage to remove her; and they sawe that would not serve, fell to great anger and caused her to be whipped and tormented. All which she indured with great patience, still prayeing Christ to give her grace to p̄sever, whose prayers prevailed so farr, as shee was much encouradged. And as her Father committed her to prison into a dark Dungeon, it pleased God there to comfort her wth an Angell, whoe delivered her out of that prison and guided her into a Desert farr distant from that place; where she came, being destitute of all releif and bodelie food, she fell to prayer, and having help from God, whoe provided in such sort for her as she founde convenient sustaynance. At last, a great enemie of Christian religion dwelling hard by and hearing of her, sent certaine to apprehend her, whoe seing her beautie and mode of behaviour, was sodainlie surprised with it, and offered to marrye her to his sonn and make her the mistress of all that he had, so as she would first forsake her faith. For which, rendering great thanks signified she could not accept of them, having vowed Chastitie. Wherewith the Tyrant caused her to be tyed to a wheele to be tormented; at which time the Angell of God did protect her and she recieved no harme." She was recommitted to prison and two ruffians sent in to insult her; but Divine power was manifested for her protection, "the Angell of God interfering and conducting her out of the prison, and directed her to goe towards the sea-coaste and take the first shipp that she did meet withall, and soe she did, having come to the coaste, the Holy

Ghoste appeared again unto her in the form of a Dove on the topp of the shipp, with which being comforted she at last arrived at a place in Cornwall called Trevelgy, where the Tyrant, having intelligence of it, pursued her, and at a place called Ruthwas overtook her, and refusing to renounce Christian religion, chopt of her head. At which place is a Well at this daie which beareth her name."

The story is obviously pure legend, built up out of her name and a faint acquaintance with the story of Columba of Sens. Roscarrock seems to have had some misgivings about it. He mentions several male Columbas, and says that doubtless some such had been in Cornwall. Hals says:—"The tutelar patron or guardian of the church of S. Columb, to whom the same is dedicated, an Irish gentleman by birth; though contrary to this opinion, in Camden's *Britannia* we are told that this church bears the name of . . . a holy woman who lived in those parts, and that her life was written in the Cornish tongue, and in possession of one Mr. Roscarrock."

At Sens, the commemoration of S. Columba, V.M., is on December 31.

March 16 is entered in Martyrologies as the day of another Columba, V.M., but this is one of the spurious Saints of the company of S. Ursula, fabricated by Elizabeth of Schönau.

At S. Columb Minor, the fair is on June 9, and the Feast on November 15. At Culbone in Somersetshire, another Columba church, about June 9. At S. Columb Major the Feast is on the Sunday nearest to November 11.

The Bollandists (ed. 1668), on March 16, give Columba, V.M., in England. They say:—"In posteriore editione Martyrologii Anglicani (*i.e.*, Wilson's, 1640), citatis Camdeno et Spedo, ac Catalogo SS. Brit. ad xvi Martii illud elogium profertur: Eodem die in Cornwallia commemoratio Stæ. Columbæ, V. ac M. quæ celebris fuit et sanctitate vitæ et miraculis patris, ubi ad hoc usque tempus multa monumenta ejus nominis extant, quæ videri possunt."

But the attribution of Columba of Cornwall to March 16 by Wilson was arbitrary, and was only so done because he found on that day the entry of one of those fabulous martyrs of Ursula's company who bare the name of Columba. Alford, in his *Annales Ecclesiæ Britannicæ*, 1663, accepts March 16.

There is not a shadow of evidence that in Cornwall S. Columba was culled on that day.

In Brittany, moreover, a Columba is venerated at Plougonvelen in Finistère. There is a Ste. Colombe in Ille et Vilaine, as well as a S. Coulomb.

The Feast at S. Columb Minor has no connexion with the days of the Virgin-Martyrs. The Fair there, June 9, and the Feast at Culbone, agree with the day of S. Columba, Abbot of Iona. The Feast, November 15, coincides with the day of S. Columbanus, Abbot of Bobio.

This would seem to show that there existed much confusion of mind, not only as to *who* the patron was, but also as to the *sex* of the patron.

The Episcopal Registers of Exeter always give the two churches of S. Columb in Cornwall as dedicated to a female Saint.

But it is not easy to understand how such an important parish as Columb Major, near to Castel-an-Dinas, one of the most strongly defended fortresses in the county, could have been given to either Columba of Sens, or to an apocryphal Columba of Cornwall. Hals is probably right in his conjecture, that the original patron was an Irish Columba, a male.¹ The attribution to an imaginary female virgin-martyr is due to the name.

We are much inclined to suspect that the Cornish, Somerset and Brittany churches of S. Columba were foundations of Columba of Tir-da-glas. There is a strong Irish element in the dedications in all the district about S. Columb Major and S. Columb Minor in Cornwall. They adjoin S. Mawgan, the great master trainer of missionaries for S. Patrick, S. Carantock who laboured along with Patrick, S. Issey or Itha, the Brigid of Munster, S. Merryn, or Morwenna, or Monynna, the disciple of S. Brigid; and near S. Petrock, who, if not Irish, was trained by S. Pulcherius or Mohoemog. What more probable than that Columba of Tir-da-glas, who was much on the Continent, made settlements in Brittany, crossed into Cornwall and made another there, before he went on to Ireland, starting on his voyage home from Padstowe Harbour?

The Life of this Saint, a man of a peculiarly modest and beautiful character, is in the Salamanca Codex of the *Acta SS. Hiberniæ*, edited by De Smedt, Edinb. 1888, pp. 445-62.

This Saint was a native of Leinster; his father was King Ninnidh, of the race of Crimthan. He was educated by S. Colman at Clonkeen in Louth, in his earliest youth, and then passed through the hands of S. Finnian of Clonard, where he was a companion of S. Columba of Iona. Thence he started for Rome and Tours, to visit the tombs of the Apostles and of S. Martin. On his way home, he tarried some time in Britain, where he converted a king and all his house. The writer of his Life says that Columba preached to the Saxons, but there

¹ Camden, *Britannia*, 1594, p. 127, says that this "oppidum mercatorum" is "Columbani Scoti viri sanctissimi memoriæ consecratum."

is a difficulty in accepting this statement. How was an Irishman, who had never been brought in contact with Saxons, to acquire their tongue so as to be able to preach in it with fluency? Moreover, the route to and from the Continent was, for the Irish of the southern parts of their island, by Porth Mawr near S. David's, then to Milford Haven, to cross to Padstowe, thence over the backbone of Cornwall to one of the estuaries on the south, where they embarked for Aleth, or S. Malo.

The Life of S. Columba was not written till after his death. Finding, whilst in Britain, that one of his disciples was compiling his biography, he threw the MS. into the fire, and spoke on the matter so seriously to them, that none ventured to commit to writing anything concerning him, till after his decease. But the Life we have is a much later composition, and unhappily only a single copy remains, so that we have no means of saying what statements made in it are additions by a late redactor. It is quite possible that the editor, in the twelfth or thirteenth century, finding in the original that his hero had preached to and converted a *Rig* in Britain, added the information that this was a Saxon king.

It was not till 577 that the West Saxons set their faces to the setting sun, and defeated the Britons at Deorham, took and burnt Gloucester, Bath, and Cirencester. The Saxons then spread over Somerset to the marshes of the Axe below Weston-super-Mare. It was not till the second half of the eighth century that Devon was conquered.

Now, the period when Columba was returning to Ireland must have been before 550, and one does not see how he could have ventured among Saxons, so far out of his way, and whom, moreover, he could not address in their own tongue.

But if, as we suspect was the case, in crossing Cornwall, so as to take ship for Wales, he came into contact with a Domnonian *Rig* at Castel-an-Dinas, and converted him, a necessary consequence would be a grant of land, and the founding of a monastic settlement. Conversion has two meanings, it is applied to the rescuing of a pagan from heathenism, and also to the bringing of a secular into the monastic life.

The conversion of a Prince, at Castel-an-Dinas, or Rialton, may have been the occasion of the formation of the two parishes of Columb Major and Minor, near Newquay, with an acreage of 17,605.

The only other dedication to S. Columba in the West of England is that of the village of Culbone, on the western headland of Porlock Bay. The dedication of the church is to S. Culbone, which is a corruption, apparently, of Columbanus. But as this cannot be Colum-

banus of Luxeuil, we may suspect that we have here the same Columba of Tir-da-glas as at Columb in Cornwall.

On leaving his settlement in Britain, Columba returned to Ireland, where his brother Coirpre gave him a site; there Columba established a monastery, and placed his disciple Cronan in charge of it. "Oh, Master!" exclaimed the latter, "I had set my heart on my place of Resurrection being with thee." "So it shall be, in a fashion," said Columba, and he cut off one of his own fingers. "There," said he, "bury that and make your grave by it." He went thence to Clonenagh, in Queen's County, and formed a settlement, and remained there over a twelvemonth.

He made a great many other foundations, and is reported to have cured the deafness of a boy named Setna, whom he found herding swine on a mountain. He ended his days on Iniskeltra, but, according to his heart's desire, his body was finally transferred to Tir-da-glas. It is said of him that such was his gentleness, that the wild birds came about him and played, flapping their wings in his face.

A disciple named Nadcuim said to him, "How is it that we frighten the birds away, but they go to you readily?" "Why should birds avoid a bird?" he answered, playing on his name Columba, that signifies a "dove."

When S. Finnian of Clonard was dying, he sent for Columba, who gave him the last Communion. This was in 552. He himself died very soon after, in fact in the same year.

The day of S. Columba of Tir-da-glas is December 13, in the Irish Martyrologies. He is mentioned in the Festology of Oengus, as "the abstinent Columb." He is in the Donegal Martyrology as well. That of Tallagh is deficient in the November and early December entries.

S. Coulombe in Ille et Vilaine is dedicated to the male Columba.

He is there represented in monastic habit reading a book, which he holds in both hands. There he is commemorated on September 26.

S. CONOC, Confessor

BOCONNOC, in Cornwall, by its name signifies the habitation of Conoc. The dedication of the church is not known.

There was a Conoc or Quonoc, "quem alii sub additamento more gentis transmarinæ Toquonocum vocant," who was one of the dis-

ciples of S. Paul of Léon, "qui et ipse jubente Paulo propter vitæ merita et sapientiæ doctrinam in aliis magistrato gestabat officium." ¹

Dom Plaine suggests that he founded Plougaznou, but this is not possible; Gaznou would be the corruption of Gathnovus. We are disposed to equate Conoc of Boconnoc with Cynog. *See* under that name.

S. CONSTANTINE, King, Confessor

CONSTANTINE (Cystennin) was king of Domnonia, comprising Devon and Cornwall, in the sixth century. He was the son of Cador or Cado, Duke of Cornwall.

He was unmercifully attacked by Gildas as "the tyrannical whelp of the unclean lioness of Domnonia," who, disguising himself as an abbot, penetrated to where the sons of Modred, nephew of Arthur, had concealed themselves in sanctuary, and had slain them. Geoffrey of Monmouth tells the story thus (xi, cc. 3, 4):—"Upon Constantine's advancement to the throne, the Saxons, with the two sons of Modred, made insurrection against him, though without success, for, after many battles, they fled, one to London, the other to Winchester. Constantine pursued the Saxons, and reduced them under his yoke. He also took the two sons of Modred; and one of them, who had fled for sanctuary to the church of S. Amphibalus in Winchester, he murdered before the altar. The other had hidden himself in a convent of friars in London, but at last was found out by him, and brought before the altar, and there put to death."

Geoffrey is absolutely untrustworthy as to the broad lines of history, but he worked dexterously into his romance various historical facts and traditions, though not always in their proper places.

Gildas, who was a contemporary, was the original authority for this incident. The young ruffians apparently richly deserved their fate, and the crime, such as it was, consisted, in his eyes, not in killing the princes, but in violating the rights of sanctuary. His words are (§ 28):—"After taking a dreadful oath, he, nevertheless, in the habit of a holy abbot amid the sacred altars, did, with sword and javelin, wound and tear two royal youths with their attendants, when they were even in the bosoms of their temporal mother, and of the church their spiritual mother; and when he had done it, the mantles, red with clotted blood, did touch the place of the holy sacrifice."

¹ *Vita S. Pauli Leon.*, ed. Plaine, p. 28; *Revue Celtique*, v, p. 437.

Geoffrey is certainly wrong in making the murders to have taken place in London and Winchester. For Winchester, the *Caer Wynt* of the Welsh *Brut*, we should probably read *Caer Went*, in Monmouthshire.

Geoffrey states that three years later, the vengeance of heaven fell on Constantine, who was killed by his nephew Conan. But this may have been evolved out of his imagination.

Gildas goes on : " Not one worthy act could he boast of, previous to this cruel deed ; for, many years before, he had stained himself with the abomination of many adulteries, having put away his wife." Gildas wrote before 547, probably in 540. Consequently, Constantine was then king.

The Cambrian Annals give 589 as the date of the conversion of Constantine. The Annals of Tighernach give 588, those of Ulster 587, but as the Ulster Annals are a year behind the true computation, this yields 588.

After his conversion he is said to have gone to Menevia, to S. David, but this is difficult to reconcile with the dates of David's life, unless we accept the entry in the Cambrian Annals that makes David die in 601.

There were a good many of the name of Constantine, and they have been confounded together, or at least several have, in the Legend in the Breviary of Aberdeen.

1. Constantine, styled Corneu ("of Cornwall"), whose daughter was married to Peibio, King of Erging. This is supposed to have been Constantine the Tyrant, elevated to the purple by the soldiery in Britain in 408, and killed in 411. The fourth generation from this Cystennin produced S. Cybi and Gildas. Cybi died about 554 and Gildas in 570. As Constantine the Usurper may have been young when killed in 411, this will allow fairly enough for his identification with Cystennin Gorneu, the great-great-grandfather of Cybi and Gildas.
2. Constantine, King of Domnonia, assailed by Gildas in 540, and supposed to have been converted in 589. If he were a man of thirty when Gildas wrote, he would have been converted at the age of 79 and died a few years later.
3. Constantine, son of Rhydderch Hael, King of the Cumbrian Britons. He was born after the return of Kentigern to Strathclyde in 573. Of him we know very little ; only what we are told in the *Life of S. Kentigern* by Joscelyn, which is this—The queen (of Rhydderch), Langueth by name, was sterile, but, by the benediction and intercession of S. Kentigern, she

conceived and bore a son, whom the Saint baptized, and to whom he gave the name of Constantine. The boy grew up in favour with God and man, and after his father's death succeeded to the sovereignty of the Northern Cymry, and was subject to the bishop, as was his father. And because God was with him, he succeeded in controlling all the barbarous neighbouring nations, without effusion of blood. And he excelled all the kings who had reigned before him in Cumbria in riches and glory and dignity, and, what was more considerable, in sanctity. Wherefore, illustrious in merits, finishing his course in prosperity, he was crowned with glory in heaven, "Sanctusque Constantius usque ad præsens solet a pluribus appellari."¹ Rhydderch is supposed to have died about 600, and we may put the date of the death of this Constantine as taking place about 630.

4. Constantine, son of Fergus, King of the Scots, 789-820. He attacked the Picts, defeated them, and became king.
5. Constantine, son of Kenneth, 863-877; he fought against the Danes, who had been driven out of Ireland, and who entered the Firth of Clyde and ravaged Alba, or at all events the province of Fife. A battle ensued at Dollar, and the Scots were defeated and were pursued by the Northmen as far as Inverdovet, in the parish of Forgan, near the Firth of Tay, in Fife, where they were again worsted, and there Constantine was slain.
6. Constantine, son of Aedh, 900-946, was engaged in the battle of Brunanburgh (937) against Athelstan and his brother Edmund the Etheling, when the Scots were in league with the Northmen against the Saxons. Five years after this great defeat, Constantine, worn out with age and disappointment, resigned the throne and retired into the monastery of S. Andrew's, where he was appointed abbot, and ruled for five years. S. Berchan says of him—

Afterwards God did call him
To the Recles (monastery) on the brink of the waves,
In the house of the Apostle he came to death.
Undeiled was the Pilgrim.

He had lived ten years after his retirement, and his death is recorded in the Ulster Annals as taking place in 952.²

Constantine styled Corneu (No. 1) shall be dealt with later on.

¹ Pinkerton, *Lives of the Scottish SS.*, ed. Metcalfe, Paisley, 1889, ii, p. 70.

² Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, 1880, i, pp. 302, 328, 360.

Constantine, son of Fergus (No. 4), is accounted a Saint, but dubiously, by the Irish Martyrologists, who have confounded him with Constantine of Domnonia (No. 2).

Constantine, son of Kenneth (No. 5), is not accounted a Saint and Martyr though falling by the sword of the Northmen, as did also Constantine of Domnonia, according to the Legend in the Aberdeen Breviary. But Constantine No. 5 fell in Fife in the east of Scotland, and Constantine No. 2 in Kintyre in the west. Constantine No. 5 fell in battle, Constantine No. 2 was slain, without resistance, by a party of marauders.

Constantine No. 6 became a monk, so *perhaps* did Constantine No. 4, and so certainly did Constantine No. 2.

It will be seen that we have here all the material for confusion. Let us now take the story of Constantine No. 2, as given in the Aberdeen Breviary, very briefly. Details shall follow.

Constantine, son of Paternus, King of Cornubia, married the queen of Lesser Britain (Armorica). On her death he forsook his kingdom, crossed into Ireland, and entered a monastery, where he served for seven years grinding corn in the mill. Thence he was taken, when it was discovered who he was, and was ordained priest. He then went to S. Columba at Hy (d. 598), and after that was directed by S. Kentigern to preach to the pagans in Goldevia (Galloway), where he was elected abbot. He fell a victim to the heathen, who cut off his arm, and he bled to death, and died 576.

The Irish Martyrologies commemorate a Constantine on March 11. Oengus, in his *Félire*, has on that day :—"Constantine, king at Rathin." (Constantin rig Rathin.) The gloss, which is much later, says :—"A king of the Britons, who left his kingdom and came for his pilgrimage to Raithin in Mochuda's time, *i.e.*, the Coarb (successor) of Rathin Mochuda in Delbna Ethra in the west of Meath, and a king of Alba was he." ¹

The Martyrology of Tallagh calls him, "Constantine, a Briton, son of Fergus, of the Picts."

The Martyrology of Marianus O'Gorman has, under March 11, "the Briton Constantin of lasting grace." The scholiast on this has, "Constantinus filius Fergusii de Cruthenis (Picts) oriundus, vel juxta alios Brito; abbas de Rathenia Sti. Mochudæ," and with this agrees the Martyrology of Donegal.

Cathal Maguire has the following notice of the Saint :—"Constantinus, rex Britonum regnum abdicavit; et peregrationis causa, venit Ratheniam tempore S. Mochudæ. Fuit enim comorbanus (successor).

¹ *Félire of Oengus*, ed. W. Stokes, Dublin, 1871, p. lxiii.

Sti. Mochudæ Rathenin, et ante rex Albaniae; vel est Constantinus filius Fergusii de Cruthenis oriundus." ¹

That a Constantine was at Rathin is rendered probable by the fact that there is a Cepach Chonsaitin, or Plain of Constantine, near the site of the monastery. The poet Ruman MacDuach, whose death is entered in the Annals of Tighernach at the year 747, speaks of Constantine as coming to the Monastery of Rathin, whilst Carthagh or Mochuda ruled it, and adds that he cleared a plain for cultivation, called after him Magh Constantin. Now, if this poem be genuine, Constantine, son of Fergus, who died in 820, is put out of question.

Mochuda, or Carthagh the younger, was expelled from Rathin by Blathmac, son of Aedh Slane, in 630. He had ruled Rathin for forty years, *i.e.*, from 590. And if Constantine succeeded him as abbot he must have died about 640-5. The date would agree best with that of the son of Rhydderch, but Joscelyn does not say that he retired from the world; and if the monk of Rathin had been the son of so famous a prince as Rhydderch, it would have been remembered.

That Constantine of Rathin was a retired British king, and that he was not the son of Fergus, must be allowed.

We will now turn to another source for the history of the conversion of Constantine of Domnonia (No. 2).

In the Life of S. Petrock by John of Tynemouth we have the following story. Whilst he was at Padstow or Bodmin, it is uncertain which, on a certain day he saw a stag flying to him, which the hunters of a certain wealthy man, Constantine (*Constantini cujusdam divitis servi venatores*) were pursuing with their hounds. The Saint, out of pity, sheltered the beast from the hounds, and the hunters, afraid to touch the stag under his protection, related the matter to their master (*Domino al. diviti*). He was indignant, and, filled with fierce rage, attempted to smite the servant of God with his sword, but became rigid in all his members, till released by the Saint, when, humbled, he and twenty of his soldiers received the faith of Christ, and from tyrants they became gentle, and from pagans Christians.²

Whether this Constantine were the king, we are not told, we are informed that Tewdrig had been king, but he was dead, and was succeeded by his son, unnamed.

But that this Constantine was the Prince of Domnonia would seem to have been the general opinion, as near Padstow is the ruined church of S. Constantine, which has given its name to a bay, and the feast

¹ Colgan, *Acta SS. Hibern.*, pp. 574-5.

² Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, "De Sancto Petroco"; and *Acta SS. Boll.*, Jun. i, p. 392.

of S. Constantine was marked in the Bodmin Calendar, and is observed to this day in S. Merryn, in which parish is the ruined church.¹

S. Petroc died about 580, but he may have lived on another ten years, so that there is nothing impossible in his having been the instrument in the conversion of Constantine the king, who had been assailed by Gildas.

If we accept the identification, then we can understand Constantine, on his conversion, founding three churches in Domnonia, Constantine near Padstow, where he could learn the elements of the religious life under S. Petroc, Constantine in the deanery of Kerrier, and Milton Abbot in Devon on the Tamar. This, later, was probably part of the royal domain, that passed after the Saxon conquest to the Earls of Devon, and Ordgar made it over to the newly-founded abbey of Tavistock.

Having thus done his best to atone for his past offences, Constantine went to Menevia and placed himself at S. David's. In the Life of that Saint we read—"The fame of the sweet reputation of holy David having been heard, kings, princes, and laymen left their kingdoms and came to his monastery; therefore it happened that Constantine, king of the Cornishmen, left his kingdom, and submitted his neck, untamed before his elevation, to the obedience of humility in a cell of this father. And there he remained a long time, performing faithful service. At length he built a monastery in a distant country."² We need not conclude from this that S. David was alive all the time. It is perhaps more than a coincidence that the adjoining parish to S. Constantine's foundation at Milton Abbot should be under the invocation of S. Non, the mother of David, and that it should be divided only by the river from Landue (Lan-Dewi).

That Constantine remained long at S. David's can hardly be admitted. He made Menevia a halting-place on his way into Ireland. There he entered Rathin, the great monastery of Mochuda, without announcing who he was, and he was set to work at the quern, grinding corn for the monastery, and carrying sacks of grain.

One day, whilst engaged at the mill, he was overheard to say:—"Am I Constantine, King of Cornubia, whose head has worn so many helmets, whose body has been enveloped in so many corslets? That am I not." The words were reported to the abbot (Carthagh or Mochuda), who hastened to receive him within the monastic enclosure, and relieve him of menial work. In course of time he was ordained

¹ Hals gives the local pronunciation as Custenton. Gilbert's *Cornwall*, i, p. 236.

² *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 129.

priest. In the abbey he had served for seven years before he was recognized.

Then he resolved on paying a visit to S. Columba at Hy, and he went thither, and Columba sent him to S. Kentigern, who bade him go to Galloway. He was now extremely old, and he retired into the peninsula of Kintyre, where some wicked men, pirates probably, murdered him, as already said, by cutting off his arm and letting him bleed to death. As Kentigern died about 614, none of these statements need be anachronisms.

If we suppose that Constantine was born in . . .	510
Then he was abused by Gildas when aged 30 in . . .	540
He was converted when aged 79	589
He visited S. David's and went on to Rathin . . .	590
He left Rathin to see Columba, in the year of the death of this Saint, and was sent on to Kentigern . . .	597
Slain in Kintyre when aged 88	598

The story as told in the Aberdeen Breviary is confused, but need not be rejected as utterly unhistorical.

S. Constantine's day is March 11 in the Aberdeen Breviary, and in the Irish Martyrologies of Oengus and O'Gorman, of Tallagh, and the Drummond Calendar. But in the Bodmin Antiphonary on March 9. Nicolas Roscarrock enters him on March 8, 9 and 13. The Constantine Feast at S. Merryn is on March 9. In the Bodmin Calendar he was entered as King and Martyr. In Bishop Grandisson's time, (1331), there was a Legendarium in the church of S. Constantine, which certainly contained his story as received in Cornwall, but this no longer exists.¹ There was a chapel of S. Constantine at Illogan, in Cornwall, licensed by Bishop Lacey in 1449, and one at Dunsford, in Devon, licensed March 13, 1421.

The church of S. Constantine, in S. Merryn parish, had near it a Holy Well of the Saint, but this is now buried under the sands; the water still flows, and has formed a marsh. That there was an extensive cemetery here in early days, is shown by the numerous bones exposed by the drifting sands after a gale. The ruined church stands in a most lonely and desolate situation, and can never have been in a well populated part. It is suitable as a cell for one who desired to be out of the world.

Having now dismissed Constantine, King and Martyr, we will turn our attention to another Constantine, him surnamed Corneu, and to the Welsh authorities.

¹ Randolph (H.), *Episcopal Registers of the Diocese of Exeter*, Grandisson, p. 606.

S. CONSTANTINE, or CYSTENNIN GORNEU, King, Confessor

WE are disposed to identify this Constantine, styled *Corneu*, "of Cornwall," with Constantine the Usurper and Cystennin Fendigaid, and to regard him as distinct from the Constantine of Gildas. The *early* saintly pedigrees know nothing of a Cystennin as Saint, but they give Cystennin Gorneu in the pedigree of S. Cybi. It is somewhat doubtful. It runs, Cybi ab Selyf ab Geraint ab Erbin ab Cystennin Gorneu, but in the Lives of that Saint, Cybi ab Solomon (Selyf) ab Erbin ab Geraint ab Lludd. Mr. Egerton Phillimore is of opinion that by Cystennin Gorneu is meant Gildas' Constantine, King of Domnonia.¹

Llangystennin, in Carnarvonshire, must be dedicated to Cystennin Gorneu, for, not far off, within the same deanery, is Llangernyw, literally, "the Church of the Cornishman," which is dedicated to S. Digain, with whom sometimes is coupled S. Erbin, both of whom were sons of Cystennin Gorneu.

In the *Book of Llan Dâu*,² a church called, among other names, Lann Custennin Garth Benni, situated in Erging, is granted by Peibio, son of Erb, the King of Erging, to S. Dubricius. It is now Welsh Bicknor,³ the parish of which lies in Monmouthshire and Herefordshire. We there learn that Peibio was son-in-law to King Constantine, after whom, we may suppose, the church was called. Peibio belonged to the fifth century, so that we cannot identify this Constantine with the Constantine of Gildas.

Curiously, the next grant to this in the *Book of Llan Dâu* is another by Peibio, that of Lann Cerniu,⁴ otherwise called Cenubia (= Cernubia), also in Erging, and identical, it would appear, with Cum Barruc, in the Valley Dore, Herefordshire. The church of Thorpe-Constantine, in Staffordshire, is also dedicated to this Saint.

There has been no little confusion between the Constantine of Gildas and the Constantine who was proclaimed Emperor in Britain in 407, and whose son Constans, who had previously been a monk, was created Cæsar by his father, and were both slain in 411. All three

¹ *Montgomeryshire Collections*, xxv, pp. 334-8 (1891). Constantinus yields in mediæval Welsh the form Custennin, which is preferable to Cystennin. Llangwstenin, and the less frequent Llangwystenin, are both incorrect. The Celtic bronze hand-bell, which belonged to Llangystennin, is now in the Powysland Museum at Welshpool.

² Pp. 72, 275-6.

³ It is called *Ecclesia Sancti Custenin de Biconovria* in a Saint-Florent charter of 1144 in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, xl, p. 182 (1879).

⁴ P. 192. There is a church called Coed Cernyw, dedicated to All Saints, between Newport and Cardiff.

have been annexed by Geoffrey, and he makes the second Constantine father, not only of Constans, but also of Aurelius Ambrosius (Emrys Wledig) and of Uthyr Bendragon. The Cystennin Fendigaid (the Blessed) of his Brut is simply the Constantine of 407-11. He is also called Cystennin Fendigaid in the Red Book Triads,¹ where his son Constans is called Cystennin Fychan (the Younger). He is also styled Cystennin Llydaw, and in the third or latest series of the Triads he is stated to have been one of "the Three Foreign Sovereigns of Britain."² He is credited with having been, in conjunction with the Emperor Theodosius, the original founder of Bangor Illyd, that is, Llantwit Major.³ He is given as the grandfather of King Arthur, whose pedigree is made to run, Arthur ab Uthyr ab Custennin ab Cynfor ab Tudwal ab Morfor ab Eudaf ab Cadwr ab Cynan ab Caradog ab Bran.⁴

Among the triplets known as "the Stanzas of the Achievements" occurs the following—

The achievement of Cystennin Gorneu
Was a law, on account of emergencies,
To suppress war on the borders.⁵

The later genealogies include also among the Welsh Saints Constantine the Great, son of Maxen Wledig by Elen Luyddog, as well as his brothers Owain Ffinddu, Peblig, and Ednyfed.⁶ He is said in late documents to have founded the Archbishopric of York, and, along with his father, to have founded the church of Caerleon on Usk.⁷

The mediæval Welsh Calendars give only one festival of a Cystennin, May 21, which is that of Constantine the Great, the first Christian Emperor.

Cystennin the Usurper hardly merits a place among the Saints. In 406 a swarm of Vandals, Sueves, and Alans had crossed the Rhine and inundated Gaul, ravaging it, and cutting off communication between Britain and Rome. Italy had been invaded by Alaric in 402, it was again invaded by Radagasius in 405. Under the feeble sway of Honorius the Western Empire was falling to pieces. In 407 the Roman soldiers in Britain raised a private soldier Constantine

¹ *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, pp. 298-9; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 393, 395.

² *Myv. Arch.*, p. 405.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 134.

⁴ *Mostyn MS.* 117 (thirteenth century). This Cystennin is called Cystennin Gorneu in the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 137, and is said to have been the father of Arthwgy, the grandfather of S. Eldad.

⁵ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 264.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 138. At the latter reference another brother, Gwythyr, is given, and Peblig is said to have been the son of Owain.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 221; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 407.

to the purple. The name had a charm for them, and they hoped that with the name of the first Christian Emperor he would inherit his greatness. The proclamation was made by the second and sixth Legions, stationed respectively at Richborough (*Rutupiæ*), and York (*Eburacum*). For the four succeeding years, the legions in Britain and Gaul were of no service towards the Empire. This revolt made its ruin all the more complete and speedy. From Britain Constantine crossed into Gaul, and the Roman legions there revolted and joined his standard.

It is somewhat remarkable that Gildas, who speaks of the previous revolt of Maximus with such horror, and of him as "accursed," should say not one word against the usurper Constantine; and this looks much as though he regarded Constantine with respect and his memory with tenderness.

Stilicho sent Sarus the Goth to oppose the progress of the Usurper, and he defeated and killed Justinian, and contrived the assassination of Nervigastes, the two ablest generals of Constantine. The latter was besieged by Sarus in Vienne, but Edobincus and Gerontius, two generals who had replaced those who had been slain, came to his aid, and drove the besiegers back over the Alps.

Constantine now fixed his court at Valence on the Rhone, and turned his arms against the intruding Vandals, Sueves, and other barbaric hordes, and pushed them back, so that the Rhine frontier was safer than it had been since the days of Julian. He proceeded to send his son, Constans, into Spain, and in 408 this prince—he had been created Cæsar—was pressing hard the troops that remained faithful to Honorius in the peninsula.

In the early days of the year 409, Constantine, who was now master of the three great provinces of the West, sent eunuch ambassadors to the court of Honorius, to excuse his usurpation on the plea that he had been compelled to it by the soldiery. Honorius deemed it safest to come to terms with the "tyrant," and he recognized him as a partner in the Empire.

Constantine then entered Italy at the head of a strong army, with the secret intention of deposing the feeble Honorius, and making himself master of the whole Western Empire. He had halted under the walls of Verona, when he was suddenly recalled to Gaul by the defection of his general Gerontius, who, having the command of the army in Spain, persuaded the troops to support his revolt. Gerontius moved at once into Gaul and took prisoner and put to death Constans, the son of Constantine, at Vienne. Constantine threw himself into Arles, and was there besieged by Gerontius. But an army sent by

Honorius compelled Gerontius to raise the siege and fly to the Pyrenees, where he soon after perished.

In Arles, in expectation of receiving little consideration from Honorius, Constantine took refuge in a church, when the troops of Honorius surrounded the city. He accepted ordination as priest, thereby finally abandoning all claims to the imperial throne. After having received a solemn promise of safety, confirmed by oaths, he opened the city gates, and was taken along with a son, Julian, and sent as prisoners to Rome. A conscientious observance of oaths was not a feature in the character of the despicable Honorius, and he ordered both captives to be put to death, when they were still thirty miles distant from Ravenna.

Constantine was an able general, and had his revolt succeeded, he might have staved off for a while the downfall of the Western Empire.

S. CORBRE, Confessor

IN *Peniarth MS.* 176 (of the middle of the sixteenth century), known as the *Book of Griffith Hiraethog*, occurs the entry, "Eglwys gorbre sant ymonn," "S. Corbre's Church in Anglesey," by which is intended the church of Hên Eglwys, "the Old Church."¹ The church is also called "Llan y Saint Llwydion," "the Church of the Holy Saints."² It is usually said to be dedicated to a S. Llwydian, with festival on November 19 or 22, but he has clearly been evolved out of the last name.

Mynwent Corbre, "Corbre's Cemetery," is mentioned in the twelfth century *Black Book of Carmarthen*,³ in one of the "Verses of the Graves," which are memorials of the places of sepulchre of about 200 warriors and persons of distinction connected with the early history of Britain. The triplet may be rendered thus—

The grave of Ceri Gledlyfhir (the Long-sworded) is in the confine of Hên Eglwys,

On the gravelly cliff ;

Tarw Torment (the Bull of Conflict) in the cemetery of Corbre.

Corbre is the Welsh form of the rather common Irish name Cairbre. There are three Saints of this name commemorated in the Irish Mar-

¹ Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 978.

² *Ibid.*, p. 912.

³ Ed. Dr. J. G. Evans, 1906, p. 63. There is a farm called Corbre in Llanllechid, Carnarvonshire.

tyrologies. Cairbre Crum, Bishop of Clonmacnoise, on March 6, but he lived in the ninth century. Cairbre, Bishop of Moville, occurs on May 3, but there is no record as to the period at which he lived. The third is Cairbre or Coirpre, Bishop of Coleraine, on November 11. He was a disciple of S. Finnian of Clonard and flourished about 540.¹

Corbre is, no doubt, the original patron of Hên Eglwys. In the Extent of 1352 the *villa libera* of Hên Eglwys is given as held of SS. Faustinus and Bacellinus,² by whom must be meant "Y Saint Llwydion." Of Bacellinus nothing seems to be known, nor anything definitely of Faustinus; but it is curious to note that Faustinus and Marcellinus, Roman priests, are coupled together as two Luciferians that were exiled in 369, in the time of Pope Damasus. The only name approximating these on November 19 or 22 is Faustus on the 19th, an obscure Eastern martyr of the early fourth century. A Marcellinus is coupled with Marcellus as patron of Llanddeusant, also in Anglesey. They may have been the two Popes Marcellus (January 16) and Marcellinus (April 26), martyrs in the early fourth century, the former of whom succeeded the latter as Pope; but the *Gwyl Mabsant* of the parish, September 25, does not favour the supposition. A Marcellus is supposed to be patron also of Martletwy, Pembrokeshire.

S. CORENTINE, Bishop, Confessor

THIS Saint was the son of one of the colonists from Britain in the fifth century, and was born about the year 410. He retired into solitude in Plou-Vodiern in Armorican Cornouaille, and was granted lands by Grallo. He is reckoned the first Bishop of Quimper, and he signed the Canons of the Council of Angers in 453. Among these was one condemning "those vagabond monks who ramble about unnecessarily, and without letters of recommendation," a blow levelled against the Celtic Saints, who were greatly addicted to this rambling, but who did so to good purpose, for the establishment of *lanns* or religious centres for the several clans or tribes.

Corentine had a little pool, with a spring of water in it, near his cell. By a special miracle, a fish lived in this basin, which served Corentine with a meal every day. He put his hand into the water, drew out the fish, cut off as much of its flesh as he wanted, and then

¹ Colgan, *Acta SS. Hibern.*, pp. 313, 406; *Trias Thaum.*, pp. 183, 380.

² *Record of Carnarvon*, 1838, p. 44. Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains*, pp. 183, 242, gives the former saint by mistake as Franciscinus.

threw it back into the spring, where it recovered itself before his next meal. There was a lame priest, a hermit, named Primaël, who had a chapel at Châteauneuf-du-Faou. Corentine went to visit him. He slept the night at his hermitage, and next morning Primaël went to fetch water from the spring, which was at some distance. As the old man was lame, and the way long, Corentine pitied him, and driving his staff into the ground, elicited a bubbling fountain at the hermit's door.

Two eminent Saints visited him one day. Corentine was in despair. He had flour, and could give them pancakes for dinner, but pancakes, before it was understood how to season them with sugar, nutmeg, and lemon, were thought to be very insipid. He went to his fountain to have a look at the fish. It would be like killing the goose that laid the golden eggs, if he broiled for his visitors the entire fish. But, to his great joy, he found the spring full of plump eels. He cooked them for dinner in light wine; and his visitors left, praising heaven for having given them so dainty a meal.

However, one day King Grallo lost his way when hunting, and arrived hungry at the cell of the Saint. Corentine was obliged then to cut an unduly large slice out of the back of his fish. The king's cook, without whom Grallo prudently did not lose himself, scoffed at the small supply, but as he began to fry the slice of fish, it multiplied in the pan sufficiently to satisfy the king and all who came to the hermitage. Grallo was naturally curious to see the fish itself, and Corentine took him to the fountain, where they found the creature frolicking about quite uninjured. An attendant of the king tried his knife on the fish, and the wound remained unhealed till Corentine discovered what had been done, restored the fish to soundness, and bade it depart lest it should get into mischief again through the concourse of the curious who would be sure to come to the fountain on hearing of the miracle. The prose for the feast of S. Corentine in the Quimper Breviary says that it was the bishop of Léon who tried his knife on the fish, but the lesson for the festival in the Léon Breviary repudiates the charge, and lays the blame on an attendant of the king. Grallo, charmed with the miracles he had witnessed, presented the forest and the hunting-lodge of Plou-Vodiern to the Saint.

The Life of S. Corentine ¹ is late and a very unsatisfactory production.

¹ Bibliothèque Nat., Paris, MSS. Lat. 12,665, f. 236; MSS. Fr. 22,321, f. 728, from the Breviaries of S. Briec and Nantes. Vita Sti. Corentini in *Bullet. de la Soc. Arch. de Finistère*, xii, pp. 148, et seq. A Life composed in the thirteenth century. Also a Life in Albert le Grand from the Breviaries of Quimper, Léon and Nantes.



S. CORENTINE.

From a Statue at the Abbey of Landevenec.

It is meagre in historical detail, and diffuse in hortatory matter, which is conventional "padding." It was written after 848, when Nominœ asserted the independence of the Breton sees from the archiepiscopal crosier of Tours, and organized them under the metropolitanate of Dol. Dom Plaine, who has edited this Life, thinks with reason that it was composed before the Translation of the body of S. Corentine, shortly after 876. It was written for a polemical purpose, by some ecclesiastic adverse to the independence of the Breton Church, and who sought to give an historic basis for the claim to supremacy by the Church of Tours. It represents, accordingly, S. Corentine as going to Tours to receive consecration to the see of Quimper, at the hands of S. Martin, and as submitting to him a couple of abbots for confirmation.

The fraudulent composer of the Life was as stupid as he was unprincipled. He makes Corentine, who signed the decrees of the Council of Angers in 453, a contemporary of S. Martin, who died in 401. He makes him an associate with S. Padarn and S. Malo. Pater-nus of Vannes was, indeed, his contemporary, but the author confounds him with Padarn the cousin of S. Samson, who died about 560. And S. Malo died in or about 627. What seems to be fairly established is that Corentine was a contemporary of Grallo, King of Cornouaille, but the date of this prince cannot be fixed with any accuracy. Dom Plaine (*Grallo le Grand*, Vannes, 1893) makes him rule from 480 to 520. De la Borderie holds that he died in 505.

The compiler of the Life makes Winwaloe and Tudy disciples of S. Corentine, and appointed to their abbacies by him; whereas Winwaloe, born about 480, became a disciple of S. Budoc, about 492, and was established at Tibidy not before 515, and certainly did not found Landevenec much before 518.

Corentine may have known Winwaloe, but did not stand to him in the relation of master to pupil.

Relying on this most untrustworthy Life, many writers have assumed that there must have been two Corentines, Bishops of Quimper, separated from each other by the interval of a century. But the date that nails Corentine is that of the Council of Angers, 453, to the decrees of which he subscribed, and we are bound to reject all the incidents introduced by the late and interested biographer for polemical purposes.

The date of Corentine's death may have been 500, not later, probably somewhat earlier. What was his connexion with Cornwall is difficult to determine. It is probable that Cury was a foundation made by Breton settlers planted by King Athelstan after 935.

In the Exeter Martyrology his feast is marked on May 1, the day of his Translation, but in the parish of Cury it is observed on November 2.

In the dioceses of Léon, Quimper, and S. Brieuc, his day is December 12; in that of Nantes, on December 11.

Sir Harris Nicolas gives as well September 5, on which day he is commemorated at Tours, and is inserted in the French Martyrologies.

Cury parish, it will be noticed, adjoins that of Gunwaloe, dedicated to S. Winwaloe, supposed—but incorrectly—to have been his disciple.

In Brittany S. Corentine is invoked against paralysis. He has there numerous churches and chapels, especially in the diocese of Quimper. At Serignac are two chapels under his invocation.

In art he is represented with a fountain at his side, in which is a fish.

There can be little hesitation in conjecturing that to him has descended a mythological attribute; the sun is the imperishable gold-fish that swims athwart the basin of the blue sky. It dies daily, and as often revives.

The same story attaches to other Saints, and therefore it is probably an early myth which adhered here and there, when the Celtic people adopted Christianity.

S. CORTH, see S. CYMORTH

S. COWAIR, see S. CYWAIR

S. CRALLO, Confessor

S. CRALLO was son of S. Sadwrn Farchog by S. Canna, daughter of Tewdwr Mawr, of Armorica. His mother subsequently married Alltu Redegog, and he was thus half-brother to S. Elian Ceimiad. This "nephew, brother's son to Illtyd, came with Garmon to this island, and became a saint in Illtyd's *Côr*. He founded a church and

a *Côr* at Llangrallo, where he lies buried.”¹ He is also said² to have been “contemporary with S. Lleirwg,” *i.e.* Lucius; a statement which does not deserve any consideration.

The only church dedicated to him is Llangrallo,³ now better known as Coychurch (for Coed Church), in Glamorganshire. It adjoins Llangan, of which his mother is patroness. A circular stone cross in Coychurch churchyard, once bearing an inscription, now illegible, has been supposed to mark his grave.⁴ Edward Lhuyd says his holy well, Ffynnon Grallo, is near the south side of the church, and that his festival, which does not occur in any Calendar, was observed on August 8.

Among the “Sayings of the Wise” is the following—⁵

Hast thou heard the saying of Crallo,
When there was nothing stirring?
“It is easy to make the wry-mouthed weep.”
(Hawdd peru i fingam wylo.)

Curiously, the expression “Yr hên Grallo,” “the old Crallo,” is used in Glamorganshire as a term of reproach in the sense of a crazy fellow.⁶

S. CREDa, or CRIDA, Widow

IN the Life of S. Cainnech or Canice, of Kilkenny and Aghaboe, and in a few stray notices elsewhere, is all we learn about this Saint.

She was the daughter of Senach Ron, son of Nathi of the Hy Eircc family. He is called Ron or Ronan, King of Leinster, but he was not more than a chieftain. He retired from the world into a monastery, and became an intimate friend of S. Canice, who calls him “one of my monks,” or, in another copy, “one of my friends.”⁷ S. Canice was a pupil of S. Cadoc of Llancarfan. One day he told his monks that he had heard the voice of Senach Ron calling him, as from a great distance, and that he knew he was dead, but that he had striven with Satan to save the soul of his disciple. Senach Ron had been killed

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 132; *cf.* also pp. 134, 220, where he is called “brother in the faith to Illtyd.”

² *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 220.

³ Browne Willis, *Survey of Llandaff*, 1719, append. p. 3, errs in giving it as dedicated to S. Illog (August 8).

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 365–6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

⁶ Compare with it *Llelo* and *Iolyn*, diminutives of *Llewelyn* and *Iorwerth*.

⁷ “*Qui michi corpus et animam suam et stipem suosque agros obtulit.*” *Vita in Salam. Cod.*, coll. 367–8.

in the south of Leinster. Senach was of Iverk in the south-west of Ossory, which was occupied by his clan, the Hy Eircc, and was a cousin of S. Colman of Iverk.

One day Findach, a robber, came to the church near the house where Crida was, and concealed himself in a thorn tree above the holy well, hard by, waiting for an opportunity to break into the church and rob it.

Whilst he was there concealed, Crida came to the well to wash her hands. Findach, beholding her beauty, forgot about the church treasure and carried her off instead.¹ By him she became the mother of S. Boethin, who is commemorated on May 22.

In the *Félire of Oengus* she is spoken of thus :—

Cred, good was the woman,
Daughter of Ronan, King of Leinster.
With her lovable church, constant, pure,
Mother of Boethin, son of Findach.

In the Martyrology of Donegal, on August 11, is the commemoration of "the Daughter of Senach," but it does not give her name.

She is given on this day by Sir Harris Nicolas as Credyw.

She had a church at Kilcredy, in the deanery of Ida, dedicated to her, and that was probably the place of her residence. Another of her churches is Kilcready in Upper Ossory. These two churches, and another in Rosture, now Rosmore, near Kilmanagh, are the only mementos of her existence in the land.

Aedh, son of Senach, was one of the ecclesiastics who accompanied S. Moling, Bishop of Ferns, about 673, to obtain the remission of the Boromæan tribute of cows paid by the Leinster men to the king of Ireland. It has been supposed that he was brother of S. Crida, but it is hardly possible to put Crida so late. S. Canice, her father's friend, died at the age of eighty-four in 598; there is no reason for supposing that Senach Ron became a monk and died, till he was at a good age, and we can hardly put S. Crida down as living later than 670. Aedh must have been a grandson and not son of Senach. She must have had sisters, for the Martyrology of Tallagh gives, on August 11, "the daughters of Senach."

In Bishop Stapeldon's Register, Creed is called *Ecclesia Sanctæ Cridæ* (1310); so also in those of Bytton (1314) and Brantyngham (1375), and in the *Taxatio* of 1291. Grade may also have her as an earlier patroness than the Holy Cross. In Bronescombe's Register the church is that *Stæ. Crucis de Rosewycke*, 1261; but Brantyngham gives it as *Ecclesia Stæ. Gradæ*, 1381.

¹ Gloss on *Félire of Oengus*, ed. Whitley Stokes, p. lxxxix.



S. CREDÀ.

From Fresco in Lanivet Church (restored).

It may be noticed that Creed is not in the district colonized by SS. Senan, Ia, Erc, Breaca, Burién, and Ciarán. But then she belonged to a century, or nearly a century, later, viz. to that of S. Finbar, with whom possibly she may have come.

On account of the population having drifted to Grampound, the church of S. Creed has been recently restored from a condition of ruin. It is picturesquely situated, and is very late in architecture.

S. Creed Feast is on the Sunday nearest to November 30.

In 1411 Ralph Tregisiou, Dean of Exeter, bequeathed to the church of S. Crida, the Virgin, "ubi fui oriundus," 40s. to the store for the church, and a silver cup engraved with the Arms of the See. A fresco representing a female saint labelled "S. Crede," crowned, and holding a sceptre, was uncovered in Lanivet church. There was a chapel of S. Crida at Padstow.

S. CREDAN, Abbot, Confessor

LELAND (*Coll.*, i, 10) says that the body of this Saint reposed at Bodmin. He, with Medan and Dagan or Dachuna, were disciples of S. Petrock.

Some difficulty exists as to his parentage. A Credan, brother of Dagan, was son of Colman and Coeltigherna, and was nephew of S. Coemgen of Glendalough.

Another Credan was son of Illadhan or Iolladan, whom we find at Illogan, and is variously called Criotan, Critoc, Cred, Credan and Mocritoc. The terminations *oc* and *an* are used indifferently as diminutives.

The date of the death of the former Credan would be about 650. That of the latter about 580, as his uncle Cairbre Dubh, King of Leinster, died in 546.

Petrock and Coemgen (Kevin) were certainly associated together for a while, and Petrock probably died in 580, somewhat earlier than Coemgen.

The son of Illadhan is too late to have been the disciple of Petrock. The Credan of Bodmin was Dagan's brother. The Credan at Sancreed we suspect was the son of Illadhan.

Nicolas Roscarrock, in speaking of Sancreed, says:—"I have harde that they have by tradition there that he killed, by misfortune, his owne father, with which he was so moved as abandoning the world

he became a hogherd, and lived so exemplarily as he was after esteemed a saint."

In Bishop Grandisson's Register, 1331 and 1332, Sancreed is given as dedicated to S. Credus. In Brantyngham's Register, S. Cretus, 1374, 1378. In Bishop Stafford's Register he becomes S. Sancreotus, but in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas he is S. Credus. He went to Ireland and settled at Aghamanach in Moyne and Ballinachor in the County of Wicklow. It is "The plain of the monks," encircled by sheltering hills, in a highly romantic situation. Not far off are the townlands of East and West Macredin or Moycredin, the *Magh*, or plain, of S. Credan. Illadhan, his father, was son of Cormac, King of Leinster. His great-aunts were baptized by S. Patrick about 460.

The aunts of S. Credan were probably the founders of a church at Camborne, and one at Sithney. As Illadhan died about 560, we may suppose that Credan died in 590.

In the Irish Calendars S. Credan or Mocritoc, the son of Illadhan, is given on May 11. Whytford gives August 20.

A Bishop Credan or Criotan of Mahee Island, County Down, is commemorated on May 17; he died in 632 or 638, but he is out of the question.

Another Saint of the same name, commemorated on November 18, and again another on December 13, found in the later Martyrologies, are known only by name.

S. CREWENNA, Virgin

THIS Saint, according to Leland and William of Worcester, was one of the party of Irish that came over and settled in Penwith and Kerrier in Cornwall at the dawn of the sixth century.

The parish church of Crowan is dedicated to her, and her feast is observed on February 2.

The Bollandists gave her on October 27, but merely as one of a number of Cornish Saints whom they lump together with S. Hia, whom Challoner arbitrarily inserted on this day. It will, therefore, be seen that there is no traditional or other warrant for giving October 27 to S. Crewenna.

The name is common in the Irish Calendars as Croine or Crone. There was one so called at Kilcrony in Wicklow, where are the remains of a very early church. She is commemorated on January 27.

Another Croine, Virgin, was of Tallagh, in the County of Dublin, and is commemorated on February 25.

Another Croine Becc, or Croine the Little, on July 7; she was of Tempull-Croine in Donegal.

Another, again, on October 15, of whom nothing is known, not even to what part of Ireland she belonged.

But Crewenna is certainly the first of these. Not only do the Irish Saints who settled in Cornwall all belong to the south of Ireland, but the feast is observed in the Octave of the day on which Croine of Kilcrony is venerated in Ireland.

But who this Croine was is not so easy to determine. Leland distinctly asserts that she came over with Breaca and Germoc, and that migration took place about 500.

Some of these Saints went on to the Continent and visited Rheims in 509, and among those whose names are given by Flodoard is Promptia. One is disposed to equate Promptia with Crewenna, as the hard *C* of the Gaelic would become *P* in Brythonic.

There was a Croine sister of Ainmire, King of Ireland 568-71, and daughter of Setna MacErc. She is invoked in S. Moling's poem on the Saints of Leinster—

O nun of Cethanladet,
O highly happy nun,
O Croine, daughter of Setna,
Bless the track of my way!

But this cannot have been the Croine who crossed over with Breaca.

Again, in the Life of S. Molua, of Clonfert, we have a story relative to a Croine, his sister; they were the children of Carthach the Red.

Molua had been on a visit to Wexford. On his return to his own people, the Hy Fidgeinte, in Kerry, he found his sister Croine dead, or apparently so, and women were weeping around her.

"May the everlasting joy be for thee in heaven, sister," exclaimed S. Molua. Hearing his voice, she opened her eyes and smiled.

Then he bade her rise and accompany him to the church, where he celebrated the Eucharist, and communicated her. And when he had so done, she said, "I am aweary, let me enter into my rest."

So she returned to her bed, laid herself down, and died.¹

S. Setna, disciple of Senan of Iniscathy, was a friend of Molua, and the latter may have entrusted his sister to Setna, or to Senan, to bring over to Cornwall. But Molua's death in 608 is too late to allow that his sister can have come across with the first swarm of Irish

¹ Vita S. Lugidi (Moluæ), *Acta SS. Hib., Cod. Sal.*, col. 280.

Saints, unless she was very much older than himself. Molua was confessor to Aidan of Ferns, disciple of S. David.

On the whole, therefore, it is impossible to equate Croine, sister of Molua, with the Croine or Crewenna who settled in Cornwall, for just a century intervenes between her settlement there and Molua's death.

We are rather disposed to think that Crewenna is the Croine of Kilcrony in Wicklow, of whom, unhappily, nothing is known. There would seem, however, to have reigned great confusion between the saints of the same name. The Saint of Kilcrony is supposed to have been the sister of Ainmire. But this she cannot have been if she be the same as Crewenna.

Croine of Kilcrony is commemorated in the Martyrology of Donegal, in that of Tallagh, in that of O'Gorman, but not in the *Féilire of Oengus*. It is remarkable that Croine should be venerated on the day before Aedcobran, who was one of the party that left Ireland, visited Cornwall and crossed into Brittany, and thence went on to Rheims, where they were received by S. Remigius in 509.¹

Whytford, in his *Martiloge*, gives on April 24 "The feest of Saynt Crowne a virgyn."

S. CRISTIOLUS, Confessor

CRISTIOLUS was a son of Hywel Fychan ab Hywel Faig (called also Hywel Farchog) ab Emyr Llydaw, and the brother of S. Rhystud. He is occasionally said to have been son of Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw.²

He is the patron of Llangristiolus, in Anglesey, and also, it is said, of Eglwys Wrw and Penrhydd or Penrieth, in Pembrokeshire. For Eglwys Wrw, *see* under S. GWRW. Ecton attributes also to him, but wrongly, the church of Clydai, in the latter county.

The Festival of S. Cristiolus is November 3, and his name is entered against that day in a great many of the Welsh Calendars.

S. CUBY, *see* S. CYBI

¹ *See* under S. ACHEBRAN.

² *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 269; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 133; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 420. At the last reference he is also given as son of "Owen ap Yner o Frydain Fach," clearly a misreading.

S. CUHELYN, Confessor

CUHELYN, or Cyhelyn, was a son of Caw, and bore the epithets *Bardd* and *Moel*. He is no doubt the same person as Celyn Moel. He is said to have been a member of Cadoc's Choir at Llandcarfan,¹ but nothing is known of him. He may have been the Cuelinus, a *clericus* of Dubricius, who witnessed the grant of Porth Tulon, in Gower, to the Church of Llandaff.² He is not to be confounded, at any rate, with the bard Cuhelyn, who lived in the eleventh century, and to whom two poems in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*³ are ascribed. See also under S. CELYN FOEL.

S. CUNEDDA

THE name of Cunedda Wledig, like those of Brychan and Caw, is entered among the Welsh Saints more as the ancestor of one of the three great lines of Saints than for any other claim that he may have had. Some of the most illustrious of the Welsh Saints—for instance David, Teilo, and Seiriol—were descended from him. So were also the kings of Gwynedd.

He was the son of Edern ab Padarn Beisrudd, and his pedigree is traced up to Beli Mawr. His mother was Gwawl, the daughter of Coel Hên, the ancestor of another powerful race. His pedigree would lead one to suppose that he had Roman blood in his veins.

According to the Old-Welsh genealogies in *Harleian MS.* 3859, he was the father of nine sons—Tybion, Osgael, Rhufon, Dunod, Ceredig, Abloyc, Einion Yrth, Dogfael, and Edern.⁴ They were all warriors, and none of them come within the category of Saints.

Welsh tradition says that Cunedda and his sons came to Wales from the North, where he defended the Roman Wall with a cavalry of 900 horse. He is spoken of as a man from Coelin, probably Kyle, in Ayrshire. Nennius also describes him and his sons as coming from the North—from Manaw Gododin, a district near the Firth of

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 109, 116, 136, 142-3.

² *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 76.

³ Ed. Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, 1906, pp. 9-17.

⁴ *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, pp. 182-3. There is a list of his sons in *Vita S. Carantoci* (*Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 100-1), where they are also said to be nine. The names are given in the same order, but with variations in spelling. Later lists occur, e.g. in *Jesus College MS.* 20, and *Peniarth MSS.* 129 (circa 1500), and 75 (sixteenth century). The old form of Cunedda's name was Cunedag. Possibly his name has survived in the name of the hill, Allt Canadda (Cenadda, Cynedda), in the parish of Kidwelly.

Forth. This Cuneddan occupation of Wales took place in the early fifth century, and was of the nature of a tribal migration.

The later form of the tradition ¹ says that Cunedda "sent sons to Gwynedd against the Goidels which came with Serigi the Goidel to Anglesey, and other places, and had taken the greater portion of that country from the inhabitants, where there were no princes over them." They succeeded, we are told, in expelling the Goidels, and "then the men of Gwynedd gave those princes possession of the lands which they had won." Each district was re-named after its conqueror, but some names occur which do not appear in the foregoing list of sons. The conquered country, comparing the various accounts, was apportioned thus—

Tybion, the eldest son, having died in Manaw Gododin, his son Meirion, as chief of the Cuneddan family, divided the territories among his uncles. He himself had Meirionydd; Arwystl, Arwystli; Ceredig, Ceredigion; Donod, Dunodig (the commotes of Arddudwy and Eifionydd); Edeyrn, Edeyrnion; Mael, Dinmael; Dogfael, Dogfeiling; Rhufon, Rhufoniog; Coel, Coeleion (the last four in Denbighshire); Oswael, Osweilion (round Oswestry); and Einion Yrth, Caer Einion. Another son, Gwron, is sometimes given to Cunedda, but this is probably a mistake for Corun, his grandson. His daughter Gwen was wife of Amlawdd Wledig.

Cunedda's power was great. He was the Gwledig (Over-king), or Dux Britanniae, and had his court at Caer Liwelydd, or Carlisle. His house in the sixth century was so powerful that Maelgwn Gwynedd (*Insularis Draco*, as Gildas styles him) held sway over the whole of Wales, and also Cumbria to some extent. After Maelgwn's death, "Greater Wales" gradually shrank, but the Cuneddan dynasty only ended with Llywelyn ab Gruffydd.

There is an elegy on Cunedda in the thirteenth century *Book of Taliessin*.²

One of the documents printed in the *Iolo MSS.*³ mentions a "S. Cunedda Hên, a man of Israel, who came as bishop to S. Lleurwg (Lucius) ab Coel ab Cyllin, from Rome," but he is quite apocryphal.

S. CURIG, Bishop, Confessor

CURIG LWYD is famous in Wales. He is mentioned repeatedly by

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 121-2.

² Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, pp. 200-2.

³ P. 136. A Cunedda ab Henwyn, prince of Cornwall, occurs in Geoffrey's *Brut*, and a twelfth century Cunedda ab Cadwallon in *Brut y Tywysogion*.

the Welsh bards. These generally style him Curig Lwyd, the Blessed, and occasionally Curig Farchog, or the Knight.

The Welsh saintly genealogies do not pretend to give his pedigree.¹ Lewis Morris, in the middle of the eighteenth century, says—"We are told that this Curig was a foreigner, and that it was on the top of this hill (in Llangurig parish) he first rested, after he had landed at Aberystwyth; from hence he perceived a fine valley (of the Wye) before him, where he determined to build a church in a sheltered spot."² It consisted at first, as we may gather, of a humble cell and chapel, which subsequently became a church, though not yet of spacious dimensions, celebrated for the beauty of its architecture and the elegant carving and design of its roof. The rock on the hill whereon the pilgrim sat, is to this day called Eisteddfa Gurig, his Seat. The hill is 1,358 feet above the sea.

After the Norman occupation of Wales, the conquerors where possible displaced the native Saints as patrons of the churches, and placed them under the invocation of Saints in the Roman Calendar. S. Curig had everywhere to make way for Cyriacus, the boy martyr, with his mother Julitta. This produced confusion in the minds of the Welsh, and the legend of Curig Lwyd got vitiated by being mixed up with that of the youthful martyr of Tarsus.

There exists in Welsh a translation of a Latin Life of S. Cyriacus, which has a noteworthy appendix.³ It runs—"Know all men how S. Ciric came to be honoured in Wales, and obtained his glory and honour on account of his miracles. There is a township (or parish) in Wales, called Llan Giric, on the confines of three countries, to wit, Arwystli, Melienydd and Ceredigion. In that township there was an uncle to Ciric, named Maelgwn, who was a monk; and he sent his servants to Ceredigion to collect his provisions. When they were coming homewards with their horses and burdens, the huntsmen of Maelgwn Gwynedd met them and laid hands on them, intending to break into the sacks and steal the food. Their hands got stuck to the sacks, and they were dragged (by the horses) as far as to Maelgwn the monk's cell; and the Saint with difficulty loosened them by his

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 145, give Cirig Sant as son of Urien (or Arawn) ab Cynfarch, but the name is a misreading of Ciwg.

² *Cambrian Register* (1793), ii, p. 491.

³ *Buchedd Ciric* occurs in *Llanstephan MSS.* 34 (end of sixteenth century) and 104 (early eighteenth century). In MS. 164 is a poem in which Curig and other Welsh Saints are invoked, written by Rhisiart ab Rhys, of Llanharan (fifteenth—sixteenth century), but it adds nothing to our knowledge of the Saint. In the *Hystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen*, in *Peniarth MS.* 182 (c. 1514), it is said that, in the time of S. Ursula, "there was a Pope in Rome, descended from the Britons, whose name was Kiric."

prayers. Then went they to Maelgwn Gwynedd, loudly bewailing their misfortune. Maelgwn was filled with pride, and thought not of the fear of God, and he sent a number of gentlemen to fetch Maelgwn the monk to him. When these men came to where they could see the monk's house they lost the sight of their eyes. Maelgwn Gwynedd, hearing that, meditated the destruction of the Saint; and he too, with all his men, lost their sight, and were compelled to go to the Saint and sue for mercy. Maelgwn the monk prayed to Ciric, and he and his men received their sight. Then Maelgwn Gwynedd gave large and ample lands to Maelgwn the monk and to Ciric for ever, free from rent or *gwestfa* (food-rent) to king or bishop for ever."

Then follows an account of the boundaries of the grant. Two other grants, with their boundaries defined, are also given. One is by "Mael, Duke of Melienydd," who gave it "at that time to the said Saint for alms"; the other, "at the same time to S. Ciric," by Prince Ceredig of Ceredigion. The boundaries are interesting, as indicating that what is now Llangurig parish, or much of it, was regarded as having originally belonged to three different principalities.

Several of the late mediæval bards refer to the Curig legend.¹ Huw Cae Llwyd (fifteenth century) says that Maelgwn, coming to the hermitage on the bank of the Wye, "sought to practise a deception on the nun" that occupied it. His hands and those of his men, one after the other, "cleaved to the hamper," and were liberated through the intercession of the child martyr and his mother, "the Blessed Elidan."² Maelgwn, for his attempted spoliation, "gave as an offering pasture land of great price to the sacred enclosure."

Sion Ceri (sixteenth century) alludes to the Saint's martyrdom, but his account is quite confused. Though martyred when three years old, he is spoken of as "a youth, gentle, eloquent and learned, who is our father, our support."

Huw Arwystli (sixteenth century) also alludes to the nun on the bank of the Wye, and mentions the grants to Llangurig of "three lands like a golden strand, three in one ring."

A devotion known as *Emyn Curig Sant*, "the Hymn of S. Curig," has

¹ There is a paper on "The Legend of S. Curig," by Howel W. Lloyd, in *Arch. Camb.*, 1875, pp. 145-64, and *History of Powys Fadog*, 1882, ii, pp. 271-95. The writer supposed Curig to have been a Gaul, who crossed into Wales about the seventh century, where he disseminated the Acts of Cyriacus and Julitta, and in time got himself confused with the infant martyr. But this is mere guess-work.

² He connects "Elidan Lwyd" with Denbighshire, in which county is Llan-elidan.

been preserved. It comprises a *lectio* and five collects in prose, addressed to the Lord Jesus Christ, "in the name of the holy Curig the martyr and his mother Julitta, and all the male and female Saints of Heaven." The Saint is therein represented as an infant, but also as an adult, "conspicuously discreet from his childhood . . . very wise, and a teacher of heavenly things. . . . He rejected a lordly life, from a pure heart and the wisdom of a perfect man."¹

The *Emyn* was known in Wales at least as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century.²

The Carmarthenshire bard, Lewis Glyn Cothi, who lived in the fifteenth century, has several allusions to S. Curig. In one passage he refers to "the brave knight Curig's coat of mail," which proves that in Wales the Saint was traditionally believed to have been at one time a soldier. He also swears, "By Curig's hand!" and he is very satirical on the mendicant friars, who in his day went about hawking images of Saints made of glass and alder wood, which they sold to the peasantry, and received cheese, flour, wool, etc., as payment. One, he says, carried "Curig Lwyd under the corner of his cloak."³

Giraldus Cambrensis tells us ⁴ that in his time there was preserved in S. Harmon's Church, Radnorshire, a few miles south-east of Llan-gurig, "the staff of S. Curig, covered on all sides with gold and silver, and representing in its upper part the form of a cross." It possessed miraculous powers, and was particularly efficacious in cases of "glandular and strumous swellings," and that a penny was paid as a fee for the application of the staff to the part affected.

The staff continued in great repute until the Reformation, when it is supposed to have been committed to the flames and destroyed.⁵

From these allusions it will be seen that the utmost bewilderment of mind was produced by the re-dedication of the church to the child martyr Cyriacus, and that the Welsh were unable to fuse the two legends into a consistent whole. By eliminating all that pertains to Cyriacus the Martyr and his mother Julitta, we obtain what was the current tradition relative to Curig.

1. That he was of unrecorded genealogy.
2. That he had been a warrior, but was converted and became a monk.

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 276-7. There are copies in *Llanstephan MSS.* 3 (fifteenth century) and 117 (sixteenth century).

² See *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 315, 330.

³ *Poetical Works*, Oxford, 1837, pp. 99, 280, 340, 454.

⁴ *Itin. Camb.*, i, c. 1. The preservation of his crozier at S. Harmon's has led to the supposition that he was Bishop of Llanbadarn.

⁵ Williams, *History of Radnorshire*, 1859, p. 548.

3. That he lived in the time of Maelgwn Gwynedd, and had a cell and church at Llangurig.
4. That near him lived a holy nun named Elidan.
5. That he was esteemed to have become a bishop.

The stained glass windows of Llangurig, put in at its restoration in 1878, represent the current Welsh traditions relative to the Saint, confused with the Legend of S. Cyriacus. The child martyr suffered in the fourth century, and Curig was contemporary with Maelgwn Gwynedd in the sixth. These windows stereotype the anachronism and inconsistency of the stories. The East window has in the head of the tracery "figures representing King Maelgwn Gwynedd handing to the nun Julia a box containing the deeds of land which he devoted to the church." By Julia we may suppose Julitta is meant, who was not a nun but the mother of Cyriacus, and suffered martyrdom along with him. The nun, according to Huw Cae Llwyd, was called Elidan. On the left in the window is depicted the martyrdom of the boy, and beneath it that of Julitta. The central figure in the window is none other than S. Curig habited as a bishop with pastoral staff. To the right is a representation of his landing as Aberystwyth, and below another of his building the Church at Llangurig.

In one of the side windows is S. Elidan, as a man, holding a spear in one hand and the model of a church in the other.

In again another window is King Maelgwn, overcome by religious fervour, offering a deed of lands to an image of the infant Curig, his white horse running away in the background.¹

Is it possible to conceive of a greater muddle of ideas?

There can, we think, be very little doubt that the Curig Lwyd of the Welsh is the Kirik of the Bretons. He was a fellow pupil with S. Tudwal of S. Iltyd at Llantwit. According to the Brittany legend of his life, given by Albert le Grand, the *Legendarium* of Léon, and that of Folgoet, when Tudwal migrated to Armorica, he took Kirik with him. Kirik, like Curig, was a son of inconsiderable or unknown parents. He, like so many other Celtic Saints, had two names, Kirik and Guevroc. We may perhaps trace his course from Wales in two foundations, one in Devon, the other in Cornwall. That in Devon is doubtful, Coryton or Curig-town, on the Lyd, a confluent of the Tamar. On the further side of the Tamar he is patron of Egloskerry.

He arrived in Brittany in the reign of Childebert I, when Deroc was king of Domnonia (520-535).

After having been for a while with Tudwal, Curig and fourteen

¹ Col. Lloyd-Verney, *Description of the Parish Church of Llangurig*, London, 1892; Archdeacon Thomas, "Llangurig Church," in *Arch. Camb.*, 1903, pp. 239-50.

others swarmed off to Lanmeur, in the present department of Finistère, and founded a monastery at about a league from the present town at Locquirec, on the coast. Hence he has of late years been displaced as patron, and the church placed under the invocation of S. James the Great.

Desirous of more solitude, he abandoned the monastery and retreated to Ploudaniel in Léon, where he found a valley, called thenceforth Traoun-Guevroc, surrounded by dense woods. Here he built himself a chapel of interlaced branches, and spent here two years. S. Paul Aurelian hearing of him, paid him a visit, and the story goes that when the hermit came forward to meet him, the Bishop saw a radiance of supernatural light surround his head. Paul insisted on his not hiding his light under a bushel, and bade him accompany him to his monastery at Occismor. He remained there working under S. Paul for many years.

At some time, unspecified in the Life, but probably before he abandoned S. Tudwal, he must have made a foundation at Perros Guirec, a bare and rocky stretch of land north of Lannion. Here the soil is scantily drawn over a granite floor, and huge uncouth masses of rock, rounded by the sea winds and rain, strew the surface. The headland is still called Ploumanach, or the *Plebs* of the Monk. Five miles out to sea rise boldly out of the water the Seven Isles, one of which, l'Île des Moines, was probably much resorted to by Curig and his party for solitude.

Curig himself, according to local tradition, loved to pray on a rock in the little bay, which is surrounded by the high tide. In memory whereof a small oratory of romanesque workmanship was constructed on the rock. It consists of a mere roof covering a statue of the Saint, supported on granite pillars.

It is somewhat singular that his settlement at Perros is not spoken of in the Life; and no hint is given us as to his reason for migrating from Tréguier and western Domnonia into Léon. It is possible that it may have been due to a difference with Tudwal. Between Perros Guirec and the mainland is a plantation of S. Kenan or Kea, and this may have annoyed Curig, and induced him to quit the neighbourhood.

It would seem, though it is not stated in his Life, that Curig was consecrated bishop by S. Paul, for he is invariably represented as a bishop.

Curig was engaged on one of his missionary expeditions when he fell sick at Landerneau, and died there. His body was transported by his monks to Locquirec and there buried.

He would seem to have exercised a roving missionary life, and at one time to have penetrated into what is now the department of Morbihan, for he is culted at Cleguier and at Cléguérec.

The story is told of him that one Sunday he saw a man cutting rushes wherewith to stop a gap in the fence of his wheat-field. Curig rebuked him, and told him that it would be better to get someone to watch lest cattle got into the field, than to do manual labour on the Lord's Day. The farmer turned on him and abused him soundly, whereupon, so says the legend, the bundle of rushes he had in his arms adhered to him, and could not be shaken off till he had made an ample apology.

According to popular tradition, the Chapel of Nôtre Dame de Kreisker in S. Pol de Léon was founded by Curig. He saw a girl washing clothes on a Holy Day, and rebuked her. As, shortly after, she was struck with palsy, she fancied that this was due to her having offended the Saint. So she surrendered to him a bit of land in expiation, and thereon he built a church in honour of the Blessed Virgin. This latter point is questionable, as dedications to Our Lady came in vogue among the Celts much later than the period at which lived Curig.

Curig died on February 17, but in what year is not known. It was probably during the lifetime of S. Paul Aurelian. There is no mention in his Life of the troubles caused by Conmore, regent of Domnonia, and we may set down his death as occurring shortly before 550.

The Breton Life gives no account of any events in the life of the Saint whilst he was in Wales. It is possible enough that the annoyances felt by him from the turbulence of Maelgwn Gwynedd may have determined him to quit Wales, coupled with the urgency of his fellow pupil Tudwal.

The following are the Curig dedications in Wales:—Llangurig, in Montgomeryshire; Eglwys Fair a Churig, in Carmarthenshire. Capel Curig (called in full, Capel Curig a'i fam Julitta), in Carnarvonshire, is dedicated to SS. Cyriacus and Julitta; and Llanilid (called also Eglwys Ilid a Churig), in Glamorganshire, to SS. Julitta and Cyriacus. Llanilid (also called Cray S. Ilid), in Brecknockshire, is dedicated to S. Julitta, as well as Llanelidan, in Denbighshire. In this latter we have the Elidan = Julitta of Huw Cae Llwyd and the mediæval Welsh Calendars. The church of Porthkerry, in Glamorganshire, is usually regarded as dedicated to S. Curig. It is stated in the *Iolo MSS.*¹—

¹ P. 220. This, no doubt, is the origin of Curig being sometimes mentioned as the patron of Welsh mariners.

"S. Cirig founded Porth Cirig for the benefit of the souls of sailors, and as a port for them"; but in another passage in the same work ¹ the place is associated with Ceri ab Caid, who is said to have lived there and to have been called Ceri Hir Lyngwyn, "because he had numerous fleets at sea." In the *Taxatio* of 1254 it appears as Portiri (for Portciri), and in that of 1291 as Porthkirey, forms which do not favour the Curig dedication.

In the parish of Llanilid (Glamorganshire), is a well called Ffynnon Geri, and the parish wake, Gwyl Geri, was formerly held about Midsummer. S. Curig's Chapel once stood at Langstone, near Llanmartin, Monmouthshire, and there was formerly a pilgrimage chapel, called Capel Curig, in the parish of Newport, Pembrokeshire. ² It is very probable that the parish church itself (now S. Mary's) was once dedicated to him. The great annual fair there is called Ffair Gurig. Ffôs y Mynach (or Myneich), near S. David's, was at one time also called, according to Fenton, ³ Ffôs Gyrig (his dyke). In the parish of Llangian, Carnarvonshire, was formerly a well called Ffynnon Fyw (the Living Well), now dried up, celebrated for the cure of rheumatism. It was supposed to be dedicated to S. Cyr, the martyr, whose chapel stood close by.

Owing to the popularity of SS. Cyriacus and Julitta among the Normans it is not possible to assert that all the churches dedicated to SS. Cyriacus and Julitta, or to them severally, have supplanted foundations of Curig. Some may have been entirely new and be Norman foundations, but in purely Welsh districts the Curig churches are undoubtedly to be attributed to S. Curig and not to Cyriacus, and the Ilid churches certainly in Brecknockshire, Glamorganshire, and north-east Cornwall to Ilud, the daughter of Brychan, and not to Julitta of Tarsus. We cannot be assured that the Kirik or Guevroc of Brittany is identical with the Curig of Wales, but it is most probable that they are the same, as the Breton Life makes Kirik come to Armorica from Wales.

Possibly, as already said, we may trace the course pursued by Curig on his way to Brittany, by foundations in Devon and Cornwall. There is a Newton S. Cyres near Exeter, now regarded as dedicated to S. Cyriacus. Coryton on the Lyd is apparently Curigtown. The church is now esteemed to be under the patronage of S. Andrew. Near it is a Holy Well. At Eglos Kerry, near Launceston, he has

¹ P. 7. Browne Willis, *Llandaff*, 1719, append. p. 2, gives the church as dedicated to S. Curig, with festival June 16.

² George Owen, *Description of Pembrokeshire*, i, p. 509. In the *Valor* of 1535, iv, p. 374, the oblations in "Capella Sancti Ciriaci" at Langstone are entered as 20s.

³ *Pembrokeshire*, 1811, p. 131.

not been displaced. Calstock Church is dedicated to SS. Cyriacus and Julitta, and Luxulyan, which seems to be a corruption of Lan Sulian, is now held to be under the invocation of SS. Cyriacus and Julitta, but was possibly a foundation of S. Sulian or Sulien.

In Brittany he is patron of Perros Guirec in Côtes du Nord; of Launeufret (that bears the name of Meubred ?) in Finistère, formerly also of Locquirec in the same department, where Curig had his monastery and was buried; and of Cléguérec in Morbihan. He has supplanted S. Geraint at S. Gérant near Pontivy. He has chapels at Goulven, in Léon, and Ploubezre near Lannion in Côtes du Nord, and at Ploumanach in Perros Guirec. Chapels as well at Plounérin and Trédrez, in Côtes du Nord. He is invoked for the cure of abscesses and strumous swellings, just as formerly Curig in Wales was thought to be efficacious in these diseases. At Ploumanach is his statue in stone, of the thirteenth century, representing him in sacerdotal vestments with a crozier in one hand, an open book in the other. At Perros Guirec he is mitred and holds a crozier with one hand, and is giving benediction with the other.

On account of his having in Wales been fused with S. Cyriacus, his day is June 16, that attributed in the Roman Martyrology to SS. Cyriacus and Julitta; but his day in Brittany is February 17, the day on which he died. Breviary of Léon, 1736, Breviary of Quimper, 1835, and Albert le Grand.

Although the statues of the Saint in Brittany give him without a distinguishing symbol, it would be suitable to represent him as a bishop carrying a bundle of bulrushes.

S. CWYAN, Martyr

AMONG the *Iolo MSS.*¹ genealogies occurs the following:—"S. Cwyan, whose *côr* or 'choir' was Llangwyan, in Glamorgan, where he was slain by pagan Saxons." The place meant is Llanguian, in the parish of Llanblethian, but there do not appear to be any ecclesiastical remains there now. The parish of Llanblethian, comprising the manors of Llanblethian and Llanguian, were confirmed by charter in 1180 to Tewkesbury Abbey, the chapel of the latter manor being mentioned as the chapel of S. James of "Landcoman"—later Llancovian and Llanguian. The ruins of its castle are still plainly marked just to the east of Stalling Down.² See the next article.

¹ P. 109.

² Green, *Churches of Llandaff*, Aberdare, 1907, pp. 35, 61. Read "Landcouian" for "Landcoman."

S. CWYFEN, Confessor

CWYFEN, or Cwyfan, was the son of Brwyneu Hên and was descended from Caradog Freichfras.¹ His mother was Camell or Cainell, of Bod Angharad, a township of the parish of Llanfwrog, in the commote of Coleion, Denbighshire. He is the patron of three churches—Llangwyfan, in Anglesey (subject to Trefdraeth), Llangwyfan,² in Denbighshire, and Tydweiliog, in Carnarvonshire. The Anglesey old Eglwys Gwyfan, as it is generally called locally, is situated on a small



CHURCH OF LLANGWYFAN.

rocky island, formerly a promontory, called Ynys Gwyfan, in Carnarvon Bay, and is connected with the mainland by a causeway of about 200 yards, which is often covered by the tide. The islet, which now measures about a quarter of an acre, is being gradually worn away by the sea. When the church was inaccessible, especially in winter, the services were held in a room at Plâs Cwyfan, but it was

¹ *Hafod MS.* 16 (but text corrupt); *Cardiff MS.* 25, p. 36; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 420; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 123.

² In the terrier of this church, dated 1793, a part of the glebe is called "Erw Telpin Gwyfan."

replaced in 1871 by a more convenient church. There are here Afon Gwyfan and Porth Gwyfan.

Dyserth Church, in Flintshire, is sometimes said to be dedicated to S. Cwyfan.¹ Edward Lhuyd, in his so-called *Itinerary*, 1699, wrote under the parish—" Their Saint Gwyvan ; and Wakes y^e next Sunday after y^e 2^d of June. Fynnon Gwyva ai vrythyllied wrth yr Eglwys " (Cwyfan's Well and his Trout are near the Church). His Holy Well bubbled forth in a beautiful crystal spring among the rocks within a stone's throw eastwardly of the church, but the lead-mining operations at Talargoch have, since the beginning of last century, entirely drained away its waters. The church, however, is generally regarded, certainly to-day, as being dedicated to S. Brigid, in Welsh, S. Ffraid.²

The festival of S. Cwyfen, which occurs in a great number of the Welsh Calendars, is given on June 3. So also by Browne Willis. In the Calendar in the Prymer of 1633, and in a number of eighteenth century Welsh Almanacs, it is, however, on the 2nd; and in the Calendar in *Jesus College MS.* 7 on the 4th; but he must have been entered against these days by mistake. In the Calendars in the *Iolo MSS.* and the Prymer of 1546 his name is given as Cofen, which seems to identify for us the patron of Llangoven, Monmouthshire, who is otherwise unknown. This church-name appears also as Lancomen,³ Lanchouian,⁴ and Llangofien.⁵ The name is not to be confounded with that of the patron of S. Govan's Chapel, Pembrokeshire.

One MS. quoted in the *Myvyrian Archæology*⁶ gives a S. Cwyfyn ab Arthalun, of Glyn Achlach. By the last name is no doubt meant Glendalough, and the Saint is thus identified with S. Coemgen or Kevin, its abbot, whose festival is also June 3. Coemgen's father's name, however, was Coemlog, of the race of Laeghaire Lorc, monarch of Ireland; but his mother was Coenhella, or Caemell, daughter of Ceannfhionnan, son of Ceisi, of the same race. She must be the Camell or Cainell of the Welsh pedigrees.

S. CWYLLOG, see S. CYWYLLOG

S. CYBI, Abbot, Confessor

THERE are extant two Lives of S. Cybi or Cubi, both in Latin, and both in the same MS. Collection (*Cotton MS. Vesp. A. xiv*, of the

¹ See Dr. J. G. Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 914.

² E.g., in Browne Willis, *Bangor*, p. 357. The remarkable stone, the Maen-y-chwyfan, not far distant, most probably does not commemorate S. Cwyfen, as is often supposed. ³ *Norwich Taxatio*, 1254. ⁴ *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 284.

⁵ Dr. J. G. Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 919.

⁶ P. 423.

early thirteenth century), in the British Museum. Both are apparently independent translations from one Welsh original.

The first has been printed by Rees in his *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints* (Llandovery, 1853, pp. 183-7), but very inaccurately. The errors have been indicated by Dr. Kuno Meyer, in *Y Cymmrodor*, xiii (1900), pp. 87-8. From this John of Tynemouth abridged his Life, which is printed in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*. John of Tynemouth's original MS. is in *Cotton MS. Tiberius E. i.*

That the two Lives of S. Cybi are taken from a common Welsh original hardly admits of a doubt, for both narrate the same circumstances, in the same order, and differ only in the rendering into Latin.

Solomon or Selyf, the father of S. Cybi, was *princeps militiæ*, or chief military officer commanding the British. He was also a Cornish king. The title would be equivalent to *Dux bellorum* given to Arthur by Nennius,¹ a title that seems to have replaced that of *Comes litoris Saxonici* given to a functionary during the last century of the Roman dominion in Britain.²

The Lives give his pedigree differently from the Welsh genealogies. Solomon or Selyf, according to the latter, was "ab Geraint ab Erbin ab Cystennin Gorneu"³; whereas the Lives make him a son of Erbin, son of Geraint, whom they represent as son of the fabulous Lud, the builder of London.

Chrestien de Troyes, in his *Erec*, the original of the Welsh tale of *Geraint*, makes Erec (Geraint) son of Lac (Lud or Lludd).

The mother of Cybi was Gwen,⁴ sister of Non, the mother of S. David. He was, accordingly, first cousin to that great Saint.

"Ortus autem fuit de regione Cornubiorum, inter duo flumina, Tamar et Limar" (*Vita 1^{ma}*). This is the principality of Gallewick, the Calwelone of *Domesday*, the extensive manor of Calliland or Kelliland. The Limar is now the Lynher.

At the age of seven Cybi went to school, and lived thenceforth, till he was twenty-seven years old, in Cornwall. Then he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and after that visited S. Hilary of Poitiers, and remained with him fifty years, *i.e.* till he was aged seventy-seven,

¹ *Hist. Britonum*, c. 56. ² Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, Berlin, 1893, p. 285.

³ *Peniarth MSS.* 16, 45 (both thirteenth century), 12 (fourteenth century); *Cambro-British Saints*, 267, etc. The *Iolo MSS.* have a few particulars about Cybi not found in the *Lives*, but they are late, and must be taken for what they are worth. He is there said to have been a saint of Bangor Dunawd (on the Dee) and also of Côr Garmon (Llancarfan or Llantwit), and Bardsey (pp. 104, 117). On p. 139 he is designated "Archbishop of Gwynedd."

⁴ She is sometimes by mistake called Tonwen (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 421; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 139).

and S. Hilary ordained him bishop. This is, of course, an anachronism, as S. Hilary died in 368. Nor does it help us if we suppose that a mistake has been made between Hilary of Arles and his namesake of Poitiers, for the former died in 449. It is not possible to put Cybi so early, when his grandfather Geraint fell at Llongborth. The date of that battle is not at all certain. Mr. Rees sets it as occurring in 522, but we cannot be sure of that date. It is possible enough that Elian Geimiad, Cybi's kinsman, has been confused with S. Hilary here, as elsewhere.¹ It is not possible for us to accept the statement that the Saint was as many as fifty years on the Continent.

Whilst abroad, Cybi made the acquaintance of Endeus, afterwards of Aran, and in the Life of the latter occurs a story of a dispute between Endeus, Cybi, and Ailbe of Emly, a holy contest as to which of the three was the most humble, which was referred to the Pope Hilary for decision, and was settled miraculously by the apparition of snow-white doves which gave the palm to Endeus.² Hilary was Pope 461-8. But this Hilary is again too early.

Moreover, in the same Life, Cybi is said to have been at Rome when there was a vacancy in the papacy; and as, when the election of a successor to the see was in progress, a dove descended and rested on Cybi, he was chosen by acclaim, but refused the honour, and in his place Hilary was elected.

It is true that in the Life of Enda the name is given as Pupeus, but P and C are often permuted, as Ciaran becomes Piran, and Conoc becomes Pinock. There was, however, a Saint Papan of Santry in Dublin, and this may be the man meant, but it is more probable that Pupeus stands for Cybi, as at a later period this latter visited and was on intimate terms with Enda.

On his return to Cornwall, Cybi probably made his two important foundations of Duloe and Tregony. Duloe is remarkable as having adjoining it Morval, a foundation of his mother S. Gwen, and Pelynt, one of his aunt S. Non. If, as we may suspect, Lansalos (Lan Selyf) was a foundation of S. Selyf, then his father's church was also near by.

Tregony was formerly an important place, on a tidal estuary, and a port, but the river has now been silted up. Adjoining it is Gram-pound, where again his aunt Non has a church, and as a remarkable

¹ In his *Essay*, Rees has pointed out that Elian is repeatedly confused with Hilary. The epithet *Ceimiad* (the Pilgrim) has been read *Cannaid* (bright), and made to correspond with the Latin Hilarius. When the translation was made from the Welsh original of the Life of Cybi, the translators, when they came on the name, rendered it Hilarius, and jumped to the conclusion that the Saint of Poitiers was meant. *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 267.

² *Acta SS. Boll.*, Mart. III (March 21), pp. 267-74.



S. CYBI.

From Painting on Rood-loft, Lew Trenchard, Devon.

coincidence, an inscribed stone, built into the tower at S. Cuby's Church, bears the name of Nonita. Of this more presently.

How long Cybi remained in Cornwall we do not know. The Life informs us that the natives desired to elevate him to the throne, but that he refused the honour.¹

We know so little of the history of Cornwall at this period, that we can do little more than offer a conjecture that his father Solomon was dead, and had been succeeded first by Cataw or Cado, and then by the turbulent Constantine, whom Gildas assailed in his tract, A.D. 540. There may have been discontent among the Cornish, and a conspiracy to displace Constantine, and make Cybi the head of the revolt.

Immediately after this abortive attempt to raise Cybi to the throne, the Saint left his native land for Wales. It is easy to read between the lines of the narrative, and see that this was due to the failure of the rising. He would be obliged to fly for his life.

Cybi took with him ten disciples, of whom four are named, Maelog, Llibio, Peulan, and Cyngar.²

Cyngar was, in fact, his uncle, the founder of Congresbury, which he had abandoned, probably on account of invasions of pirates in the Bristol Channel. He was now an aged man. "Consobrinus ejus Kengar erat senex."³

On leaving Cornwall, Cybi went to Morganwg, in which, previously, Cyngar had founded the monastery of Llandough, by Cardiff. But Cybi was not well received by King Etelic or Edelig. With this agrees to some extent what is said in the Life of S. Cyngar (which see), where it is stated that Cyngar, after leaving Congresbury went into Morganwg, but was badly treated by the Kings Paul Penychen and Peibio. Edelig was the regulus of the district, son of Glywys and brother of Gwynllyw Filwr. The region over which he ruled was called after him Edeligion, in south-west Monmouthshire between the Usk and the Rumney, and was in ancient Morganwg.⁴

Finally Edelig surrendered to Cybi two sites for churches, Llangibby and Landauer Guir. The latter is probably Tredunnoc (S. Andrew), and both are on the Usk, in Edeligion.

Cybi does not seem to have remained long in Morganwg. He went to S. David's, where he tarried three days, and thence crossed into

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 183. "Qua tempestate postulatus admodum ut et super gentem Cornubiorum regnaret." *Vita* 2^{da}, f. 94.

² "Maelauc, Libiau, Peulan, Kengair," *Vita* 1^{ma}; "Meliauc, Libiau, Paulin, Kengar," *Vita* 2^{da}. ³ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 184.

⁴ *Vita S. Cadoci* in *ibid.*, p. 22. Edeligion was afterwards known as a comote in the cantred of Gwynllywg (*Red Book Bruts*, Oxford, p. 412; cf. *Book of Llan Dâw*, pp. 247, 273). On Dr. Owen Pughe's map it is marked as Dylogion..

Ireland, and made no delay till he reached the island of Aruin or Aran Mór, where he met his former acquaintance, Enda.

Enda had obtained a grant of the island from Aengus MacNad-fraich, King of Munster, whose first wife had been Dairini, daughter of Conall derg, and sister of Enda. But she was now dead, and Aengus had married Eithne Uathac. Probably at her instigation Aengus had refused the island to Enda, and the latter had recourse to Ailbe, who used his influence with the king, and got him at last to surrender the island to Enda. Aengus died in 489, and Aran can hardly have been occupied by Enda before 486. He is supposed to have died in 540.

Cybi still had with him his disciples ; and the account in the Life is to some extent confirmed by what we hear of S. Enda, that he had a disciple Llibio, who is the Libiau of the *Vita*.¹

In Aran S. Cybi remained four years. There he built a church. His uncle Cyngar was with him, but was so decrepit with age that he could not eat solid food. Consequently Cybi bought a cow with its calf, to supply milk for the use of the old man.

Maelog, the disciple of Cybi, cultivated a patch of land near the cell of another monk, named Fintan the Priest (Crubthir = Cruimther).² This led to angry altercation, as Fintan considered this to be an encroachment. S. Enda was called in to adjudicate between them ; but the grievance rankled in Fintan's mind. The calf, moreover, strayed, and got into the meadow of the priest, who thereupon impounded it, and tied it to a shrub.³ The calf managed to tear up the shrub and ran back to its mother. Moreover, Maelog dug ground close to the door of Fintan's cell.⁴

Fintan was furious, and betook himself to prayer. He called on God to drive or blot Cybi out of the island: "Deprecatus est Dominum ut fugaret vel deleteret Sanctum Kebium de insula Aruin, quia Deus amavit eum."

An angel was sent to Cybi to advise him to go. Doubtless the angel was a peace-loving monk who saw that the quarrel would grow more rancorous so long as these two angry Saints were near each other

¹ The Irish authorities make Llibio a brother of S. Enda. *Acta SS. Hib.*, p. 712.

² This is the Goidelic form of *presbyter*, through the popular Latin *prebiter*. It occurs in mediæval Welsh as *priŷder*. Sir J. Rhys, *Welsh Philology*, pp. 349-50.

³ According to the *Vita*, it was a big tree. But there are none such in Aran.

⁴ "Maelauc ad ostium cubiculi Crubthir Fintan fodere terram exiret." *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 184.

in a confined island. Before leaving Cybi called on God to curse Crubthir Fintan: "May God destroy him out of this island!"

The Life of S. Endeus confirms the account of these squabbles,¹ but puts the cause down to the division of the island made by Enda between himself and another. Enda had parcelled out the island into ten parts; he kept two of these shares for himself, and gave one apiece to eight disciples. They were wroth, and declared that he had no right to retain the lion's share; and they actually began to fast against their master, when an angel came to pacify the factious by giving Enda a Book of the Gospels and a chasuble, for which he surrendered his second share.

Cybi now quitted Aran for Meath, and there he fasted for forty days and nights in one spot, so as to secure it as a foundation for himself for ever.²

The place selected, Mochop, is Kilmore of S. Mochop, near Artaine. But the angry Fintan pursued him thither, and on the pretext that the land belonged to him, drove Cybi away.

The Cornishman, along with his disciples, now went to Magh-Bregh, the great plain in which is Kildare, undulating and grassy, and sweet with white clover. Here he thought to settle. But he was allowed to remain there only seven days, as the implacable Fintan pursued him, stirred up popular feeling against him as a stranger, and expelled Cybi and his men. Again the Saint had to move his feeble old uncle, and he betook himself to Vobvun (Uobiun, *Vita* 2^{da}), and there remained a fortnight. The place has not been identified.

Fintan once more pursued him, and succeeded in again obtaining his expulsion. Cybi now bade his disciples go into the wood and cut down timber for the making of a boat. Fintan even prevented him from getting tanned hides for covering it.³ This was a peculiarly gross insult, for it was a mode of punishing great criminals to commit them to the sea in a coracle, whose wicker framework was covered with hide only one fold deep.⁴

Cybi's patience was exhausted, and before leaving he again cursed Fintan:—"May all thy churches be deserted, and may never be found three churches singing at thy altar in all Ireland!"⁵

¹ *Acta SS. Boll.*, Mart. III, p. 272.

² "Ibi quadraginta diebus, et quadraginta noctibus permansit; et edificavit ibi ecclesiam, que usque hodie ecclesia magna (kill-mór) vocatur Mochop." *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 185.

³ "Intrate in lembo sine corio. Salumque traicite." *Vita* 2^{da}, f. 95.

⁴ *Tripartite Life*, ed. Stokes, i, p. clxxiv.

⁵ In *Vita* 2^{da} a little different—"Omnes ecclesie tue in tantum sint deserte, ut nunquam tres inueniantur in Hibernie insula."

Probably Cybi's boat was made of planks and ribs, but in the Life his passing the sea in a vessel without the usual covering of hides is represented as miraculous. Cybi could not return to Cornwall, where probably Constantine was king. He was therefore obliged to make for Wales. The Life says that he made for *Monnia insula* (*Monia insula* in *Vita 2^{da}*), where the boat ran on the rocks. But we may rather believe that it was Lleyn, as he had an important settlement there before going to Anglesey; and as the district is spoken of shortly after as a promontory to which Maelgwn came when hunting.

Cybi founded a church at a spot called Cyndaf,¹ probably now Llangybi, near Pwllheli, in Lleyn, where, with his staff, he elicited a spring that bears his name to this day.

One day he ordered his disciple Caffo to fetch him some fire. Then comes the hack story of the pupil going to a smith, "whose name was Magurn," who refused to give it unless Caffo would carry it in his garment. This Caffo did, and not a strand of his gabardine (*coccula*) was singed.

Maelgwn, King of Gwynedd, was hunting, when a goat he pursued fled for refuge to the Saint. The king demanded the surrender of the beast, but Cybi entreated that he might be given as much land as the hound could run the goat round. "And S. Cybi let loose the goat, and the hound pursued it through all the promontory, and it returned again to S. Cybi's *casula*," under which it had previously found refuge.

Later, a controversy broke out between Maelgwn and Cybi, the particulars of which are not given, but we may suspect that the king took umbrage at Cybi having with him Caffo, the brother of Gildas, who had grossly insulted him in his book, probably just issued. At this point both the MS. Lives are fragmentary. The first says that Cybi said to Caffo, "Depart from me, for we cannot live together," and then follows the account of Caffo leaving for Rosuir (Newborough), where he was murdered by the shepherds; whereupon Cybi cursed the shepherds of Rosuir with their mistress. But this occurs out of its place, in the midst of the story of Maelgwn and the goat, and the second Life omits it altogether.

We may shrewdly suspect that, as a result of the murder of Caffo, Cybi claimed blood-money, and to satisfy him, Maelgwn surrendered to him a fortress he had at the extremity of Anglesey, which thenceforth bore the name of *Caer Gybi*, in English Holyhead; and thither the Saint removed with his monastic family.

The place in late mediæval documents is sometimes called Bangor

¹ "Cundab," *Vita 1^{ma}*; "Cuñab," *Vita 2^{da}*.

Gybi, and Maelgwn Gwynedd is regarded as its founder and endower. The *caer* still exists. It occupies a rock above the sea, but now the strand below has been encroached on by an extension of the original churchyard, and a road and buildings stretch between the cliff and the water. The *caer* is quadrangular, and measures 220 feet by 130 feet. The walls are still practically complete, but that face of the *caer* which is next the sea had apparently not been walled. The walls are extremely rude, built of boulders from the shore, in places arranged in herring-bone fashion. They are still 17 feet high and are 6 feet thick. At each angle stood a round tower. To the south is the chapel of Serigi, the Goidelic chief who was killed by Cadwallon Lawhir, when he drove the Irish from this their last stronghold in North Wales. It is of the fourteenth century.

The *caer* walls can hardly be as ancient as Maelgwn's time, for we have no reason for supposing that circular towers were introduced at the angles of a fortress before the Norman Conquest. It was probably erected later to protect the church from piratical attacks, but portions of the walling may be more ancient.

There is a tradition still current in Anglesey, that S. Cybi and S. Seiriol used to meet frequently at midday at the wells of Clorach, in the parish of Llandyfrydog, about midway between Holyhead and Penmon, to hold holy converse together. Cybi, journeying from west to east in the morning, and from east to west in the afternoon, had the sun always in his face, and so became tanned; whilst Seiriol, who journeyed always with his back to the sun, preserved his fair complexion. They are, on this account, popularly called Seiriol Wyn (the Fair) and Cybi Felyn (the Tawny). The two wells, Ffynnon Gybi and Ffynnon Seiriol, were situated one each side the road leading from Llanerchymedd (about a mile and a half to the east of that village), and exactly opposite each other. Ffynnon Gybi was filled up about 1840, when a new bridge was erected, but Ffynnon Seiriol still flows. They were formerly much resorted to for the cure of various diseases. Matthew Arnold, in his sonnet *East and West*, has completely misunderstood the legend. Mentioning the two Saints as "Seiriol the Bright," and "Cybi the Dark," he observes—

One came from Penmon westward, and a glow
Whiten'd his face from the sun's fronting ray;
Eastward the other, from the dying day,
And he with unsunn'd face did always go.¹

¹ Prof. J. Morris Jones has also a sonnet on the legend in his *Caniadau* (Oxford, 1907, p. 20), of which we give the last two stanzas—

"Mi ni wn ai gwir yr hanes,
Ond mae'i faich yn wir o hyd;

"At length a multitude of angels came and took the most holy soul of Cybi to heaven, to be in the company of patriarchs and prophets, in the unity of the martyrs and confessors, of the virgins and all righteous Saints; in the unity of the Heavenly Church, where there is day without night, tranquillity without fear, and joy without end; where there are seven eternal things: life without death, youth without old age, joy without sorrow, peace without discord, light without darkness, health without sickness, and a kingdom without change."

S. Cybi died on November 8, certainly after 547, the date of Maelgwn's decease in the Yellow Plague.

It is not possible to admit that the age of the Saint was seventy-seven when he returned from the Continent to Cornwall, but that may very well have been his age when he returned finally to Britain, after the four years spent in Ireland. His uncle was, indeed, still alive—but may have been nearly ninety. S. Enda, to whom he had gone, was almost certainly his senior, but not by many years, and he died in or about 540.

Of the disciples of S. Cybi, we have seen that Libiau or Llibio is known on Irish testimony to have been on Aran with S. Enda. He came to Wales with S. Cybi and founded Llanllibio in Anglesey. Peulan was the son of Paul Hên of Manaw. He founded Llanbeulan in Anglesey. Maelog was the brother of Gildas. He founded a chapel at Llanfaelog, under the church of his fellow pupil Peulan, and several churches in South Wales. He was also a disciple of Cadoc. Cyngar founded Llangefni in Anglesey.

Whether S. Mochop was his disciple is not clear. Cybi founded Kilmochoy in Magh Brehg, but it takes its name from Mochop. This Saint was the son of Ethnea, sister of Mughain, who married Diarmid, King of Ireland, who died in 565, and was mother of Aedh Slaine (599–605). Another sister was S. Brigid of Clon-infinde on the Shannon, the intimate friend of S. Senan of Iniscathy. It is possible that Mochop may have attached himself to Cybi, and that when Cybi left, he remained behind in charge of the church Cybi had founded.

It is not possible to determine who was Cybi's great adversary, the priest Fintan. Finnian, Finnan or Fintan is a very common name among the Irish Saints, and of a great many of them nothing is known. From the curse pronounced by Cybi, it is clear that in

Dengys anghyfartal dynged
 Dynion yn y byd.
 Caiff y naill, aed ffordd yr elo,
 Mewn cysgodion rodio'n rhydd;
 Rhaid i'r llall o hyd wynebu
 Pwys a gwres y dydd."

later years his adversary Fintan obtained no extended cult in Ireland. A Cruimther Finnan is indeed marked in the Irish Martyrologies on February 9, as of Droma Licci, in Leitrim, but this cannot be the man, as, according to the Life, Cruimther Fintan was a person of influence in Leinster, and not in Connaught. A Crubthir Fintain, however, occurs in the Martyrology of Donegal on July 13, of Killairthir, the site of which has not been satisfactorily determined.

It is conceivable that the departure of Cybi from Aran was due to the death of S. Enda, in or near 540, and this will well agree with the date of his arrival in Wales, about 542.

If we suppose that he was then aged seventy-two, then he arrived in Ireland in 538.

Taking Cybi to have lived to the age of eighty-four, he would have died in 554.

According to both Lives Cybi died on November 8. The great majority of the Welsh Calendars, however, give his festival on November 5, two give it on the 6th, one (*Cotton Vesp. A. xiv*) on the 7th, but none on the 8th. *Llanstephan MS.* 117 (sixteenth century) and Nicolas Roscarrock give also August 13. This may have been the date of the translation at some time of his relics. The oblations "in die S'c'i Cubii" are entered in the *Valor* of 1535 (iv, p. 428) under Holyhead.

The parish feast at Tregony is observed on October 4; that, however, at Duloe on November 9.

S. Cybi is best known as abbot of Caer Gybi.¹ Among the brotherhood at "Bangor Gybi" are mentioned in the late *Iolo MSS.*, S. Mygnach ab Mydno, who was registrar, and afterwards succeeded to the abbacy; S. Tegfan ab Carclawdrys, the founder of Llandegfan, who was confessor; and S. Padrig ab Alfryd, the founder of Llanbadrig, and S. Gwyddfarch ab Llywelyn, of Welshpool, who were members. Holyhead Island, otherwise known as the Holy Island, is generally called in Welsh Ynys Gybi. On a stone in the outside wall of the north transept of Holyhead Church is to be seen the inscription, "Sancte Kebie ora pro nobis"; and the print of his foot was formerly popularly believed to be visible in the rock at the east end of the church.²

There are several statues, rudely executed, about the entrance door

¹ Its abbot (represented later by the provost or president of the collegiate church) was one of the three spiritual lords of Anglesey, the other two being the archdeacon of the Isle, and the abbot of Penmon. The inscription on the exergue of the chapter seal is given as "Sigil' Rectoris et Capituli Eccl'æ de Kaer Kibi."

² Angharad Llwyd, *Hist. of Anglesey*, p. 207.

of the south porch of the church, one of which probably represents the patron Saint. Above, is the Eternal Father in a niche, which the popular tradition identifies with Maelgwn Gwynedd. A new side chapel has been erected to contain the tomb of the Hon. W. Owen Stanley, and this has niches containing statues of S. Cybi and S. Seiriol. The church of the latter, in Holyhead, is modern.

There is a traditional belief that S. Cybi was buried at Gwytherin, Denbighshire,¹ but there can be no doubt that he was laid to his rest at Caer Gybi, for his shrine there was rifled by Irish pirates in the fifteenth century.

There is preserved a poem entitled "The Saints' discourse with Cybi as they were going to Bardsey," but it is late mediæval.² According to it they were the "Saints of Brefi's Synod," at which S. David "preached" and acquired his apocryphal supremacy over the British Church. The poem leaves one to assume that Cybi was present; if so, the church of Llangybi, a little to the south-west of Llanddewi Brefi, was probably then founded by him.

One of the triplets known as "The Sayings of the Wise" runs:—³

Hast thou heard the saying of S. Cybi,
Of Anglesey, to the son of Gwrgi?
"There is no misfortune like wickedness."
(Nid anffawd ond drygioni.)

Dafydd ab Gwilym alludes to his *delw* or statue;⁴ and another bard mentions his *ffon* or staff, on which were profusely carved "leaves and ripe nuts."⁵

There is a holy well of his, Ffynnon Gybi, near the church of Llangybi, Carnarvonshire, where he is remembered as Cybi Lân, from the sanctity of his life. It was formerly roofed over. The structure consists of, first, the well, then a tank for bathers, with seats about it, in a quadrangular structure in fair preservation. Adjoining the well is a building, now untenanted, where probably its "priest" or caretaker lived.

¹ Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains*, p. 219.

² *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 134, 755. The copy at the latter reference makes their discourse to have been with Catwg, whose advice they sought in face of the pressure from the Saxons. Cybi is, however, introduced.

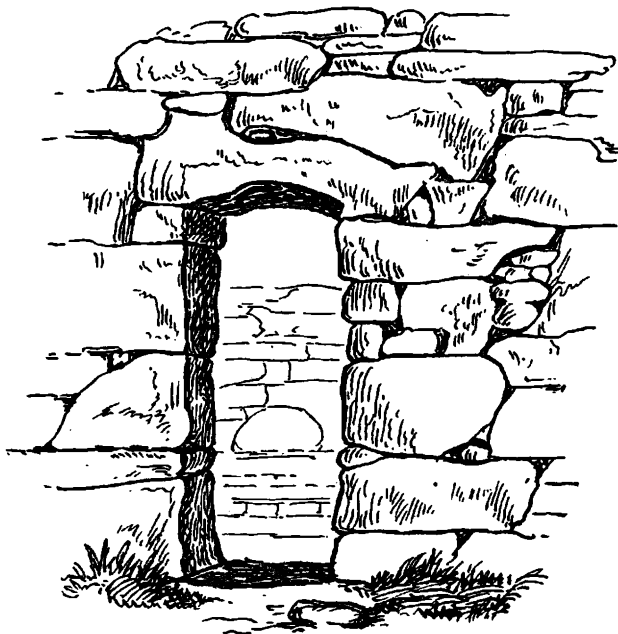
³ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 258.

⁴ *Barddoniaeth*, ed. 1789, p. 143. In the sixteenth century he was, like other Welsh Saints, popularly invoked in extremity. Leland, *Collectanea*, 1774, ii, p. 649.

⁵ Dafydd Llwyd ab Llywelyn (fifteenth century)—

Ffon a ddanffones Iesu
I Badrig, da fenthyg fu;
Cnau a dail cnwd a welynt
Gwisgi ar ffon Gybi gynt."

The water is very cold and clear, and wells up from a strong spring. It is possessed of mineral properties, and was formerly much resorted to in cases of scrofula, scurvy, rheumatism, etc. Crutches, wheelbarrows, etc., used by the patients, were to be seen about the well in the early part of the eighteenth century, and there stood a chest in the church for their offerings. The well contained formerly a sacred eel. Girls who desired to know their lovers' intentions used to spread their pocket-handkerchiefs on the water. If the water pushed them southwards their lovers were honourable and true ; but if northwards, the contrary. On the hill above is Cadair Gybi, his chair, a naturally-formed boulder bearing a striking resemblance to an arm-chair.¹



DOORWAY OF HOLY WELL, LLANGYBI.

Under the Cardiganshire Llangybi Edward Lhuyd wrote: "On Ascension Eve they (the people) resort to Ffynnon Wen ; after they have washed y^mselves, they go to Llech Gybi, that is an arrow's flight from the well. There they put the sick under the Llech, where, if the sick sleeps, it is an infallible sign of recovery ; if not, of death."

¹ Sir J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 365-6 ; *Arch. Camb.*, 1877, p. 330 ; 1904, pp. 107-18 ; D. W. Linden, *An Experimental and Practical Enquiry, etc.*, into the properties of the water, London, 1767. For a recent poem on the well, see *Cymru* for May 1907, p. 286.

There is a Carreg Gybi, in the sea, at Trwyn y Penrhyn, near Aberdaron ; and at Abergavenny a stream called the Kibby Brook.

The well of S. Cybi at Duloe, in Kippiscombe Lane, consists of a spring of water on the left-hand side of the road from Sandplace to Duloe church. It flowed into a circular basin of granite, carved and ornamented round the edge with figures of dolphins, and on the lower part with the figure of a griffin ; it is shaped somewhat like a font, and has a drain for the overflow of the water.

" The well at one time was very much respected, and treated with reverence by the neighbouring people, who believed that some dire misfortune would befall the person who should attempt to remove it. Tradition says that a ruthless fellow once went with a team of oxen for the purpose of removing the basin ; on reaching the spot one of the oxen fell down dead, which so alarmed the man that he desisted from the attempt. In spite of this tradition, however, the basin has been moved, probably when the new road was cut, and was taken to the bottom of the woods on the Trenant estate ; it is now placed in Trenant Park." ¹

Cubert is the name of a parish in the North of Cornwall, by the Atlantic ; although re-dedicated to S. Cuthbert, there can exist no doubt that the patron is the Cornish Cuby or Cybi ; and the village feast, which is on November 6, favours this view.

Here, as Hals says, was "a famous and well-known spring of water called Holy Well. . . . The same stands in a dark cavern of the sea-cliff rocks ; beneath full sea-mark on spring tides drop down or distil continually drops of water from the white, blue, red and green veins of these rocks ; and accordingly, in the place where these drops of water fall, they swell to a lump of considerable bigness ; and there petrifying to the hardness of ice, glass, or freestone, of the several colours aforesaid, according to the nature of those veins in the rock from whence they proceed." He goes on to say that people frequented this well in "incredible" numbers in summer, "from countries far distant."

This well has nature alone as its architect. It still flows.

Tregony, Cybi's third foundation, was formerly an important place. It had been an important seaport, and merchant vessels came up to the base of Castle Hill. But the creek has been silted up, and Tregony has declined to be a mere village. The church of S. Cuby there is mainly interesting as containing, built into the tower, an inscribed stone, bearing on it the names "Nonnita, Ercilini Rigati Tris Fili Eralinci." Curious, because, as already said, Non or Nonnita was

¹ Quiller-Couch, *Ancient and Holy Wells of Cornwall*, London, 1894, pp. 52-3.

the name of Cybi's aunt, to whom the adjoining parish of Gram-pound is dedicated, and where is her holy well.

As the second Life of S. Cybi in *Cotton MS.* Vesp. A. xiv, has never been published, we give it in the appendix.

S. CYFELACH, Confessor

THIS saint presents certain difficulties. A late document printed in the *Iolo MSS.*¹ states that he "was a bishop in Llandaff, who was killed by the pagans. His church is Llangyfelach, and he has another in Euas," or Ewyas, a district bounded on the east by the river Dore, and now mainly included in Herefordshire.² In the *Brut y Tywysogion* or *Gwentian Chronicle*, by Caradog of Llancarfan, it is recorded that in 754 "was fought the Second Battle of Hereford (between the Welsh and the Saxons), in which the Welsh were victorious; and there Cyfelach, Bishop of Morganwg, was slain."³ A Cyfelach is given, from the papers of Iolo Morganwg, as having been one of the "Bishops of Glamorgan *alias* Kenffig."⁴

This *Brut* is not by any means a trustworthy authority; and it is more than doubtful whether any battle was fought at Hereford in 754 (or 756), there being no mention of it in any authentic chronicle. The *Book of Llan Dâw* knows no bishop of Llandaff of the name of Cyfelach. The only bishop it mentions bearing any similar name is Cimeilliauc or Ciuelliauc (among other forms of the name), and several grants to Llandaff during his episcopate are therein recorded.⁵ He was consecrated Bishop of Llandaff by Ethelred, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 872; taken prisoner by the Norsemen in Erging or Archenfield in 915, and ransomed with £40 by King Edward the Elder; and died in 927. He is called Cameleac in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (s.a. 915), Cymelgeac by Florence of Worcester (under the same year), Camelegeac by Henry of Huntingdon (s.a. 918), and Chevelliauc by Ralph de Diceto. His name would be in Welsh to-day Cyfeilliog, which cannot be equated with Cyfelach⁶ (Old Welsh Cemelach).

¹ P. 108. ² We do not know what church in Ewyas the compiler meant.

³ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 686; *Arch. Camb.*, 1864, Supplement, p. 6.

⁴ *Liber Landavensis*, p. 625; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 361. ⁵ Pp. 231-7.

⁶ Sir J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, p. 163, is disposed to take the mediæval form Cimeliauc and the modern Cyfelach as representing one and the same name, and regards the latter as "an instance of a Goidelic form of a name having the local preference in Wales to this day." Cimeliauc, however, is not the best attested form of the name.

A S. Cyfelach must have lived who gave name to Llangyfelach, Glamorganshire, but he has clearly been confounded with Bishop Cyfeiliog, who lived much later. A Camelauc, who occurs in a list of the Abbots of Llantwit Major,¹ may have been Bishop Cyfeiliog.

Llangyfelach is to-day dedicated to S. David, or to SS. Cyfelach and David. In the Latin and Welsh Lives of S. David we are told that S. David founded a monastery or church there. According to the Latin Life he "founded a monastery in the district of Gower, at a place called Langemelach, in which he afterwards placed the altar sent by Pepiau"²; and Gwynfardd Brycheiniog, an early thirteenth century bard, in a poem written in honour of S. David, in which he enumerates the churches dedicated to him, or "owned" (*pieu*) by him, says:—

Dewi is the owner of the stately church of Cyfelach,
Where there is happiness and great devotion.³

We are led to suppose that there was a church here originally founded by S. Cyfelach, which was afterwards rebuilt by, and "re-dedicated" to, S. David. The feast of the patron is, and always has been, the First of March, on which day one of the most important fairs in South Wales was formerly held. Rees gives it as dedicated to "S. David, afterwards Cyfelach."⁴

S. CYFFYLLOG, Confessor

THE existence of this Saint seems to rest entirely upon MSS. which are quoted in the *Iolo MSS.*⁵ He is there said to have been a son of Goronwy, of Gwareddog, and brother of SS. Meigan, Padrig, and Garmon. He and his brothers, it is added, were Saints of Beuno's *Côr* or monastery at Clynnog. Gwareddog is the Gwredog, in Arfon, mentioned in the Life of S. Beuno, which Cadwallon, King of Gwynedd, gave to that Saint for a gold sceptre worth sixty cows, but which place he afterwards relinquished when claimed by a woman for her babe.⁶ The early Bonedds in *Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45, and *Hafod MS.* 16, know only of Padrig ab Alfryd ab Goronwy, of Gwareddog in Arfon.

¹ Williams, *Monmouthshire*, 1796, appendix, p. 50.

² *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 123, 136.

³ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 194.

⁴ *Welsh Saints*, p. 337.

⁵ Pp. 143-4. There is a small chapelry called Gwredog (S. Mary), subject to Llanerchymedd, in Anglesey.

⁶ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 17.

S. CYFLIFER, Martyr

CYFLIFER, whose name occurs in the later genealogies as Cyffleŷr and Cyfflewyr, was a son of Brychan Brycheiniog. In the two *Cognatio* versions he is entered as Chybliuer and Kyfliuer, and Merthyr Chebliuer (Kyfliuer) is said to be called after him. In the pedigrees in *Jesus College MS.* 20, his name is written Cyblider, and he is made to be a son of Dingad, and therefore grandson, not son, of Brychan. He always occurs in the late lists as son of Brychan.¹ In one entry it is stated, "Cyfflewyr the Martyr was killed by the pagan Saxons in Ceredigion, where he lies buried."² No place of the name is known in Cardiganshire to-day. A Merthir Cibliuer (Cimliuer) is given in the *Book of Llan Dâu*,³ as among the churches belonging to that see in the time of Bishop Urban (died 1133 or 4), but it has not been identified.

One of the *Achau'r Saint MSS.* printed in the *Iolo MSS.*⁴ gives a Cyfflewyr as son of Gwynllyw Filwr, and brother of Cadoc, of whose college at Llancarfan he was a "Saint." The substitution of Gwynllyw for Brychan is no doubt an error.

S. CYFYW, see S. CYNFYW

S. CYHELYN, see S. CUHELYN

S. CYHYLYN, Bishop, Confessor

S. CYHYLYN, the son of Tewdrig ab Teithfalch, was, according to the *Iolo MSS.*,⁵ "Bishop of London in the time of Cystennin Llydaw." He is evidently the same as the Gwythelin, saint and bishop, the son of this Teithfalch, of the entry immediately preceding it. He is the Guitelinus, in the Welsh text Kuelyn, of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who styles him "Archbishop of London." Cyhelyn and Gwythelyn occur in succession in a late list of chorepiscopi of Llandaff,⁶ but it is not authentic.

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 119, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419, 422.

² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 119.

³ Pp. 32, 44.

⁴ P. 130.

⁵ P. 137.

⁶ *Liber Landavensis*, p. 623.

S. CYLLIN

THERE is no authority whatever for including Cyllin ab Caradog ab Brân Fendigaid among the Welsh Saints.¹ His name simply occurs as a genealogical link in a pedigree that is purely apocryphal. He is supposed to have lived at the close of the first century. A MS. printed in the *Iolo MSS.*² states that "he was the first among the Welsh to give proper names to infants; for, previously, persons were not named before maturity, when the faculties were developed."

S. CYMORTH, Matron

CYMORTH, called also Corth, was, according to the late accounts, one of the daughters of Brychan, and was married to Brynach Wyddel, the Irish priest who was confessor to her father, and mother of Gerwyn, Mwynen, Gwenan, and Gwenlliw.³

Brynach had been on his travels, and on his return to Emlyn, her region, in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthen, he met with rough treatment. He was hustled from place to place. This was at the period when a strong feeling was prevalent among the natives against the Irish invaders. The Brychan family was Irish on the father's side, and it is possible that they may have made common cause with the Welsh against the Gwyddyl.

The rough treatment experienced by Brynach is hardly to be explained otherwise.

In the Life of this Saint we are informed that "the ancient enemy of Mankind . . . vehemently incited the daughter of the chieftain, who had given land to the holy man, to be in love with him. She . . . endeavoured by every means to enthrall the servant of God with her snares of alluring pleasures, and . . . to allure him to her luxurious habits. She mixed wolfsbane with lustful ingredients formally prepared, and ceased not to ply him with it to drink; but she prepared the mixture in vain. The holy servant of God did not thirst for such a cup. . . . The girl then, putting aside female modesty, turned from love to hatred, and endeavoured to put him to death in various ways.

"She accordingly sent some cruel fellows after the holy man, and

¹ Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 82. One of the Triads in the patched-up Third Series gives the pedigree of Lucius as "Lleirwg ab Coel ab Cyllin Sant" (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 404).

² P. 8.

³ *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419-20, 422; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 121, 140-1.

fiercely ordered that if they could not bring him back alive, they should not suffer him to depart with life. The wicked men found him whom they pursued, and first of all allured him with fair words to return. As he refused, one of them stabbed the innocent man, inflicting a dreadful wound with a lance, and the others rushed forward to despatch him, but some persons present intervened and rescued the holy man out of the hands of the villains. . . . The holy servant of God went to a spring that was near, and getting into the water, washed off the blood ; whence, to this day, the fountain is called the Red Spring.”¹

The narrative was written not earlier than the twelfth century, and was tinkered to suit the views of ecclesiastics of that time. It is probable that the woman was his wife Cymorth. She was the daughter of the chieftain who had granted him the land, and that chieftain was Brychan. Brynach was evidently closely associated with her, because she attempted to poison him ; and an assault with weapons took place on her land in Emlyn. The fountain, or holy well, is in the parish of Henry’s Mote, and is now called S. Bernard’s (Brynach’s) Well.

The biographer suppressed the fact that his hero was a married man, and father of a family, because in his day it was considered scandalous that a priest should have wife and children ; he may well also have altered the facts and disguised the fact, if fact it was, that his wife sought to get rid of him. See also under S. CYNHEIDDON.

S. CYNAN GENHIR, Confessor

THE well-known *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd*, which occurs earliest in the thirteenth century *Peniarth MS.* 45, has been copied, once whole-sale and once in part, into two MSS. of saintly pedigrees printed in the *Iolo MSS.*,² thus making a number of persons to pass as Saints who, elsewhere, are not known to have been anything other than warriors. Among them we have Cynan Genhir, the son of Cynwyd Cynwydion, and brother to Cadrod Calchfynydd, Clydno Eiddyn, and Cynfelyn Drwsgl. He is there called Cynan Genir or Gefnhir, and he and his brothers are stated to have been disciples of S. Cadoc at Llancarfan.

Cynan is mentioned in a triad as one of the “ Three Knight-Counsellors of Arthur’s Court.”³

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 7-8. ² Pp. 105, 128. ³ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 393.

S. CYNAN (CONAN) MEIRIADOG, Prince, Confessor

CYNAN has suffered from having been laid hold of by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who has spun a web of fable about him that has entangled and bewildered the historians of Brittany.¹

The story is to this effect.

Octavius, King of Britain, bestowed his daughter in marriage on Maximus, whom Geoffrey calls Maximian, who assumed the purple in Britain; and when Maximus went into Gaul at the head of a large army to assert himself in Gaul, Conan, the nephew of Octavius, led a large host of Britons, the flower of the youth, to his assistance. Maximus was defeated at Aquileia as he marched against Valentinian, and Conan never returned to Britain.

This has been further embroidered on by the historians of Brittany, who make Conan Meriadoc settle there and become the ancestor of the kings of Brittany.

Dom Morice has given the absurd pedigree quoted in the Introductory Essay on *Lesser Britain*.²

M. de la Borderie has taken a very strong line against Conan Meriadoc; he repudiates him altogether. He is doubtless justified in rejecting the fabulous matter attached to the story, but it is going too far when he says—"le glorieux Conan Mériadec doit prendre place à côté de Pharamond et de bien d'autres, dans la brumeux phalange des monarques imaginaires."³ The legend as hitherto accepted in Brittany is that Conan Meriadoc and the flower of the youths of Britain were granted the territory of Armorica by Maximus in reward for their services rendered to him. After the fall of Maximus in 388 Conan maintained himself as duke of Armorica, but made his submission to Valentinian II. At last, in 409, this part of Gaul having revolted against the emperors and expelled their magistrates, Conan rendered himself independent, and governed Armorica as sovereign till about 421, when he died.

What Gildas says (§§ 13, 14) is this:—"The island . . . sends out Maximus to the two Gauls, accompanied by a great crowd of followers, with an emperor's ensigns in addition. . . . After this, Britain is robbed of all her armed soldiery, of her military supplies, of her rulers, cruel though they were, and of her vigorous youths, who followed the footsteps of the above-mentioned tyrant and never returned." He does not name Conan, but there was no particular reason why he should do so. And nothing can be concluded against

¹ *Hist. Briton.*, v, cc. 8-16.

² i, p. 55.

³ De la Borderie, *Hist. de Bretagne*, ii, p. 456.

the tradition that associates Conan with Maximus from his silence. Gildas never enters into particulars; he is always vague and extravagant, and deals in generalities.

Nennius is the next writer to refer to this expedition. Nennius has gone through amplifications. The first edition was written in Alclud about 679, this was re-edited by one Samuel in 796, or thereabouts, and was given its complete form by Nennius somewhat later.¹

In the *Historia Britonum* we have this:—"The seventh emperor who reigned in Britain was Maximianus (*var.* Maximus). He departed from Britain with all the British soldiery, and slew Gratian, King of the Romans, and obtained the empire over all Europe, and he would not dismiss the soldiers back to Britain who had come over with him, to their wives and sons and possessions. But he gave to them many regions, from the lake which is at the top of Mount Jove, to the city of Cantguic and to the Western Mount, that is to Cruc Ochidient. These are the Armorican Britons, and they never returned to this day."²

The Mons Jovis is the Mount S. Bernard, and Cruc Ochidient is perhaps the point of Finistère.

According to this account Maximus gave his auxiliaries a very extensive region, extending across Gaul. But he does not mean this, but that he settled them in Armorica. There is nothing improbable in this. He placed these British troops not as settlers, but in garrisons in Armorica, which then included a great deal more than Brittany.

The Breton historians pretend that it was these troops, the Leti, who gave the name of Letavia or Llydaw to Armorica.³ The first author to give the name of Conan is the biographer of S. Gouzenou (Wohednovius), written in 1019, and dedicated to Eudo, Bishop of Léon. "One reads in the British History (*in Historia Britannica*) that the Bretons under Brutus and Corineus, having by their valour conquered Albion (Albidia), which received from them the name of Britain, and the surrounding isles, saw their numbers grow and their empire prosper to such an extent, that Conan Meriadoc, a good Catholic and warlike man, followed by an infinite multitude such as could no longer maintain themselves in the Isle, passed the sea and disembarked in Gaul on the Armorican coast. There his first residence was near the river Guilido in Ploucoulm, at a place which to this day retains the name of Castel Meriadoc (Plougoulm near Morlaix).

¹ Zimmer, *Nennius Vindictus*, Berlin, 1893.

² Nennius, *Hist. Briton.*, ed. Stevenson, § 27; *Irish Nennius*, ed. Todd and Herbert, p. 67.

³ The exact etymology of Letavia, of which Llydaw is the Welsh modification, is unknown, but it does not derive from Leti.

With his Bretons he gloriously conquered all that region from one sea to the other as far as the city of Angers, together with Rennes and Nantes, and slew all the natives who were still pagans, and on this account called Pengouet or Canica Capita. As to the women, after having cut out their tongues so as to incapacitate them for altering the British language, the comrades of Conan employed them in marriage and for such services as they might require of them.

"Then, in divers places they built churches in which to sing the praises of God ; they divided the land into *plous* and *trefs*, and thenceforth by the grace of God the country was called Little Britain. And thus the Armorican Britons and the insular Britons, having the same laws, living as brethren, were for long subject to the same authority, as if they inhabited the same region."

It is impossible to accept this story seriously. What *British History* the author quoted we do not know, but it certainly was not the *History* attributed to Nennius, for there is nothing of this to be found therein. He probably quotes some fabulous and legendary history of Brittany.

As to the fully developed story given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, it is unnecessary to quote that.

The story in the Life of S. Gouzenou is not only not confirmed by any other known writer, but contradicts the statements made in some of the earlier Lives of the Saints that the occupation of Brittany first took place in the fifth and sixth centuries, and took place peaceably.

We must now turn to the Welsh accounts.

Cynan figures earliest in the old Welsh saga called the *Dream of Maxen Wledig* in the *Red Book of Hergest*, of the late fourteenth century. He is there made to be the son of Eudaf ab Caradog, and brother of Adeon and Elen Luyddog (of the Hosts), who became the legendary wife of Maxen Wledig or Maximus. The tale gives an account of the conquest and settlement of Armorica, which, so far as it goes, resembles Geoffrey's. They slew all the men and kept the women alive, but "cut out their tongues lest they should corrupt their own speech"—hence the presence of the Welsh language in Armorica! It differs from Geoffrey's in that it makes Cynan to be brother to Elen, and not cousin.

In the *Iolo MSS.*¹ it is stated that Maxen Wledig "gave lands and privileges to the nation of the Cymry in Llydaw, with Cynan Meriadog as prince over them. 20,000 of the nation of the Cymry went thither, besides women and children, and there they have remained to this day."

There is no mention of the colonization of Brittany from Britain

¹ P. 38.

in the early Triads of the first and second series, but in one of the Triads in the third series (of about the sixteenth century) we read¹: "The third expedition from this island was conducted by Elen Luyddog and Cynan her brother, lord of Meiriadog, to Llydaw, where they received lands and dominion and sovereignty from the emperor Maxen Wledig, for aiding him against the Romans. Those men came from the land of Meiriadog, and the land of Seisyllwg (Siluria), and Gowerland, and Gorwenydd (in Glamorgan, represented by the old Deanery of Groneath, now divided into four): not one of them returned, but they remained in Llydaw and in Ystre Gyfaelwg, bearing rule there."

The compiler of this late series has converted Cynan into lord of Meiriadog, by which is usually understood the township of the name in the ancient parish of S. Asaph, but now in the parish of Cefn, comprising an area of hardly more than 1,500 acres, and there is nothing to indicate that the name ever bore a wider territorial application than that it bears to-day.

Neither in the *Dream of Maxen* nor anywhere else in genuine Welsh tradition is Cynan called Cynan Meiriadog. "Cynan and his family have a place in Welsh historical tradition, where Stradweul, the daughter of his brother Gadeon, is the wife of Coel Hên, alias Coel Godebog. Whereas Meriadoc (to be distinguished both from the Saint of that name and from the hero of the romance in *MS. Faustina*, B. vi) seems to have been quite distinct from Cynan, and to belong exclusively to Breton tradition, in which he occurs more than once without the addition of any 'Conan.' He is apparently the *Meriadus* of Marie de France's *Lai de Gugemer* (ed. Rochefort, i, 98, etc.)."²

The compiler of one of the *Achau'r Saint* documents printed in the *Iolo MSS.* could not resist the temptation to include him among the Welsh Saints. The entry runs, "Cynan ab Eudaf, of the family of Brân Fendigaid, was bishop in London in the time of Maxen Wledig"³ (fourth century). He is the Conanus who is given as the fifth "Archbishop" of London.

Among the "Sayings of the Wise" triplets occurs the following:—⁴

Hast thou heard the saying of Cynan Wledig,
A saint of good disposition?
"Every indiscreet person injures his portion."
(Drycai bob amhwyll ei ran).

By this Cynan is no doubt meant the Cynan Wledig (Aurelius Conan) whom Geoffrey makes king of Britain between Cystennin

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 402; cf. p. 412.

² Mr. Egerton Phillimore in *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, p. 72.

³ P. 137; cf. Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii, p. 273; Stubbs, *Regist. Sacr. Anglic.*, p. 152.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 253; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 129 (one of "the Stanzas of the Hearing").

ab Cadwr (whom Cynan slew) and Gwrthefyr,¹ placing him in the sixth century ; but we nowhere find this Cynan reckoned among the Welsh Saints.

S. CYNAN of Armorica, see S. CYNON

S. CYNAN (KENAN), Bishop, Confessor

THE sole authority for the life of this Saint is a Life given by Albert le Grand from a MS. by Maurice, vicar of Cleder, where was the Saint's tomb, and derived, we may presume, from documents then preserved at Cleder. Although Maurice may have been correct, we have no means of checking his statements, by any earlier Lives ; and Maurice wrote probably in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The earlier portion of the Life bears marks of containing genuine history, but the latter portion is vitiated by the introduction of matter derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth.²

Cynan was also named Colledoc, and was the son of a prince in Britain named Ludun, and his mother's name was Tagu.

The prince meant is certainly Lleuddun Luyddog, of Dinas Eiddyn, who has left his name to Lothian, and who was grandfather of S. Cyndeyrn. Joscelyn, in his Life of this latter Saint, calls " Leudonus " a king " semipaganus."

Lleuddun, or Llew, was son of Cynfarch Gul by Nyfain, daughter of Brychan, and the brother of Urien Rheged. Geoffrey of Monmouth has converted Llew into Lot, King of Norway, and makes him marry Anna, sister of King Arthur. Tennyson makes him the husband of Bellicent, and king of Orkney.

According to the Life by Maurice, Cynan was a bishop in his native country, but he started on his travels and came to Cambria. There he was informed by an angel that he must go further, and carry a bell, till he came to a place called Ros-enes, where he would build a hermitage, and where he was to tarry, and the bell which he carried should ring of itself when he had reached the proper locality.

He therefore applied to an excellent founder, named Gildas, who at his request furnished him with the desired bell ; then having joined disciples to him, Cynan started in quest of the place where he was to settle.

¹ *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 233.

² Albert le Grand, *Vies des Saints de Bretagne*, ed. 1901, pp. 561-3.

We might have supposed that this Ros-enes was Rosina, or the monastery of S. David in Menevia, but this cannot be, as Cynan has left no trace there, whereas, as we shall see presently, he has done so elsewhere. Maurice, who wrote the Life, evidently had no conception that the Gildas of his text was the great Gildas, whom we know from other sources to have been an expert bell-founder. The mention of Gildas helps towards the fixing of the period at which Cynan lived.

After having journeyed several days, becoming wearied with his travels, he and his disciples cast themselves down on the turf near a branch of the sea named Hildrech (Hirdraeth), when he heard a man by the waterside shouting to another across the water, asking him if he had seen his cows that had strayed. "Yes," replied the other, "I saw them yesterday on Rosenes." Cynan, rejoiced, went down the shore of this arm of the sea, which beach has since been called Krestenn-ke, that is to say, the Beach of S. Cynan. There, as his disciples were thirsty, he miraculously elicited a fountain of limpid water.

Then, crossing the creek, they reached a thick forest, where the bell carried by the Saint at once began to tinkle. Thereupon he set to work to clear the ground, and to erect a chapel and cells for himself and his followers.

Now there resided at no great distance from where he had taken up his abode, a prince named Theodoric (Tewdrig), and as he was one day hunting in the forest of Rosenes, a stag of which he was in pursuit took refuge with Cynan, who facilitated its escape. Tewdrig was furious, and carried off seven oxen and a cow that belonged to Cynan, and which served to draw his plough. But next day a like number of stags offered themselves to the Saint to be employed by him in tilling the land. Thenceforth the place was called Guestel Guervet, which Maurice tells us is the British for "the field of stags."

Cynan, nevertheless, went to Gudrun, where Tewdrig had his residence, to demand back his oxen, but the tyrant in reply struck the Saint in the face and broke one of his teeth. Cynan returned to his settlement and washed his mouth at the well there, and thenceforth the said well has been held in great repute for toothache. Tewdrig thought better of the matter after the Saint was gone; he restored the oxen and the cow, and gave to him some land.

Cynan had now gathered about him a good number of disciples, and he resolved on crossing over into Armorica. For this purpose he took ship at the port of Landegu, the vessel was loaded with corn, and with it they arrived at Cleder on the coast of Léon, where Cynan at once laid the foundations of a monastery.

Before proceeding, it will be well to determine as far as may be, the localities named above.

The parish of S. Cynan, or Kea, in Cornwall is on the Fal river, and the long tidal creek running some ten miles up to Truro may well be the Hirdraeth. Gudrun of the text is Goodern in S. Kea, where still may be seen the earthworks of Tewdrig's *dun*.

The port of Landegu is Landege, the old name for the parish, as appears in the Episcopal Registers, B. Bronescombe's (1264), B. Brantyngham's (1379), and B. Stafford's (1416). Landege is simply an abbreviation of Lan-ty-Kea.

Rosenes has left its name to Roseland, the long promontory, almost island, between the mouth of the Fal and the sea. S. Kea is, however, not in it, but the title of Rosenes may have extended further, or been applied as well to the spit of land between Restronguet and Caleneck creeks. Of the two springs elicited by the Saint, one to quench the thirst of his disciples still exists, and is called "Quench-well"; the other is simply the Holy Well, and is that at which he is said to have washed his bloody mouth.

Kenan seems to have made his principal foundation at Plouguerneau (Plou-Cernau) in Léon; and we are informed in the Life of S. Joavin, nephew and successor of S. Paul Aurelian, when that latter Saint retired to the Isle of Batz, that Joavin ordained Kenan priest.

Joavin did not hold the see much over a year, and falling ill at Brasparz, tidings reached Kenan, who hurried to S. Paul in his retreat and informed him of the dangerous state in which lay Joavin. Paul was too old and feeble to undertake the journey himself, so he commissioned Kenan to attend to Joavin. Kenan accordingly went to Brasparz and ministered to Joavin till his death.¹

According to the Life by Maurice, after Cynan had been some time in Léon, tidings reached him of the differences between Arthur and Modred, his nephew, and he crossed over into Britain in the hope of reconciling them. Unable to succeed, he visited Gwenhwyfar, at Winchester, probably Caer Went, and consoled her, and advised her to lead a better life for the future. He then returned to Armorica to his monastery at Cleder. Although all this portion of the Life is vitiated by the influence of Geoffrey's History, yet there is this much to say for it, that Cynan was brother to Modred, and both were the nephews of Arthur, so that he may well have supposed it his duty to interfere.

On his return to Cleder, Cynan buried his faithful disciple Kerien, who has given his name to the parish of Querrien, and soon after he

¹ Albert le Grand, *Vies des Saints de Bretagne*, ed. 1901, pp. 55-6.

fell ill himself, and died on the first Saturday in October. According to the *Annales Cambriæ*, the battle in which Arthur and Modred fell was fought in 537.

In or near 527 Gildas was in Britain, and it may have been then that he gave a bell to Cynan.

There do not appear any anachronisms in the story as it reaches us. S. Cynan, or Kea, died on the first Saturday in October, and the feast is kept at S. Kea on the nearest Sunday to October 3. When the licence for the performance of divine service at S. Kea, on the rebuilding of the church in 1802, was granted, it was stated in it: "The church will be fit for the celebration of Divine Service on or by the *third day of October* next, on which day it is not only the desire of the said petitioners, but also (as is alleged) of the parishioners of the said parish in general, that the same should be opened that day, *being the day of their Saint*, and the day on which, it is understood, their old church was dedicated."

Taking October 3 as his day, and as he died on the first Saturday in that month, this would give as the date of his death, 539, 544, 550, 561, 567, 572, 578, 589, 595.

In Brittany the saint is called Kenan, or Ké, and has two churches dedicated to him in the Côtes du Nord, Saint Quay near Etables, and the other near Perosguirec.

There are also dedications to him at Plogoff and Plouguerneau. At S. Quay in Tréguier he has been supplanted by S. Caius, Pope, for patron, as being in the Roman Martyrology, and even at Cleder he has been supplanted by S. Caraunus. He has undergone a "posthumous martyrdom" at Cleder, as a blind beggar told M. Le Braz. Said he: "There is hardly a shabby trick that has not been played on S. Ké. He has been turned out of his church, like a farmer who cannot pay his rent. He has had to take refuge above his Holy Well at Lezlao, where he now remains. His lot has been a sad one. That is not all. When he occupied the parish church, not a woman who expected confinement, not a young mother, who did not make him handsome presents. In those days it was said that no saint was a patch upon him for curing children's disorders. His statue was bonnetted with little baptismal caps of his tiny *protégés*. Troops of small boys and girls were brought to him on the day of his *pardon*. He was held, also, to watch over the prosperity of houses, to take an interest in the harvest, for he himself had been a corn-factor (a reference to his passage on the corn-ship). He was considered also as powerful against the murrain. For all his services he nowadays does not even receive a 'thank-you.' He is now thought to be no good at all

save for watching over pigs. He has sunk to being regarded as their patron—*Sant ar moc'h*. His feast, his *pardon*, are no more celebrated.”¹

Albert le Grand gives the day of S. Ké in Brittany on November 5, probably as that of the “invention” of his relics, but his name does not occur in the Breviary of Léon, or in any of the extant early Calendars.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, a vicar of Lanmeur, named Clech, wrote a Guerz or ballad on the story of S. Cynan, and identified him with Cianan, Bishop of Duleek, who was baptized by S. Patrick, and probably died about 500. But this was mere guess-work, and the earlier Guerz of S. Ké, composed about 1600, makes him a native of Britain, a son of Ludun.

The day of Cianan of Duleek is November 24; he appears in the Llanthony Calendar of the latter part of the fourteenth century (Corp. Chris. Coll., Oxford).

At Cleder is his statue, representing him as a bishop, with a roll partly open in his left hand, and with a bell at his feet. At Plouguer-neau, he is represented as a hermit with a spade in his hand. It seems strange that in both Cornwall and Brittany Cynan or Kenan should be abbreviated to Kea or Ké, but there can be no doubt that it has been done. His Life was in the church of Cleder, where his feast was observed, and his sepulchre remained. Liturgically he was called Kenanus, and in Plouguer-neau, of which he is patron, the name remains attached to a wood where is his chapel, Coat-Kenan. But the popular name is Ké or Quay.

At Cleder is his holy well, called Feunteun-Sant-Ké or Feunteun-ar-Glao, or the Well of Rain, as to it the peasants had recourse in times of dryness. The water is also thought to be troubled at the approach of rain. “A battered effigy of S. Ké adorns the little structure over the well. Hither the good people came when the saint was banished from the parish church. He has a shabby and lamentable appearance, this unfortunate Breton saint. Nevertheless he retains some faithful adherents, for a pious hand had put on the head of the stone figure a child’s cap, almost new, and other offerings of a like nature were rotting in a heap at his feet, when I visited the well.”²

S. CYNBRYD, Martyr

CYNBRYD is said to have been one of the many reputed sons of

¹ Le Braz, “Les Saints Bretons d’après les Traditions populaires”, *Annales de Bretagne*, ix (1894), p. 599.

² *Ibid.*, x (1894), p. 42.

Brychan Brycheiniog, but his name does not occur in either version of the *Cognatio*. According to the late accounts he was "a saint in Llanddulas," on the coast in Denbighshire, and is reported to have been "slain by the unbelieving Saxons at Bwlch Cynbryd" ¹ (his pass). The church of Llanddulas, sometimes formerly called Llangynbryd, would thus probably be a *martyrium*, and not a foundation of his. The exact location of Bwlch Cynbryd is not known; but the parish is a small one, so in all probability it is the little pass close by. The church of the adjoining parish of Llysfaen is dedicated to his brother Cynfran, and not far off, at Llanefydd, is another to a reputed member of the Brychan clan.

Cynbryd's festival is March 19, which occurs in a good number of the Welsh Calendars. In the calendars in the two sixteenth century *Peniarth MS.* 186 and *Llanstephan MS.* 181 it is entered against the 20th, evidently by mistake. Browne Willis, ² on the other hand, says of Llanddulas, "Feast kept the first Sunday in September"; and Edward Lhuyd, in his so-called *Itinerary*, 1699, has under the parish, "the sixth week of harvest (Chwech wythnos or Kynhayaf) they keep their Wake. Some say Cymryd (or Cyvryd ?) ³ is their saint."

William Salesbury, in his *Welsh Dictionary*, 1547, s.v., gives Cynbryd as the Welsh form of the name of S. Cuthbert, the seventh century Bishop of Lindisfarne, who was born of humble parentage in that district of ancient Northumbria beyond the Tweed. Possibly he was led to the equation by S. Cuthbert's festival falling on March 20. But it is curious that the wake date given for the parish should also appear to coincide with the feast of the Translation of S. Cuthbert, on September 4. It rather suggests a Cuthbertine dedication for Llanddulas.

Cynbryd, as a common noun, means a prototype, model, or emblem.

S. CYNDAF

S. CYNDAF or Cyndaf Hên, "a man of Israel," and his son Meugant Hên, Arwystli Hên, "a man of Italy," with Ilid, "a man of Israel," as their "principal," are represented as having accompanied Brân Fendigaid as Christian missionaries from Rome to Britain in the first

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 119, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 422.

² *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, p. 371.

³ For the forms see also *Myv. Arch.*, p. 422.

century.¹ In another document² Cyndaf is said to have come with "Garmon, or, as others say, Cadfan."

The story has not the slightest foundation in fact, and the persons mentioned are all as mythical as Brân himself. There are no churches dedicated to a S. Cyndaf.

The name Cyndaf occurs as Cunotami and Cunatami (in the genitive) on the Ogam-Latin inscribed stone at S. Dogmael's, near Cardigan. We have it later, in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, as Condav.³

S. CYNDDYLIG, Confessor

CYNDDYLIG, or Cynddilig, was son of S. Nwython ab Gildas ab Caw, and the father of SS. Egwad and Gwrin. He is said to have been a saint in Somersetshire. He is probably the S. Cynddylan of another list of Gildas's children.⁴ Geoffrey of Monmouth mentions "Kyndelic uab Nwython" as among the distinguished company present at the coronation of King Arthur at Caerleon.⁵

There is no church to-day dedicated to Cynddylig, but he was culted in Cardiganshire. Rees⁶ gives Capel Cynddilig as an extinct chapel in Llanrhystyd parish, in that county. His festival is All Saints' Day, but the only early calendar in which it is known to occur is the South Wales one denominated S, of the sixteenth century. The entry runs: "The Festival of Cynddilig, within the parish of Rhystyd, where indulgences were granted (yr oedd enaid rydd) from midday on All Saints' Eve until midday on All Saints' Day, and cocks were offered for the cure of whooping cough." The festival of S. Rhystyd is "the Thursday in the Ember Week before Christmas," on which day a fair is held, but there is also a hiring fair at Llanrhystyd on November 11.

It is doubtful whether by him was intended "Kyndelic Kyuarwyd," who is mentioned in the tale of *Culhwch and Olwen*, in the long list of Arthur's warriors, at whose hands Culhwch sought Olwen. His services were indispensable for the quest, "for as good a guide was he in a land which he had never seen as he was in his own."⁷

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 100, 102; *Cambrian Journal*, 1859, p. 234.

² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 145.

³ The name-element also occurs in Cawr-daf, Gwyn-daf, Mael-daf, etc.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 137, 139. He occurs as a son of Caw in one list of his children. We have the name-element (for earlier *dolic*) also in *Gwr-ddylig*. The name occurs in Irish as Cú-duiligh.

⁵ *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 200.

⁶ *Welsh Saints*, p. 328.

⁷ *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, pp. 106, 114.

S. CYNDEYRN (KENTIGERN), Bishop, Confessor

THE materials for a Life of this saint are :—

1. A fragment, by an anonymous monk, addressed to Hubert, Bishop of Glasgow (1147–1164), now in the British Museum, *Cotton MS.* Titus A. xix, ff. 76–80 ; it is printed in the *Regestrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, 1843, i, pp. lxxviii–lxxxvi, and in Pinkerton's *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, revised by Metcalfe, Paisley, 1889, ii, pp. 97–109.

This gives the story of the conception and birth of Kentigern with considerable detail, very unsavoury. It continues to where Kentigern becomes a disciple of S. Servan, and there breaks off.

2. A complete Life by Joscelyn of Furness, written probably in 1180, and addressed to Joscelyn, Bishop of Glasgow (1175–1199). Joscelyn states that he based it on an earlier Glasgow legend, and also on a document written in Irish.¹ This Life (of which two MSS. exist, one in *Cotton MS.* Vitell. C. viii, the other in Bishop Marsh's library, Dublin, V. 3, 4, 16), has been printed by Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 1–96.

3. A third Life, by John of Tynemouth, based on that of Joscelyn, in *Cotton MS.* Tib. E. i, f. 17. This has been printed by Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, and again by the Bollandists, *Acta SS.*, Jan 1, pp. 816–825.

4. *Officium Sti. Kentigerni*, in *Regest. Ep. Glasg.*, pp. lxxxvii–c, and in Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 110–116.

5. A fragment of a Life, compiled early in the fourteenth century, in the *Red Book of S. Asaph*. (See under S. ASAPH.)

The period in which lived S. Kentigern, says Bishop Forbes,² “ was one fertile in the types of that peculiar sanctity which characterizes the Celtic and British races. The contemporary of S. Columba in Dalriadic Scotia, of S. Servanus in Fib, and of S. Terreanus in Magh-circin or Mearns, Kentigern was brought into close connexion with the saints of Wales, who flourished in great abundance in the sixth century after Christ. For this was a century of energetic national life and of religious and mental activity in Wales. It was the time of Arthur, who, divested of the mythical accretions of after times, appears in authentic history as a Christian prince who combated in twelve battles

¹ “ Quaesivi diligenter vitam si forte inveniretur, quae majori auctoritate, et evidentiori veritate, fulciri, et stilo cultiori videretur exarari, quam illa, quam vestra frequentat ecclesia ; quia illam . . . tincta per totum decolorat inculta oratio, obnubilat stilus incompositus : quod prae iis omnibus quilibet sane sapiens magis abhorret, in ipso narrationis frontispicio quiddam sanae doctrinae, et catholicae fidei adversum, evidenter apparet. Codiculum autem alium, stilo Scottico, dictatum, reperi, per totum solocismis scatentem ; diffusius tamen vitam et actus Sancti Pontificis continentem.” Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

² *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, Edinb., 1872, p. 362.

Octa, the son, and Ebessa, the nephew of Hengest, in their attempt to seize the country between Forth and Clyde. It was the epoch of S. David, S. Illutus, S. Sampson, and S. Teilo, Bishop of Llandaff."

It is much to be regretted that Joscelyn meddled with his material. He found in the original Life, as he says, "*Quiddam sanæ doctrinæ et Catholicæ fidei adversum*," doubtless some Celtic peculiarities, and these, shocking his mediæval and Roman mind, he omitted or altered to suit the prevailing tone of thought in the twelfth century. He went about through "*plateas et vicos civitatis*" picking up legendary matter concerning the saint.

If he allowed himself a great deal of sermonizing, and invented and put into the mouth not only of his hero, but of an angel, tall talk of his own, he nevertheless preserved a good deal of very valuable information.

It is, however, deeply to be regretted that the far more valuable anonymous Life is a mere fragment, for it preserves in what remains very important details which Joscelyn passes over.

According to the Welsh saintly genealogies Cyndeyrn was the son of Owain ab Urien, of the race of Coel Godebog.¹ In the more ancient he is called Cyndeyrn Garthwys. His father Owain was a celebrated personage, and figures in some of the early mediæval Welsh romances, viz., *The Dream of Rhonabwy*, *Owain and Luned*, and *Peredur*; whilst his grandfather Urien Rheged is also distinguished in history and romance.

The same genealogies vary as regards the actual form of his mother's name, but the best attested is Denw.² Her father was Lleuddun Luyddog, of Dinas Eiddyn (Edinburgh), the eponymus of Lleuddu niawn or Leudonia, the Lothian of to-day. He is the Llew or Lot of Geoffrey's *Brut*. Denw was the sister of Beren, S. Beuno's mother. The fragmentary Life confirms this.

It says that Leudonus, *vir semipaganus*, was king of the province in North Britain called Leudonia; and he had a step-daughter (*filiam novercatam*) named Thaneu. This damsel was sought in marriage by "Ewen filius Erwegende. . . . In gestis historiarum vocatur Ewen

¹ *Peniarth MSS.* 16 (early thirteenth century), 45 (late thirteenth century), and 12 (early fourteenth century); *Hafod MS.* 16 (*circa* 1400, *Myv. Arch.*, p. 415), and *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 266 (the two last as Cyndeyrn *mab* Garthwys); *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 102, 127; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 421. Cyndeyrn, who was a Brython, was called by the Goidels *In Glas Chú*, the Grey Hound, which has survived in the name of Glasgow. Cyndeyrn means a supreme ruler.

² *Peniarth MS.* 16 and *Hafod MS.* 16. It is given as Denyw in *Peniarth MS.* 45; Dyfuyr in *Peniarth MS.* 12; and Dwywe in *Iolo MSS.*, p. 127; cf. *Myv. Arch.*, p. 421. As Tenew her name has been corrupted in Scotland into S. Enoch, as in S. Enoch's church and station in Glasgow.

filius regis Ulien." As Theneu refused the addresses of Owain, the king sent her to live with a swine-herd; and whilst she was in this menial capacity Owain disguised himself as a girl, and seduced her.

When Theneu gave signs of becoming a mother, the king was furious, and ordered her to be stoned to death. But the executioners instead placed her in a cart, pulled this to the top of the mountain Kepduf, and toppled it over the brink. But by a miracle she was not hurt, the mark of the wheels was left in the stone, and a miraculous spring bubbled up on the spot.

Then she was taken about three thousand paces off to Aberlessic, so called because the fishermen covered the strand with the offal of the fish they netted there, and the place stank. Here she was committed to the sea in a coracle and was carried by the current to Culros.

The king then went after the swine-herd, supposing that he had seduced Theneu, and he fled to some marshes, where being still pursued, he flung his spear at the king and transfixed him. "And the friends of the king erected as a royal token, a great stone in the place where he fell, 'imposito illi desuper saxo minore arte cavatoria,' which still remains, distant from Dunpleder, on the south side, about a mile."

She was washed ashore, and had just time to crawl to the remains of a fire still smouldering, which some shepherds had left, before the pangs of maternity were on her.

Next morning, the shepherds, returning to the spot, saw Theneu and her new-born son. They at once announced the fact to S. Serf or Servan, who lived near.

The Breviary of Aberdeen makes "Præclarus Dei confessor Kentigernus nobilissima inclitorum Scotia prosapia patre Eugenio Eufurenn rege Cumbriæ matre vero Tenew filia Loth regis Laudoniæ ortus." Here Owain appears as Eugenius, and Urien as Eufurenn.

Joscelyn says that the mother greatly desired to imitate the Blessed Virgin in her conception and child-bearing, and when she was found with child, utterly denied having given occasion to this. Joscelyn then asserts that S. Kentigern was born, like Christ, of a pure virgin.

Joscelyn says that it was formerly the rule that a girl who had become pregnant out of marriage should be thrown down a precipice, and that the man should lose his head. "In like manner," he adds "among the ancient Saxons and almost down to modern times it was customary that a virgin rendered pregnant against her father's will should be buried alive, and the violator should be hung over her grave."

The casting adrift in a coracle covered with one hide was a not unusual punishment among Celtic races.

The story must be taken with a large pinch of salt. The Welsh

genealogies, which indeed give Denw as wife of Owain ab Urien, also state that, as Tenoi, she was the wife of Dingad ab Nudd Hael. But this is a mistake. Chronologically it is not possible that she could have been wife of Dingad, as Nudd Hael was a contemporary of Rhydderch Hael, the great protector of Cyndeyrn, son of his cousin Nudd's wife by her slip with Owain. By Nudd she is represented as the mother of Dingad.

To return to the legend. When S. Serf came to the spot and saw the pretty babe, his dry heart melted, and he exclaimed "Mochöhe ! Mochöhe !" (*i.e.*, My darling, my darling !) He at once adopted both mother and child, and baptized them, calling the latter Centiern or King's Head.

The child grew up in the old man's cell, and was instructed by him in all sacred knowledge ; and he was such a ready pupil and so amiable that Serf was wont to call him *Munghu* (Dear Pet), and this is the name by which in Scotland Kentigern is generally known.

Serf had other pupils, and they became jealous of the predilection shown to Munghu, and vented their spite upon him by wringing the neck of a tame robin, of which he was fond, and by extinguishing the fire on the night when it was his turn to sit up and watch it. On the latter occasion he rekindled the fire by rubbing together dry hazel sticks.¹ At length, the animosity of his fellow pupils made it intolerable for him to remain longer with S. Serf, but his dissatisfaction was brought to a head when the cook died, and the duties this man had discharged were imposed on Kentigern. This was so distasteful to him that, in spite of the urgency of his master, he resolved to leave. He then crossed the estuary of the Forth, near a spot since called S. Servan's Bridge. Joscelyn found in the original Life something about his traversing the Forth between the flux and reflux of the tide, and not understanding the words *Mallena* and *Ledo* converted them into the reaches of the Teith and Forth,² which run nearly parallel to each other till within about three miles of Stirling, when the Forth, the southern of the two rivers, bends suddenly to the north, and empties itself into the Teith.

The young saint now went to Carnock, where lived a certain Fergus, who was dying, and with his last breath made over to him his cell, and requested that his body might be transferred to Glasghu, where

¹ "Vigiliarum tempore Kentigernus ignem monasterii extinctum reperiens ramum cujusdam coruli viridis arripiens . . . insufflavit, et confestim igne celitus emissio ramus . . . ardere cepit." The word *viridis* was added to make the incident miraculous.

² "Aestus crescentes Malinas, decrescentes autem placuit appellare Ledones." Bede, *De Nat. Rerum*, c. 28.

S. Ninian had consecrated a cemetery, and where it would receive Christian burial.

At Glasgow Kentigern remained for some time. The king of that region, Strathclyde, together with the other Christians there, requested Kentigern to become their bishop, although at the time he was aged only five and twenty. He consented, and a bishop was summoned from Ireland to consecrate him. This did not please Joscelyn; he apologizes for the neglect of having three together to ordain, according to the Nicene rule, and says that the Britons and Irish were "insulani," beyond the civilized world, surrounded by pagans and ignorant of the ecclesiastical customs. But he is guilty of disingenuousness when, later, he makes Kentigern doubt the validity of his orders, and go to Rome to get the Pope Gregory to supplement the defects in the rite he had undergone. That this is a wilful invention of Joscelyn can hardly be doubted.

Kentigern now made a visitation of his diocese, and found that, although the country had been nominally Christianized, the bulk of the population was pagan. Moreover, Morken,¹ the king, was not cordial, when he saw with what energy the new bishop prosecuted his work, and he sneered at his vehemence, and came to an open rupture when, a flood occurring, a rick of corn was carried down the Clyde from the royal estate, and having stranded by Kentigern's monastic settlement, the Saint made no scruple in appropriating it.

Shortly after this Morken died, but his successors were still more hostile to Kentigern, and he, believing that a conspiracy had been formed to murder him, fled to Wales. The account in the *Red Book of S. Asaph* makes Kentigern escape from Morken.² On his way south, he halted at Carleolum (or Carlisle), and there learned that paganism still lingered in the mountainous parts near. He turned aside, and did good mission work. At the headquarters where he preached, he planted a cross, and the place is now called Crosthwaite.

Then he resumed his journey, and going out of his way, "per loca maritima," collected a harvest of souls. At length he arrived in Menevia, and remained some time with S. David.

His fame having reached Cathwallanus in North Wales, that prince invited him to his dominions. In the Life in the *Red Book of S. Asaph* the king is called Caswallanus, by whom is meant Cadwallon Lawhir, the father of Maelgwn.

¹ John of Tynemouth calls him Marceu. The name is Morcant in Nennius.

² "Beatus Kentigernus ab impio rege Morken occidentalium partium Albanie et suis dolosis complotibus dire et crudeliter persecutus divine monitie propriam civitatem de Glasco deseruit." *Red Book of S. Asaph*, p. 43.

Kentigern travelled with a great body of monks and military men. "Cum eo turba multa clericorum, militorum, et ministrorum, numero trecenti."

Cadwallon bade him select any place he liked for his settlement. One day Kentigern saw a wild boar pawing and tearing up the turf with his tusks near the river Elwy, and he resolved on fixing his abode there.

All went on smoothly for a while, but when Maelgwn succeeded to his father, troubles began. Maelgwn did not relish having so large a colony planted in his territory, and made difficulties. Joscelyn calls the king "quidam regulus nomine Melconde Galganu," but there can be no question that Maelgwn is intended. The account of the monastery, which is given with detail, is interesting, but we do not know to what an extent it was coloured by Joscelyn. Kentigern's foundation attracted great numbers of all ranks and ages, and it was filled with 965 monks. These he divided into three bands; 300 who were illiterate were deputed to take care of the cattle and till the fields; 300 were set apart to perform household duties within the monastery; the remaining 365 were devoted to the sacred offices, which were continued without intermission, day and night.¹

Among the Saint's favourite pupils was S. Asaph, of whom we have already treated.

Whilst Kentigern was at Llan Elwy S. David died, and he had a vision of David's reception into heaven.

Joscelyn here introduces the expedition of Kentigern to Rome to have what was wanting in his orders supplied by Pope Gregory. As Gregory was not pope till 590, and Kentigern returned to Glasgow shortly after 573, he falls into an anachronism. That the saint went to Rome at all is improbable, certainly not seven times as Joscelyn would have us believe.

Meanwhile, in Strathclyde great changes had taken place. These will be best understood by a quotation from Skene's *Celtic Scotland*,² which we will give after a few prefatory remarks.

There were, at this time, four British kings in Strathclyde; and the Saxons had invaded and occupied the Lothians. With these the Britons were engaged in war. North of Strathclyde was the Scotie

¹ "Divisit per turmas et conventus collegium, ut uno conventu servitium Dei in ecclesia terminante, continuo alter intrans illud inchoaret, quo consummante, alius consequenter celebraturus introiret. Sane sacris conventibus convenienter et discrete dispositis, et vicissim subintrantibus, dum opus Dei jugiter celebraret, regulariter oratio sine intermissione ab ecclesia illa ad Deum fiebat; et benedicendo Dominum in omni tempore semper laus Dei in ore eorum resonabat."

² *Celtic Scotland*, Edinb., 1876, i, pp. 156-7.

colony of Dalriada, comprising Argyll, engaged in thrusting back the Picts. But the Pict still held the present counties of Wigtown and Kircudbright.

The four British kings were Urien, Rhydderch Hael, Gwenddoleu and Morcant. These four had combined against Hussa, son of Ida of Bernicia, who began to reign in 567.

But there were elements of discord at work among these princes, which brought them at last into internecine conflict.

Rhydderch belonged to the party of the Britons which had been most affected by Roman civilization, and claimed to have among them descendants of the Roman colonists, and of the soldiery set to guard the Wall connecting the Clyde and the Firth of Forth.

The other party, headed by Gwenddoleu and Morcant had not been influenced in the same way, and represented the pure Celtic element, with its tribal organization unmodified.

"Dissensions seem now to have broken out among the Britons themselves, who formed two parties, arising from other grounds besides those of supposed descent. The existence in the country of a pagan people like the Angles, and the extent to which they had subjected the natives, exercised a great influence over those who were not subject to their power. The Picts, who were either subjected by them or in close alliance with them, were more immediately under their influence, and seem to a great extent to have apostatized from the Christianity introduced among them by S. Ninian, and a great part of the British population in the south fell back upon a half paganism, fostered by their bards, who recalled the old traditions of the race before they had been Christianized under the Roman dominion. There was thus a Christian and what may be called a pagan party. The so-called Romans mainly belonged to the former, and Riderchen or Rhydderch was at their head. The latter embraced the native Britons, whose leaders traced their descent from Coil Hên, or the Aged, and their head was Gwendolew.

"These dissensions now broke into open rupture, and a great battle is recorded to have taken place between them in the year 573, which was to decide who was to have the mastery. It was termed the battle of Ardderyd,¹ and the scene of it was at Arthuret, situated on a raised platform on the west side of the river Esk, about eight miles north of Carlisle. . . Here this great battle was fought, the centre of a group of Welsh traditions."

It resulted in the defeat of the Pagan party, the death on the field

¹ The correct form is Arderydd.

of Gwenddoleu, and the establishment of Rhydderch Hael as king over the Cumbrian Britons.

No sooner was Rhydderch successful, than he resolved on the recall of Kentigern. He had been baptized in Ireland, and was a devout Christian. Finding Christianity almost trampled out in his dominions, he despatched messengers to Gwynedd to summon Kentigern to resume his work among the Cumbrian Britons. The saint would willingly have remained at Llanelwy, but he felt that duty called him north. Accordingly, after having appointed S. Asaph to succeed him as abbot and bishop, accompanied by 665 monks and clerics, he departed, leaving the church by the north door, which was ever afterwards kept shut, save on the feast of S. Asaph, May 1.

Rhydderch submitted his entire kingdom to Kentigern, to be its spiritual head.¹

Kentigern assembled the people for a great conference at Hoddam in Dumfriesshire, near the Annan river, and the church of S. Mungo, near by, commemorates his work there. There was a mound, probably a tumulus, which the saint ascended, and whence he was able to address the people so as to be heard of all. In after times it was fabled that the earth had miraculously risen under his feet to form this bell-shaped mound. A similar story was told of S. David at Llanddewi Brefi.

As Joscelyn went about picking up local traditions, and was not particularly scrupulous as to whether they were true or not, he may have gathered this story from some old women at Hoddam.

Although it was known that the King Rhydderch favoured Kentigern, there was undoubtedly a strongly opposed faction, which clung to old usages and beliefs.

One of the superstitions most strongly resisted by Kentigern was the disfiguring of the face and body, in honour of the heathen gods, with staining, probably with woad. As late as 785 it fell under ecclesiastical censure at the Synod of Calcluth, and there are allusions to it in the Lives of the Irish saints as symbols or badges of demoniacal homage, in contradistinction to the tonsure, that marked those who became servants of the living God.

When Kentigern preached, he routed these dyed and disfigured adherents of paganism. Joscelyn, not understanding the practice or its significance, has given a fanciful colour to the transaction: "Quo

¹ "Rex Roderch dominium et principatum super universum regnum obtulit Kentigerno." His diocese must have extended from the Clyde to the Mersey. The "Triads of Arthur and his Warriors" in *Peniarth MS.* 45 (thirteenth century) say that Cyndeyrn Garthwys was chief bishop of the third "Throne-Tribe of the Island of Britain," at "Pen Rionyd in the North"—in Strathclyde.

dicto ingens larvatorum multitudo statura et visu horribilis a cetu illo exiens omnibus videntibus aufugit." Joscelyn thought they must be demons, yet the word *larvati* is contrary to the idea.¹

After a thorough cleansing of his own diocese, Kentigern proceeded into Galway among the Picts. He erected churches and placed clerics in various parts of Alba, and even despatched some of his disciples to the Orkneys, to Norway, and to Iceland.

Whilst at Glasgow an event took place which has left its mark on the arms of the city.

The queen, whose name was Langueth, having a young lover, gave him a ring, which had been a present of her husband. Rhydderch observed this on the man's finger as the latter lay asleep, and drawing it off, cast it into the Clyde, and then demanded the ring of his wife. In her difficulty she had recourse to S. Kentigern, who prayed, and, lo, a salmon was caught, that had the ring in its belly. The story of the fish and ring is one of those hack incidents that come into many folk-tales and legends of saints, and there is, of course, no truth whatever in it.

Kentigern now resolved on a visit to Columcille in Hy. Attended by his disciples, he proceeded to meet that remarkable man, chanting psalms. In like manner Columba marshalled his monks, and they met, embraced, and had long conferences together. Before parting they exchanged their pastoral staves. Kentigern's, as given to him by Columba, covered with gold and jewels, was still preserved in Ripon Cathedral in the beginning of the fifteenth century. In the tenth century, under the name Cathbhuaidh (= Battle victory), it was carried as a standard in going to battle.²

When Kentigern had reached an extreme old age, he became so feeble that his chin had to be sustained by a bandage. Feeling that his end was approaching, he fortified himself with extreme unction, and the life-giving sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, and summoning his disciples to him, gave them his final exhortation, and blessed them severally as they bent before him, raising his hand with extreme difficulty. Then he ordered a hot bath to be prepared for him; when he was put in it he expired, as he signed himself with the cross.

A strange story told by Joscelyn is that before his death some of his disciples prayed to be allowed to accompany him to Paradise. He replied that those who should step into the bath after him would

¹ See Todd and Herbert, *Irish Nennius*, pp. lix-lx.

² Irish Annals quoted in Reeves' ed. of *Adamnan's Life of S. Columba*, p. 333.

follow him to heavenly places, and actually such as did this died immediately.¹

He died on a Sunday in the year 603 according to some, 612 according to the *Annales Cambriæ*. His day is January 13, and Sunday fell on that day in the years 603 and 614, on one of which he probably died. The first is to be preferred. He was buried where the cathedral of Glasgow now stands.

In Scotland dedications to him are under his name of Mungo. List in Forbes' *Kalendar of Scottish Saints*.

In art he is represented with fish and ring.

J. W. Wolf has dealt with the mythological elements in the Life, *Zeitschrift f. Deutsche Mythologie*, Göttingen (i), 1883, pp. 216-226.

S. CYNDEYRN AB CYNGAR, Confessor

THIS Saint, to give his full pedigree, was the son of S. Cyngar ab Garthog ab Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig.² He was the brother of S. Gwynlleu. The *Progenies Keredic* (early thirteenth century), however, does not give Garthog as a son of Ceredig. To him, rather than to S. Kentigern, is dedicated the church of Llangyndeyrn, Carmarthenshire. His festival does not occur in any of the mediæval calendars, but Browne Willis and Rice Rees give it as July 25, on which day a fair was held (Old Style) at Llangyndeyrn, and is still held on August 5 and 6.

One of the late and often faked documents printed in the *Iolo MSS.*³ makes the patron of this church to be Cyndeyrn, son of Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu, or Vortigern, and adds that he lies buried here. It gives him also a brother, S. Eurdeyrn, as patron of Llanedeyrn, in Cibwyr. According to the pedigree, he was father of Rhuddfedel Frych, the great-grandfather of Cadell Deyrnllwg, King of Powys. This so-called saint occurs in Geoffrey's *Brut*⁴ as one of the three sons of Gwrtheyrn—the other two being Gwrthefyr and Pasgen—and in a battle which

¹ Similar stories of voluntary deaths occur with uncomfortable frequency in the Lives of the Celtic, especially the Irish, saints. It would almost seem that self-sacrifice was carried on among them to the last extremity, though Reeves, in his *S. Columba*, repudiates the idea.

² *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 265; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 110, 125; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 421 (here as son of Arthog ab Ceredig, and brother of Cyngar). Cyndeyrn was not a common name. A "Kyndeern wledic" recurs in the pedigrees in *Jesus College MS.* 20.

³ P. 129.

⁴ *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, pp. 136-7.

took place at "Rhyt Epiffort" between him and Horsa, brother of Hengist, the one is said to have slain the other.

In a Demetian pedigree, as given in the *Hanesyn Hên* (*Cardiff MS.* 25), occurs a Cyndeyrn the Blessed:—"Tryffin ap Ewein Vreisg ap Kyndeyrn (*al.* Cyndwr) Vendigeit ap Ewein ap Kyngar ap Ewein . . . ap Dofet ap Ebynt."

S. CYNFAB, Confessor

REES, in his *Welsh Saints*,¹ gives Cynfab as patron of Capel Cynfab, an extinct chapel under Llanfair-ar-y-Bryn, Carmarthenshire, with festival on November 15. Nothing more seems to be known of him. Cynfab means a first-born son.

S. CYNFALL, Martyr

THIS saint is only known to us through the *Book of Llan Dâv*. Among the seven churches granted by Britton Hail to Llandaff in the time of Bishop Grecielis is mentioned Merthir Cynfall, otherwise called Lann Cynfall and Ecclesia Cynfall.² It is to-day the place called Llangynvil, on the Monnow, near Monmouth. Cirn Cynfall (? the Buckholt) occurs among the boundary names in the grant.

S. CYNFARCH AB MEIRCHION

CYNFARCH GUL was the son of Meirchion, of the race of Coel Godebog, and the husband of S. Nyfain, daughter of Brychan, by whom he was the father of the celebrated Urien Rheged, Lleuddun Luyddog, and Efrddyl. He was a Brythonic northern chieftain, and ancestor of the tribe of Cynferchyn, one of the three great tribes of the North. He occurs in *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd*, a document which the compilers of the late *Achau'r Saint* in the *Iolo MSS.* took hold of and shamelessly appropriated; and thus Cynfarch, as well as the rest of the

¹ Pp. 307, 330. The chapel is called "Llangenvab" in the inventories of Church goods taken by the Commissioners in 1552-3.

² Pp. 171, 173, 264. It seems to be the Lann cinuil on p. 275.

warriors of the North, has, though somewhat late, come to be regarded as a Welsh saint.

The entry in the *Iolo MSS.*¹ states that he "founded a church in Maelor, called Llangynfarch, which was destroyed by the pagan Saxons at the time of the battle of Bangor Orchard" (613). The church evidently meant is that of Hope, in Flintshire, but the parish was formerly called in Welsh Llangyngar and Plwyf Cyngar—not Cynfarch—and the wake fell on November 11 (correctly the 7th), the festival of S. Cyngar, according to Edward Lhuys.

One of the triplets known as the "Sayings of the Wise" runs:—²

Hast thou heard the saying of Cynfarch,
The active and intrepid warrior?
"Whoso respects not thee, respect thou not him."
(Y neb na'th barcho na pharch.)

There is, however, a church in Denbighshire which was formerly dedicated to a S. Cynfarch, but became afterwards, in Norman times, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. We mean the church of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, where there was at one time a figure of "Sanctus Kynvarch" in one of the windows.³ We have here, as in many other cases, an instance of an obscure Welsh saint having to give way to the favourite saint of Latin Christianity.

The festival of S. Cynfarch, September 8, occurs in the calendars in the *Iolo MSS.* and the *Prymers* of 1618 and 1633. The day, which is also the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, may have been entered as his festival from its being the Llanfair wake-day.

It is clear that there was a Welsh saint belonging to North Wales and another to South Wales bearing the totemistic name of Cynfarch.

S. CYNFARCH of Chepstow, Confessor

THE little that is known of this Gwentian Saint we glean from the *Book of Llan Dâu*.⁴ He was a disciple of S. Dyfrig at Hentland on the Wye, and gave name to Llangynfarch, which is mentioned in one document therein as "Ecclesia Cynmarchi discipuli Dubricii Sancti." Its name is perpetuated to-day in that of S. Kinmark, near Chepstow. The present town of Chepstow is within the boundaries of the old parish of Llangynfarch. He is mentioned by Spenser in the *Faery Queen*,⁵ who gives to him a fanciful pedigree.

¹ P. 127.

² P. 252. In the older "Stanzas of the Hearing" in *Myv. Arch.*, p. 128, it varies considerably.

³ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 422.

⁴ Pp. 80, 165.

⁵ II, x, 24.

S. CYNFARWY, Confessor

THIS Saint's name occurs only in the alphabetical *Bonedd* (so-called), compiled by Lewis Morris, wherein he is given as son of "Awy ab Llehenog, Lord of Cornwall,"¹ but of whom nothing is known. He is the patron of Llechgynfarwy, called also Llangynfarwy,² in Anglesey. In a field adjoining the churchyard there once stood an upright stone, over nine feet high, popularly called Maen Llechgynfarwy, which was supposed to commemorate him. It was removed during last century.

His festival day, which occurs in November, is variously given. Browne Willis in his *Survey of Bangor* (1721), Angharad Llwyd in her *History of Anglesey* (1833), and others, give it as the 7th; the calendars in the *Iolo MSS.* and the *Prymers* of 1618 and 1633 give the 8th; that in *Peniarth MS.* 187 the 10th; and that in *Peniarth MS.* 219 the 11th.

The name Cynfarwy or Cynwarwy occurs in the *Book of Llan Dâw* as Cinguarui, Conguarui, and Conguare, and these forms appear as the names of clerical witnesses to as many as a dozen grants to the church of Llandaff during the time of Bishops Dubricius, Teilo, Oudoceus, Berthwyn, and Elgistil.

S. CYNFELYN AB BLEIDDUD, Confessor

THIS Saint's pedigree in full runs thus:—Cynfelyn ab Bleiddud ab Meirion ab Tybiawn ab Cunedda Wledig.³ He was brother to S. Cynyddyn, and, according to the *Iolo MSS.*, a saint or monk of Bangor Deiniol.

To him is dedicated the church of Llangynfelyn in North Cardiganshire, and he is believed to have lived as a hermit on Ynys Cynfelyn, on which the church now stands.⁴ He is said to have been the founder of another church, in the parish of Welshpool, but whether represented by the present parish church (B.V.M.) we are not told. The extinct chapel of Dolgynfelyn, under Manafon, in the same neighbourhood, was not named after him.

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 422.

² Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 912. With the parish-name compare that of Llechylched, also in Anglesey.

³ *Peniarth MSS.* 12, 16 and 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 422; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 102, 110, 125, etc.

⁴ Nicholas, *County Families of Wales*, 1872, i, p. 199.

His festival does not occur in any of the Welsh calendars, but Browne Willis¹ gives it as All Saints' Day. In the "Stanzas of the Months," usually attributed to Aneurin, but many centuries too late to be by him, occurs the couplet :—

Truly says Cynfelyn,
"A man's best candle is reason."²

Cynfelyn was formerly a somewhat common name, and appears earliest as *Cunobelinos*. It is Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*.

Between Aberystwyth and Borth lies a reef or causeway, known as Sarn Cynfelyn, running some seven miles out to sea, and popularly believed to be the remains of a road over the large tract of land known to Welsh tradition as *Cantre'r Gwaelod* submerged in the sixth century. There are several of these so-called "sarns" on the west coast, but they are now believed to be natural formations. This one may or may not have been called after S. Cynfelyn, who was most probably a native of Cardiganshire.

S. CYNFELYN DRWSGL

CYNFELYN DRWSGL (the Clumsy) was a son of Cynwyd Cynwydion, of the race of Coel Godebog, and brother of Clydno Eiddyn, Cynan Genhir, and Cadrod Calchfynydd. He was one of the "Men of the North," a warrior pure and simple, but has been appropriated by the compilers of the late *Achau'r Saint* in the *Iolo MSS*. According to them he and his brothers were disciples of Cadoc at Llancarfan.³

He is mentioned in the *Triads* as one of the men who were carried "to see the funeral pile of Gwenddoleu's host at Arderydd" or Arthuret, and as having been one of the "Three Pillars of Battle" of the Isle of Britain.⁴ He is here represented in his true character.

S. CYNFOR or CYNFWR

At least two saints of this name are known to us through the *Book of Llan Dâv*, where the name appears under the various forms Cinuur,

¹ *Parochiale Anglicanum*, 1733, p. 195. ² *Myv. Arch.*, p. 21, but cf. pp. 102, 361.

³ Pp. 105, 128.

⁴ "Red Book Triads" in *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, pp. 301, 304.

Conuur, Cynmur, Cinmur, Congur, and Cyngur. The earlier one, as Congur and Cynmur, occurs in the Lives of SS. Dubricius and Teilo as a disciple of both saints in succession.¹ The other one we read of in the Life of S. Clydog,² as a hermit at Merthyr Clydog, now Clodock, in Herefordshire. "Two brothers, Lybiau (Llibio) and Guruann (Gwrfan), and their sister's son, Cinuur, came from the region of Penychen (in Central Glamorgan), leaving their country on account of a quarrel, and chose to lead a hermitical and solitary life" at Clodock, of which they became "the first inhabitants and cultivators after the martyrdom of Clydog." Here, "with the advice and assistance of the Bishop of Llandaff, they built an improved church," and they received a grant of land on both sides the Monnow from Pennbargaut, king of Morganwg.

The first-named Saint had a foundation at Bishopston (S. Teilo), in Gower, known formerly by the Welsh as Llandeilo Ferwallt and Llanferwallt, from Mergualdus, its *princeps*, or abbot, in the time of Oudoceus. It is called in the *Book of Llan Dâu* Lann Conuur, Ecclesia Cyngur Trosgardi, and Cella Conguri (or Conuur). He probably founded it under the direction of his master, S. Teilo. In the time of Bishop Lybiau, 927-9, it was known as Monasterium Sancti Cinuuri, from which may be inferred its existence still as a monastery.

The same name occurs also in the *Book of Llan Dâu* under the forms Conmor, Conmur, Conuor, and Cinuor, but at least three distinct persons bore the name. An older form is the *Cynnomori* on the stone near Fowey, in Cornwall.

It is very probable that after a saint of this name the church of Llangynwr or Llangunnor,³ near Carmarthen, is called; at any rate it cannot have been after Cynyr, as has been supposed. We have him also in Capel Cynnor, the name of a now extinct chapel in the hamlet of Pendryn, in the parish of Pembrey, in the same county.

It is possible Cynfwr may have been one of those who migrated with Teilo to Armorica in 547 on account of the Yellow Plague, and that he may have left his traces there at S. Senoux in Ille et Vilaine. The name in 1427 was Cenneur, in 1513, Sennour. The church there is now transferred to the patronage of Abden and Sennen, whose relics were given to it in 1869.⁴ The local tradition is that he was a native of Britain who fled to Armorica because of a plague. He is represented in the church as a hermit astride on a stag.

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, 80, 115.

² Pp. 194-5. See also the index to the book under the various forms of the name.

³ On the chalice (1616) "Llangonor."

⁴ De Corson, *Pouillé de Rennes*, s.n. S. Senou.

S. CYNFRAN, Confessor

CYNFRAN was one of the reputed sons of Brychan. His name, however, does not appear in the *Cognatio*. In the late accounts he is esteemed a saint who had his church at Llysfaen (formerly called also Llangynfran¹), on the North Wales coast, which "was destroyed by the pagan Saxons."² His brother Cynbryd is patron of the adjoining parish of Llanddulas.

His holy well, Ffynnon Gynfran, is at Llysfaen, a little below the church. Edward Lhuyd, in his so-called *Itinerary*, 1699, says that the people "offered into it to prevent disease among their cattle,"³ with the invocation, "Rhad Duw a Chynfran Lwyd ar y da!" ("The blessing of God and Holy Cynfran be upon the cattle!") He adds that "their wake is the eleventh night of winter," i.e., of November. Bishop Maddox (1736-43) in his MS. Z in the Episcopal Library at S. Asaph gives the parish feast as "12 Nov., on w^{ch} day & the Sunday following the Common People formerly offer'd here for their horned cattle. Another Montpellier." Browne Willis⁴ gives against Llysfaen, "S. Cynfran, November 11, though in some accounts said to be dedicated to All Saints." His festival does not occur in any of the Welsh calendars.

S. Dubricius had a disciple named Cynfran at Hentland on the Wye.⁵ He, and clerics of the name, witnessed a number of grants to the church of Llandaff during the time of Dubricius, Teilo, Oudoceus, and Arguistil.

We might here append to what has been said about Ffynnon Gynfran Lhuyd's entry under the parish of S. George, Abergele, as it is not far distant. "At St. George's Well they us^d formerly to offer horses, and one to the parson." The account which the Rev. H. Ffoulkes, rector of the parish, supplied Lhuyd with later is, however, more detailed. "The Carnarvon and the people of Uwchmynydd, Denbighshire, offer in our Saints Well (St. George's) for their Horses, imagining St. George to be a patron of those Animals. 'Rhad Duw a St. Sior arnat!'" ("The blessing of God and S. George be upon thee!"). According to the *Valor* of 1535, "Oblaciones Sancto Georgio" here amounted to 26s. 8d. annually. Under Llansantffraid Glan Conwy, also in the neighbourhood, he wrote—"It was lately the custom to offer in this church to S. Ffraid (Brigid) for horned cattle and sheep."

¹ J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 913.

² *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 119, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 419.

³ "I hon yr offrymman rhag clewyde ar y gwartheg." See also *Myv. Arch.*, p. 422.

⁴ *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, p. 363.

⁵ *Book of Llan Dâu*, p. 80. A brook named Cinbran is mentioned (p. 161) in the boundary of Llandeilo Talybont. With the name compare Morfran and other Bran names.

S. CYNFYW, Confessor

THAT Gwynllyw Filwr had a son of the name of Cynfyw—liable to be reduced to Cyfyw and Cynyw—is clear ; but in the older pedigrees it appears under a variety of spellings, which are at first a little puzzling. In *Peniarth MS.* 16 it occurs as Kemmeu, in *Hafod MS.* 16 as Cennen, in *Peniarth MS.* 12 as Cannan, and in *Cardiff MS.* 25 (p. 116) and *Peniarth MS.* 27 as Kymynyn. In *Peniarth MS.* 75, however, we have it as Kynvyw, and in *Cardiff MS.* 25 (p. 33) as Kynnyw. The Kemmeu of the thirteenth century *Peniarth MS.* 16 obviously stands for Kenmeu, which would be a very old form of the name ; and the late forms Cammab, Cammarch, and Cannen, given as names of sons of Gwynllyw, are really misreadings by transcribers of this entry.

In the late pedigrees his name occurs as Cynfyw, Cynyw, Cyfyw, and Cifiw, and he is said to have been a saint or monk at Lllancarfan, where he was his brother Cadoc's *cofedydd* or registrar.¹

He is, no doubt, the original patron of Llangyfyw or Llangifiw (but to-day generally spelt Llangview), near Usk, now said to be dedicated to S. David. Ecclesia S. Ciuiu (Cyuiu), mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâu*, is a church which was once at or near Llangadwaladr, now Bishton, near Newport, Mon. The church of Llangynyw (spelt also Llangynviw in the *Red Book of S. Asaph* ²), in Montgomeryshire, was in all probability originally dedicated to him ; but Browne Willis ³ gives All Saints as its dedication.

His festival is not entered in any of the Welsh calendars.

S. CYNGAN FOEL—see next article

S. CYNGAR AB CAW, Confessor

In the *Iolo MSS.*, at pp. 142–3, is mention made of a Cyngar son of Caw, but at p. 137 he is called Cyngan Foel.

“ On referring to the list of ‘ the children of Caw of Twrcelyn ’ given in the *Hanesyn Hên*, of which we have two copies in the *Cardiff MS.*, we find no Cyngar there, but a Bangar (pp. 13, 46) ; and there seems little doubt but that this rare name has been manufactured into Cyngar or Cyngan of the four lists referred to in the *Iolo MSS.*, in three of which there is no other name resembling Bangar, though in the fourth

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 109, 130 ; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 422–3. The name Conbiu or Conuiu, borne by a layman in the *Book of Llan Dâu*, is a distinct name.

² P. 54.

³ *Survey of Bangor*, p. 360.

he appears as Bangawr.”¹ He is said to have been a saint of Côr Illtyd, at Llantwit.

S. CYNGAR AB GARTHOG, Confessor

IN the saintly pedigrees in the thirteenth century *Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45, this Saint's name only occurs as the father of S. Gwynlleu. In *Hafod MS.* 16 (*circa* 1400), however, he is entered as a saint, as well as the father of SS. Gwynlleu and Cyndeyrn (not Kentigern). So also as a saint in the later MSS.² He was the son of Garthog ab Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig. In the *Iolo MSS.* he has been confounded with S. Cyngar ab Geraint. He does not appear to have had in Wales any church dedicated to him, nor a festival day assigned him.

It is possible that he is the patron saint of Landeda near Lannilis in Léon, Brittany, for there a S. Congard is culted as founder. This may be the more famous Cyngar ab Geraint, but it is more likely that it was the son of Garthog, for Landeda is in the midst of a number of settlements of the family of Cunedda. S. Tyrnog founded Landerneau and Plabennec; S. Carannog, his brother, was at Tregarantec and Carantec; Dogfael, a cousin, has left his impress in the adjoining diocese of Tréguier; S. Tyssul is probably the saint culted at Crozon; S. David has a parish adjoining Landerneau, and S. Non was buried at Dirinon.

Landeda is on the tongue of land between the Aberfrach and the Aberbenoit, looking out on the ocean, which here unceasingly rages and foams against the granite cliffs.

In the church is a statue representing the patron mitred and with pastoral staff, giving benediction.

S. CYNGAR (CUNGAR) AB GERAIN, Abbot, Confessor

CYNGAR, also called Docwin and Dochau, was the brother of Iestyn, Selyf, Caw, and Cado or Cador, Duke of Cornwall. He was the son

¹ Mr. Egerton Phillimore, "Notes on Place-names in English Maelor," in *Bye-Gones*, 1889-90, p. 535. Cyngar occurs also in the lists on pp. 109, 117.

² *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 265; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 421; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 104, 125. His father's name is sometimes wrongly spelt Arthog and Arthwg.

of the heroic Geraint, who fell at Llongborth, and uncle of S. Cybi and of S. Constantine.¹ His mother was Gwyar, daughter of Amlawdd Wledig.

The Life of S. Cyngar, in Latin Cungarus, is by John of Tynemouth, probably, though it is not in the Cottonian Collection, Tiberius E. 1. It is, however, printed in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*. It is an unsatisfactory document, based on no genuine documents, betraying at every point the work of a hagiographer making bricks without straw. In place of historic facts it is stuffed with pious commonplaces. Further information is obtained from the Life of his nephew, S. Cybi. The Life, as given by Capgrave, states that Cungarus was the son of an "Emperor of Constantinople," and of his wife Luciria. The name of the emperor is judiciously kept back. Loving the things of God rather than worldly pomp, Cungar ran away from home and formed for himself a hermitage by the shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea, but when his father sent after him he took ship, crossed to Italy, then passed the Alps into Gaul, and from Gaul migrated to Britain. He settled in that part of Britain "quæ vocatur Somersete." Finding a suitable spot surrounded by water and rushes, he settled there, "postea suo vocabulo Cungresbiria nominatum." Cungar, as he was called by the English, was known to the Britons as Doccuinus.²

He was led, in the way so common to Celtic Saints, to fix on the site of a monastery by finding the lair of a wild boar. It was his wont every morning to stand in cold water till he had recited the Lord's Prayer thrice. By diligent culture and drainage, he succeeded in reclaiming the land and converting it into pasture fields. He planted his yew staff in the cemetery he had formed at the outstart, and this grew and became a memorable tree.

Ina, king of the English, gave to Cungar as much land as he desired. But no Saxon king dared to visit Congresbury, as it was held that such a visit entailed sickness and speedy death; ³ a curious instance

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 421; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 269; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 116, 136. In the *Abbatia* (and *Abbas*) *Docunni* of the *Book of Llan Dâu* we seem to have the Goidelic for an early form of Cyngar, viz. *Cuno-caros*, from which would be formed To-chun or Do-chun (Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, p. 163). The forms Docguinni and Dochou occur in the same MS. In the Life of S. Cadoc he is called Docguinnus, Doguinnus, and Dochu (*Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 48, 50). See also Birch, *Margam Abbey*, London, 1897, pp. 2, 3. Browne Willis (*Llandaff*, 1719, append., p. 2) gives Llandough as dedicated to a S. "Tocho," on May 1. Cyngar is Welsh for the burdock.

² "Cungarus apud Angligenas vocabitur, Doccuinus, quasi Doctor, apud Britannigenas vocabatur." Capgrave, ed. 1901, p. 249.

³ "Si enim contingeret casu, ut reges aut viderent aut visitarent a beato Cungaro incultum, aut graviter et continuo inciperent infirmari, aut viso loco non haberent longius spacium vivendi." *Ibid.*, p. 250.

of taboo. Great numbers flocked to Cungar from all quarters and the monastery became a flourishing centre. Desiring privacy, Cungar deserted the place, crossed the Severn into Glamorgan, and landed "in portu Camensi."¹ He ascended a steep mountain hard by, and finding a clear fountain there, established himself and at once constructed a cemetery, always the first thing thought of by a Celtic founder. However, on the following night he dreamed that an angel bade him remove elsewhere, so he ascended another mountain at no great distance, and there constructed church and cemetery.

The cattleherd of the King of Morganwg finding him there, told his master that a hermit had settled on his land without leave, and the king, Paul, blinded by rage, went to the spot and rated him soundly and ordered him to leave. However, Cungar succeeded in assuaging his wrath, and Paul granted him the land he needed. Paul's successor Peibio tried to wrench it away again, but was deterred by threats of divine vengeance.

The fable of Cungar having been son of "an Emperor of Constanti-nople" springs from the writer of the legend having heard of his descent from Constantine the Blessed, who was actually his great-grandfather, and he mistook this Cornish Constantine for Constantine the Great, but was puzzled as to which of the Emperors was his father, as the name of Solomon did not occur in any such list, whereupon he wisely refrained from naming his father.

The date of the fall of Geraint is thought to have been about 522, consequently the period of his grandson would be about 590. A gross anachronism has been committed by the author of the Life in bringing him into relation with Ina, King of the West Saxons, and not of the Angles (688-728).

What drove Cyngar from Somersetshire was probably the gathering strength of the Saxons in that district after the battle of Deorham in 577. Congresbury is on the Yeo, with extensive marshes stretching to the west to the Bristol Channel, and completely open to attack from the side of Bath, which had fallen into the hands of the Saxons in the same year. This would be the true explanation of Cyngar flying to Morganwg, and not a sudden desire for solitude, as represented by the biographer. As a rule we may almost invariably be sure that the motive attributed to a Saint when he deserts his post is not that which actuated him in reality.

The site on which he settled in Morganwg is said to have been Llandaff, formerly Llangenys, but this is difficult to reconcile with other accounts. It is more probably Llandough-juxta-Cardiff, variously

¹ Capgrave, ed. 1901, p. 251.

called "Bangor Cyngar" and "Bangor Dochau," in the Coychurch MS. printed in the *Iolo MSS.*, where we read (p. 114), "Bangor Gyngar was made by Cyngar ab Geraint ab Erbin, and was destroyed by the pagan English, and afterwards was made anew by S. Dochau of the Côr of Illtyd, and called Bangor Dochau." Here the same Saint has been made into two, on account of his double name.

Another entry in the same MS. (p. 104) says that a Côr, now called Llangenys, was founded in Morganwg by Cyngar ab Arthwg (for Garthog) ab Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig; but this again is a mistake.

In the *Truman MS.* (p. 116) we are told that "Cyngar ab Geraint ab Erbin, a Saint of the Côr of Garmon made a Côr at Llangenys which is called Llan Doche Fawr, and was destroyed by the pagan English, and S. Doche made a Côr in its place which was called Bangor Doche."

The *Iolo MSS.* vary considerably in the notices they contain of Docheu or Dochau. They state that he came over to Britain with Ffagan, in the time of Lucius (p. 101); with Dyfan (p. 220); with Garmon (p. 101); and with Cadfan (p. 103); but the compilers confounded him with Dochdwy, whose name is also spelt Dochwy.¹ The statement that he refounded Bangor Cyngar places him later than Cyngar ab Geraint.

In the *Book of Llan Dâv* the abbot of Docunni, that is, of Llandough, is mentioned as one of the three chief abbots of the diocese of Llandaff.

In the story of S. Cyngar in Capgrave, the King Paul is Paul Penychen, brother of Gwynllyw Filwr, who appears also as a hot-tempered rough man in the Life of S. Cadoc.

Peibio occurs in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, but as king of Erging, and certainly at an earlier date than Paul Penychen.²

Cyngar next comes under our notice in the Life of S. Cybi, as an old man. Cybi was his nephew. When Cybi was obliged to leave the south of Wales, he went to Ireland and took his uncle with him.³

Cyngar was then so aged that he was unable to eat solid food, and Cybi bought a cow for him, when he settled with S. Enda in Aran, that his uncle might have milk for his food.⁴

This occasioned a quarrel with one of the clerics on Aran, as has already been related in the account of S. Cybi. This Saint, taking his uncle with him, left Ireland and crossed into Carnarvon, and

¹ On p. 103 he is also confounded with Oudoceus.

² He was son of Erb, and father of Efrddyl, mother of S. Dyfrig.

³ "Consobrinus autem ejus Kengar erat senex." *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 184.

⁴ "Cui Sanctus Kepius emit vaccam cum vitulo suo, qui alium cibum propter senectutem suam manducare non poterat." *Ibid.*

settled for a while in the promontory of Llyn,¹ but afterwards moved into Anglesey, where he founded a "Bangor" at Caer Gybi.

In Anglesey Cyngar is esteemed a founder, at Llangefni,² but at his advanced age he cannot have done more than settle into a cell.

He does not seem to have remained long there. Whether he had to leave owing to the unpleasantness caused by the publication of the letter of Gildas, his nephew, with its attack on Maelgwn, or whether it was due to mere restlessness, we do not know, but he is said to have started on pilgrimage for Jerusalem. According to the *Vita* he died at Jerusalem, and the body was brought back to Congresbury. But the Breton tradition, that he died at S. Congard, in Morbihan, on his way to Jerusalem, is more likely to be true.

Cyngar is patron of the parish of Hope, in Flintshire, which was formerly called in Welsh Llangyngar and Plwyf Cyngar. Edward Llyud in his *Itinerary*, 1699, wrote under the parish—"Their Wakes are on Gwyl Gyngar, viz. the Sunday after the 11th of November" (correctly the 7th); and he adds, "Ffynnon Gyngar [is] within a field of y^e Chu. ch." Owing, no doubt, to a similarity of names, the patron of this parish is often said to be a S. Cynfarch. The *Iolo MSS.*³ state that Cynfarch ab Meirchion Gul "founded a church in Maelor, called Llangynfarch, which was destroyed by the pagan English at the time of the Battle of Perllan Bangor," in 613. By it is intended the church of Hope, but its real patron is Cyngar⁴; and there is no authority whatever for regarding Cynfarch ab Meirchion as a Welsh Saint.

Under the name of Dochau he is patron of the two Glamorganshire Churches now called Llandough, but called formerly by the Welsh Llandocha Fawr (near Cardiff) and Llandocha Fach (near Cowbridge). The old name of the former appears from the *Iolo MSS.* documents to have been Llangenys, a name which seems to be otherwise unknown. There is a S. Gennis on the north-east coast of Cornwall.

The following occurs among the "Sayings of the Wise":—⁵

Hast thou heard the saying of S. Cyngar
To those who derided him?
"Anger lasts longer than sorrow."
(Hwy pery llid na galar.)

In 711 King Ina re-established Cyngar's Abbey in Somersetshire, but dedicated it to the Holy Trinity.

A British see of Congresbury, transferred in 767 or later to Wells, by Daniel, the last British bishop, is mentioned on doubtful evidence.

¹ Ynys Gyngar, below Portmadoc, and not far from Llangybi, is named after him.

² See *Arch. Camb.*, 1849, pp. 261-3.

³ P. 127.

⁴ Cyngar is given as its patron in two parish lists of the sixteenth century; Dr. J. G. Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 915.

⁵ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 252.

Cyngar is the patron of Badgworth, in Somersetshire.

In Cornwall S. Cyngar or Docwin's only foundation was at S. Kewe. In Bishop Stafford's Register the name is Sanctus Doquinus (1400), but also Landeho and Lan-dehoc (1412). In Domesday it is Lan-ehoc. In Bishop Bronescombe's Register (1259) it is Landeho. In Bishop Grandisson's time it had become Lannowe. In Prynne's *Records* (iii, p. 718) the dedication is given as to Sancto Landoco. Nicolas Roscarrock, in his MS. *Lives of the Saints*, gives some interesting traditions relative to S. Docwin's residence in S. Kewe parish. He was known there as S. Dawe, and the popular opinion was that he was a brother of S. Kewe. "He was a vertuous preist and eremit, and lived in an ermitage in the parish of S. Kewe, in a place where I remember there stood a chappell still bearing his name. And they holde by tradition there that he was brother of S. Kewe, who coming to his cell to visit him, he would not receive her until such times as he sawe a wild Boare miraculously obaye her. After which time hee conversed with her, who proved of such rare vertue and holiness as she was after her death reputed a Sainte, and the Church of the parish is dedicated to her. This S. Dawe is esteamed a Saint in Wales, where they kept a feast in his memorie the very same day which they were accustomed to doe in Cornwall, to witt, the 15th February. But they call him Dochotwyr or Dogotwy."

The story as told at S. Kewe at the present day is that a great boar troubled the neighbourhood, and S. Kewe vowed to build a church if the beast were slain. Five neighbouring parishes united to hunt it, and it was brought to bay and killed. Docwin lived at Lanowe, a farm about a mile from S. Kewe Church. In the stained glass of the windows is a black beast, actually the arms of the Cavall family of Trehaverick, Argent, a calf passant, sable (otherwise gules). And this is supposed to represent the black boar. The story is curious as a faint reminiscence of the Hunting of the Twrch Trwyth.

The festival of Cyngar is November 7, which occurs in over a dozen Welsh Calendars from the late fifteenth century down. Browne Willis¹ gives that date as the Wake-day at Hope, but March 7 at Llangefni, evidently through a mistake in the month. The Parish feast at S. Kewe is on July 25.

S. Cyngar had also a Chapel and Holy Well dedicated to him in Lanivet, where he was venerated as Ingunger, Saint Gungar or Gonger.

At S. Congard, in Morbihan, the feast is on May 12. A curious feature there is that at the Pardon women get taken with a convulsive affection, and bark like dogs.

¹ *Survey of Bangor*, pp. 281, 359.

S. CYNGEN, Prince, Confessor

CYNGEN, Prince of Powys, to which he succeeded on the death of his father Cadell, owes his title to Saintship entirely to two late documents printed in the *Iolo MSS.*¹ "His church is in Shrewsbury." "He gave property and land to Bangor Fawr in Maelor; it was the foundation of the family of Cadell Deyrnllwg."

The *Cognatio de Brychan* of Cott. Vesp. A. xiv gives him as the son of Kenwaur Cadcathuc and the husband of Tudglid, daughter of Brychan, by whom he was the father of Cadell, Brochwel Ysgythrog, Ieuaf, Mawn, and Sannan.

The old line of the kings of Powys ended with Cyngen ab Cadell, who according to the *Annales Cambriae*, died at Rome in 854, and the kingdom passed, through his sister, to Rhodri Mawr, King of Gwynedd. Their family is described as of Cegidfa, that is, Guilsfield, near Welshpool, and the encampment there of Gaer Fawr was probably their chief seat. It was the last Cyngen who set up the Pillar of Eliseg at Valle Crucis to the memory of his great-grandfather Eliseg.

The name Cyngen occurs as *Cunocenni* on the inscribed stone at Trallong, near Brecon; in Old Welsh it is *Concen* and *Cincen*.

S. CYNHAFAL, Confessor

CYNHAFAL was the son of S. Elgud ab Cadfarch ab Caradog Freichfras. There is some uncertainty as to the correct form of his mother's name, but it seems to have been Tubrawst, "descended from the Tuthlwyniaid."²

The only church dedicated to him is Llangynhafal, in the Vale of Clwyd. His Holy Well is in a field about a quarter of a mile from the church, close to Plâs Dolben. It is a large bath, arched over, with steps going down into it, and is in a good, clean condition. It was formerly famous for the cure of warts, which was "partly done by pricking them with a pin, and throwing it into the well."³

¹ Pp. 102, 120, 129.

² *Myr. Arch.*, p. 421; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 123, 145. "Tubrawst or tuthlwyniaid" (*Peniarth MS.* 74). Cynhafal is an uncommon Welsh name. There was a Cynhafal ab Argad, who figures in the *Gododin* and the *Triads*. The name is an adjective, meaning similar, like. We have the second element in Guor-hauval (*Book of Llan Dâw*), and the Breton Wiu-hamal. The folk-etymologist will have it that the name Llangynhafal stands for Llan can' afal, that is "The Church of the Hundred Apples," it being said that, at some remote period, the benefice was procured by a present of 100 apples to the bishop, in each of which was enclosed a golden guinea!

³ *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 54.

October 5, as his festival, occurs in most of the mediæval Welsh Calendars.

There is a *cywydd* addressed to S. Cynhafal by Gruffydd ab Ieuan ab Llywelyn Fychan, of Llannerch, a Denbighshire bard of the early sixteenth century, in which he attributes the death of Benlli Gawr to the miraculous power of the Saint. The substance of the poem is this.¹

The bard was suffering from acute pains in his leg, and he prays for relief to Cynhafal, whose merits, he says, possessed the peculiar property of removing rheumatic affections. The Saint is reminded of his miracles in the flesh, how he tortured the "hoary giant," Benlli Gawr, till he became like a "frantic lion," filling his body with agony and wild fire, which drove him to seek relief in the cooling waters of the Alun; and how that river refused to allay his agony, and became dry three times, and the giant's bones were burnt upon its banks at Hesp Alun (the Dried-up Alun). He then refers to the efficacy of the Saint's well in the removal of various bodily ailments by drinking its water and by bathing in it; and, lastly, implores him to cure his rheumatism, and finally admit him to Paradise.

Moel Fenlli, which is called after Benlli Gawr, is near Llangynhafal. It forms a high conical hill in the Clwydian range, and has on its summit a strong earthwork. The *caer* is fortified with a fosse and double agger on all sides, except the east, where there are two fossæ, and the agger is quadrupled. Excavations made show that it has been occupied at different times and by different people, from the Stone Age. Near its centre there is a never-failing crystal spring.²

Nennius's story of this "wicked and tyrannical king" differs from that contained in the *cywydd*.³ He states that S. Germanus came with his companions to the gate of his "city" (*urbs*, with no name or situation) desiring to convert him to Christianity. Benlli positively refused to grant him an audience, even if they remained there for a whole year. Thereupon "fire fell from heaven, and consumed the citadel during the night, and all the men that were with the tyrant; they were never seen more." Now that Benlli had met his doom, Germanus made Cadell Deyrnllwg, the king's swineherd, who had extended hospitality to the Saint and had become a convert, king of Powys in his place. Nennius thus makes Benlli king of Powys.

¹ Several copies of it occur in MSS.

² *Cambrian Journal*, 1854, pp. 209-220; W. Wynne Ffoulkes, *Castra Clwydiana*, London, 1850. There is a small holding midway up its ascent called Llys Fenlli. Ynys Enlli, Bardsey Island, is also in all probability called after him.

³ San-Marte's ed. of Nennius, §§ 32, 33.

According to the "Stanzas of the Graves," in the twelfth century *Black Book of Carmarthen*,¹ the grave of "Beli ab Benlli Gawr" is in "Maes Mawr," "on the mountain between Iâl and Ystrad Alun," where he fell in battle, and "two upright stones were placed one at each end of the grave."²

Sir John Rhys is disposed to regard Benlli Gawr as one of the dark divinities of the Celtic pantheon.³

Both legends attribute Benlli's death to burning, but differ in the details. Nennius says that it took place in his citadel; the mediæval bard that it was on the banks of the Alun at a spot where the river is called Hesp Alun (in the parish of Cilcain), that is, where it disappears into the limestone rock, which it does thrice in its course.

Germanus is connected with this neighbourhood. At Llanarmon in Yale is his church, and at Maes Garmon, near Mold, is the reputed scene of the Alleluia Victory.

S. CYNHAIARN, Confessor

CYNHAIARN, or Cynhaern, was a son of Hygarfael ab Cyndrwyn, of Caereinion in Powys, and brother of SS. Aelhaiarn and Llwlchaiarn.⁴ See under S. AELHAIARN. He is the patron of Ynys Gynhaiarn, in the promontory of Lleyn, like Llanaelhaiarn, his brother's foundation. His festival is not known.

S. CYNHEIDDON, Virgin

CYNHEIDDON was one of the virgin daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog. She is mentioned thus in the Vespasian or earlier version of the *Cognatio*, "Keneython in y mynid cheuor in Kedweli." The entry affords a good instance of the manner in which Brychan's children have been multiplied by the scribes, as well as of the process by which texts

¹ Ed. Dr. J. G. Evans, 1906, p. 69.

² Carnhuanawc, *Hanes Cymru*, Crickhowell, 1842, p. 35.

³ *Arthurian Legend*, p. 354.

⁴ *Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 421-2; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 267; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 104. *Haiarn* (iron), in its different spellings, formed rather a common element in Brythonic personal names. See Rhys, *Welsh Philology*, pp. 418-9.

undergo corruption. In the Domitian or later version it has yielded two entries, (1) "Koneidon apud Kydwely in monte Kyfor," and (2) "Kenedlon apud mynyd Kymorth." We are much mistaken if in the second of these again we do not find the mountain-name supplying us with another daughter, the Cymorth of the still later lists. A scribe might easily misread Koneidon into Kenedlon. In the *Jesus College MS.* 20 (early fifteenth century) we have "Ryneidon ygkitweli ymynyd Kyuor"—reading R for K.

Mynydd Cyfor, in the commote of Cedweli or Kidwelly, is a hill four miles south-east of Carmarthen, and Cynheiddon's name is still commemorated there in the hamlet of Capel Llangynheiddon, the chapel of which, on the hill, is now extinct.¹ It is in the parish of Llandefeilog.

Cenedlon as a Saint on Mynydd Cymorth occurs in most of the late lists of Brychan's children, but we are nowhere told where the mountain was situated.²

Cymorth, also written Corth, is said to have been the wife of Brynach Wyddel, Brychan's *periglor* or confessor. Their son, Gerwyn, is none other than Berwyn, the son of Brychan, and their three daughters Mwynwen (Mwynen), Gwenan, and Gwenlliw, are also in one document said to have been daughters of Brychan.³ See under S. CYMORTH.

Cenedlon is said to have been patroness of Rockfield, near Monmouth⁴; but it is a mistake for S. Kenelm.⁵

S. CYNHEIDDON, Confessor

CYNHEIDDON, Cynheiddion, or Cynheiddan, was a son of the prince-saint Ynyr Gwent, by Madrun, daughter of Gwrthefyr Fendigaid.⁶ He was the brother of SS. Ceidio and Tegiwg, and of Iddon, who succeeded his father. Nothing seems to be known of him.

¹ "The chapel of Llangenhython" in the parish of Llandefeilog, is mentioned in the inventories of church goods taken in 1552-3; Daniel-Tyssen and Evans, *Carmarthen Charters*, 1878, p. 31. It is given also in the late sixteenth century parish list in *Peniarth MS.* 147; Dr. J. G. Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 918; cf. p. 831.

² Once it occurs as Mynydd y Cymmod (the Mount of Atonement!). *Iolo MSS.*, p. 120.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 121, 140-1; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 428.

⁴ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 607.

⁵ Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 344.

⁶ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 129, 139, 144; *Myv. Arch.*, 422.

S. CYNIDR, Bishop, Confessor

IN both versions of the *Cognatio de Brychan*, S. Kenider de Glesbyri is given as the son of Kehingayr (Keyngair), or Ceingair, daughter of Brychan; but his father's name is not mentioned.¹ We are, however, given another account of his parentage. There is a note at the beginning of the MS. containing the earlier version (*Cotton MS. Vesp. A. xiv*), in one of the hands in which the *Vitæ Sanctorum*, etc., are written, that has a large hole in the parchment, but the portion wanting can be restored from a copy made by Sir John Price, of Brecon, before it became damaged. It is at the end of the MS. containing the other *Cognatio* version (*Cotton MS. Domitian i*). This gives the pedigree of S. Eigion, whom it calls Egwen, and says that he and Cynidr, whom it calls Keniderus of Glesburia, were sons of Gwynllyw (Gunleuus) and Gwladys (Gladusa), and brothers of S. Cadoc. The passage shall be given under S. EIGION.

The scene of Cynidr's labours was principally Brecknockshire, where there are several churches that were originally dedicated to him; but his foundations have been re-dedicated to Our Lady all, with the exception of one to S. Peter. His most important was Glasbury, in the counties of Brecknock and Radnor, and it is here that he lies buried. Bernard de Newmarch granted the advowson of the living in 1088 to the Monastery of S. Peter, Gloucester,² from whence the church derived its second dedication, S. Peter. The Wakes were until recent years observed on S. Peter's day. His holy well, Ffynnon Gynidr, is on the common above Glasbury. To him were also originally dedicated in the county of Brecknock, Llangynidr³ (called also Eglwys Iail, and Eglwys Fair a Chynidr), Aberyscir (called Plwyf Mair a Chynidr in *Peniarth MS.* 138), and Llanywern⁴ (under Llanfihangel Talyllyn). The parish of Cantref (church now dedicated to the Virgin) is called "parochia S'ti Kenedri de Kantreff" in a document dated 1514 (*Harley Charter* 111, D. 3). Kenderchurch (now dedicated to the Virgin) in Herefordshire, is called in the *Book of Llan Dâu*⁵ Lanncinitir, and in the *Taxatio* of 1291,⁶ Eccl'ia Sci. Kenedr'.

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 429. A "Kenider Gell," the son of Cynon ab Ceredig, occurs in the *Progenies Keredic*, at the end of the *Vespasian Cognatio*, and a "Kynedyr Wyllt" is mentioned in *Culhwch and Olwen*. The Cynidr of "Kynydr ap Kyngar m. Garthaug" in *Hanesyn Hên* (*Cardiff MS.* 25), p. 112, is a misreading for Cyn-deyrn. Glasbury is in Welsh Y Clâs, or Clâs ar Wy, from *clâs*, a monastic community.

² See its Cartulary, Rolls Series, iii, p. 5, where Glasbury Church is called "Ecclesia Sancti Kenedri."

³ Lewis in his *Topog. Dict. of Wales*, s.v. Llangynider, says Cynidr "lived in religious seclusion in Glamorgan, in the sixth century, and in commemoration of whom a festival was annually celebrated here, on the 1st of August."

⁴ In the parish list in *Peniarth MS.* 147 (circa 1566) it is called Llanywern Mair a Chynidr.

⁵ P. 277.

⁶ P. 160.

He had a hermitage on an island in the Wye at Winforton, in Herefordshire. Of this Mrs. Dawson gives an interesting account in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1898.¹ "A more ideal site for a hermitage than the isle of Winforton it would be difficult to imagine; solitude and comparative safety were secured to it by the waters of the Wye around it, while on the south it was overshadowed by the steep dark heights of Meerbach mountains, where may yet be seen a relic of the faith of a still earlier day, the huge cromlech known as Arthur's Stone. Though the river has altered its course so much that it now flows half a mile distant from the hermitage, its site may still almost claim the name of island, for a deep moat, crossed by a stone bridge, protects it on the north, and in time of flood it is altogether surrounded by water. The actual remains consist of an oblong mound, artificially raised some ten feet above the level of the soil, and approached by raised causeways on the south-west and north-west. Stones crop out here and there, and from the appearance of the ground it would seem as if the building had terminated in an apse at the east end."

Winforton Church, now dedicated to S. Michael the Archangel, was probably dedicated originally to S. Cynidr.

Cynidr is perhaps Keneder, the disciple of S. Cadoc, who is mentioned in the Life of that Saint² as associated with Teilo, David, Dochu (or Cyngar) and Maidoc in a deputation to King Arthur.

A certain Ligessauc or Llyngesog—nicknamed the Longhand—had killed three of Arthur's retainers, and then had fled for refuge to the sanctuary of S. Cadoc, with whom he remained in concealment for seven years, before Arthur discovered where he was.

Then, highly incensed, the King ordered Cadoc to surrender the fugitive that he might undergo punishment.

Now, a Saint had no right to grant sanctuary indefinitely. Properly speaking, the right of sanctuary was for a limited number of days, and it was his duty during these days to come to terms with the prosecutor, and pay the mulct or fine for the crime committed. If he did not do this, then he must surrender the refugee. Cadoc had undoubtedly behaved in an underhand way in this matter, and the King was very naturally and rightly offended. The Saint finding that he had got into trouble, and assured that it would bring on him discredit if he did not now secure the safety of Ligessauc, despatched his most trusty disciples to smooth the matter over with Arthur.

They accordingly went to him, where he was holding a *gorsedd*, or

¹ Pp. 216-221.

² *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 48-50. A Cheneder occurs as clerical witness in the Cartulary appended to the Life.

assembly, on the Usk. But not venturing to put themselves in his power, they did not cross the river, but conducted the negotiation by shouting across.

At length it was settled that Cadoc should pay the King a hundred cows as mulct for the men who had been slain. Cadoc had offered three cows per man, nine in all, but Arthur had scouted at the offer.

The ultimatum of Arthur was accepted with reluctance, and when Cadoc sent the prescribed number, he had raked together the leanest and oldest he could find. The King peremptorily refused to receive them, and they had to be returned, and cows of a better quality sent.

The next point of dispute was—how were they to be delivered? It was referred to judges, who decided that the cattle should be driven half-way over the ford by Cadoc's men, then they would be received by the King's men.

Accordingly, Arthur sent Cai, his steward, into the mud of the Usk, together with the requisite number of men. But they arrived on their return, beplastered with ooze, rolling before them bundles of russet fern instead of cows.

Astonished at this miracle, the King gave way, and allowed Cadoc rights of asylum to extend over seven years, seven months, and seven days. It is not difficult to see the truth through the dust of fiction. The biographer of S. Cadoc could not allow his hero to come off badly in a bargain, and he invented the miracle to disguise a somewhat sordid transaction. Cadoc was fined heavily, as he deserved, for he had behaved dishonourably. He paid the enormous fine imposed on him, reluctantly, yet in full; and then Arthur generously granted him the extension of right of asylum, unless this also be an invention of the Llancarfan hagiographer.

S. Cadoc certainly was in Cornwall, and he very probably took his cousin Cynidr with him, and Cynidr would not be at all reluctant to visit his kinsmen, thick as stars in the firmament, studded on the windy downs of North Cornwall.

His festival is December 8. In the Calendar in *Cott. Vesp. A.* xiv is entered against that day "Sti. Kenedri, Ep.," and in that prefaced to Sir John Price's *Welsh Prymer*, 1546, "Gwyl Fair a Chynidr." It occurs also in the Prymers of 1618 and 1633. Rees is wrong in his inference that his festival is that of the Annunciation.¹ Nicolas Roscarrock gives as his day December 9. "S. Keneder of Glasbery or Glasberry, son of Reinwyr or Riengwar."

Quoting the Life of S. Nectan, he says S. Eneder was one of Brychan's children and "hath a church in Cornwall." The feast there was held

¹ *Welsh Saints*, p. 241.

on the first Wednesday in March. In his Calendar he says in Lent, but that was doubtless a slip. The feast is now held on the last Thursday in April. The church in Domesday is called Egloseunder. See under S. ENODER.

S. CYNIN, Bishop, Confessor

CYNIN belonged to the saintly clan of Brychan. In the two *Cognatio* versions, he is said to have been the son of Brychan's daughter Hunyd or Nunidis, wife of Tudwal Befr (the Fair or Blond), who was buried "under the rock of Meltheu." His name is entered in the earlier version as "Cunin cof (i. memorie)," so called, no doubt, from his possessing an exceptionally retentive memory. *Jesus College MS.* 20 gives Brychan's daughter Goleuddydd as the wife of Tudwal Befr. It is but right to say that in these early documents he is not mentioned as a Saint.

In the various later documents printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*¹ and the *Iolo MSS.*² Cynin is said to have been son of Brychan; but it is much more probable that he was a grandson. It is there added that he was a Saint of Dyfed, where was his church, and where also he was bishop. He is the patron of Llangynin or Llanginning, near S. Clear's, Carmarthenshire. The dedication was generally given formerly as "Cynin a'i Weision"³ ("Cynin and his servants")—probably, from analogy, "his tonsured servants," that is, his monks.

In the early Welsh Triads and poems Cynin Cof appears rather in the rôle of a warrior than that of a Saint. He had a son named Dalldaf, and their steeds—even their steeds' names—are mentioned.

In an ode to King Henry VII, the author supplicates "Cynin a'i Weision," in a long list of Welsh and other Saints, to grant the King long life.⁴ It would appear from the poems of Lewis Glyn Cothi (fifteenth century) that he was in the habit of frequently invoking this Saint. In one passage he exclaims "mŷn Cynin!" and in two others "mŷn delw Gynin!" ("by Cynin's image or statue!"). In an eulogy he flatters an esquire of the bodyguard of Henry VI with the remark that he regarded paying him a visit in January and February

¹ Pp. 419, 422; *Peniarth MS.* 178.

² Pp. 111, 119, 140.

³ E.g. the lists of parishes in *Peniarth MS.* 147 (c. 1566) and *Myv. Arch.*, p. 746. "A'i Weision, neu a'i Veibion" (or his sons) of *Myv. Arch.*, p. 422, and *Peniarth MS.* 178, probably embodies a misreading.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314.

like going on a pilgrimage to S. Cynin ; and he further invokes the protection of " Cynin a'i Weision " for his own native Caio.¹ Cynin's image was, no doubt, at Llangynin.

In the neighbourhood, the name Cynin occurs in Castell Cynin, near Eglwys Cymmun ; Afon Cynin, flowing through Llangynin parish ; and in three farm-names (Blaen, Godre, and Cwm Cynin), in the parish of Newchurch, Carmarthenshire, where a stone inscribed " Cunegni " was found, which is now at Traws Mawr. Another stone was discovered not long since in the churchyard at Eglwys Cymmun, with the inscription " Avitoria Filia (Inigina) Cunigni,"² which was evidently set up by Irish speakers. The form for Cunigni in modern Welsh would be Cynin, and in Irish Coinin, which latter occurs in the *Martyrology of Donegal* (February 12) as the name of a bishop. The topography of this small area clearly shows that Cynin was a person of considerable importance ; and the Traws Mawr stone probably originally marked his grave. It has been surmised that Eglwys Cymmun, or more properly Eglwys Gymyn or Gymmun,³ involves his name, but that cannot be. In a MS. in the British Museum, *temp.* Edward III, the church is called " Ecclesia de Sancto Cumano." ⁴ The church is now, like that of the neighbouring Llandawke, dedicated to S. Margaret Marlos, but it received this dedication in the fourteenth century. See under S. CAEMEN.

The festival of S. Cynin does not occur in any of the Welsh Calendars, but Nicolas Roscarrock gives November 24. The one fair held at Llangynin has on January 7, Old Style ; later, on the 18th.

Conigc, which would be to-day Cynin or Cyning, was the name of an abbot of Llancarfan, who appears in three charters in the cartulary appended to the Life of S. Cadoc.⁵

The personal name Cynin is not unknown elsewhere in the place-names of South Wales, and also in Cornwall. We have it, for instance, in Bro Gynin, the birthplace of Dafydd ab Gwilym, near Aberystwyth ; and in Tre Gynin, in Llangathen parish, which latter turns up in Cornwall as Tregoning, of which there are several instances.⁶

¹ *Gwaith L. G. Cothi*, Oxford, 1837, pp. 62, 121, 311, 453, 456.

² *Arch. Camb.*, 1889, p. 225.

³ *E.g.*, the old lists of parishes in *Peniarth MS.* 147 and *Myv. Arch.*, p. 746. The initial letter should certainly be G.

⁴ *Arch. Camb.*, 1907, p. 261. The local tradition connects the name with Cymmun (communion), and points out the " Pilgrim's Path, Stile and Door," whereby he came to Mass. A neighbouring farm is called Parc Cymmun.

⁵ *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 86-93.

⁶ See Mr. Phillimore's note in Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, pp. 420-2.

S. CYNLLO, King, Confessor

THERE is a little uncertainty as regards the parentage of this Saint. A gloss on the *Bonedd* in the thirteenth century *Peniarth MS.* 16 makes him the brother of S. Teilo, who was the son of Ensychn or Usyllt ab Hydwn Dwn ab Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig, by Gwenhaf, daughter of Llifonwy. The *Bonedds* in the late fifteenth century *Peniarth MS.* 27, pt. ii, and in *Hanesyn Hên* (*Cardiff MS.* 25), p. 112, also couple Teilo and Cynllo together as sons of Ensychn. The later genealogies¹ make him the son of Mar or Mor ab Ceneu ab Coel Godebog. In the Demetian Calendar (S) his name is entered as Cynllo Frenin, but without a festival day.

His dedications connect him with North Radnorshire and Cardiganshire.

In the former county are dedicated to him Nantmel, Llangynllo, and Llanbister. Near the last church is a celebrated spring called Pistyll Cynllo. The church of Rhayader, now dedicated to S. Clement, seems to have been also originally dedicated to him. In Cardiganshire there are two churches under his invocation, Llangynllo and Llangoedmor. In the topography of the former parish we have Afon, Cwm, Allt, and Chwarel Cynllo. In the latter parish are several memorials of him, particularly near Treforgan. There is his holy well, Ffynnon Gynllo, to which great healing properties were formerly ascribed, especially in rheumatic cases. There, too, is his cave, wherein tradition says he used to pray; also Cerwyni Cynllo, his brewing-tubs, being cavities worn in the rocky bed of the river; Ol traed march Cynllo, the print of his horse's hoofs in the rock; and Ol gliniau Cynllo, the marks of his knees when at his devotions.² There is also an extensive intrenchment in the parish called Cynllo Faes, as well as a farmhouse, Melin Cynllo.

His festival, July 17, occurs in the Calendars in *Jesus College MS.* cxli=6 (fifteenth century), *Iolo MSS.*, *Peniarth MSS.* 187 and 219, the Prymers of 1618 and 1633, *Allwydd Paradwys*, and by Nicolas Roscarrock. The 16th is given in a number of Welsh Almanacks of the eighteenth century, and the 14th in Sir John Prys's Prymer, 1546. *Hafod MS.* 8 (late sixteenth century) gives "Gwyl Ginllo" against August 8. The wakes at Llangoedmor were held near the Meini Cyfrifol.

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 422; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 126. At the former reference he is described as a saint "in Rhaiadr Gwy." Lewis Glyn Cothi (*infra*) also makes him patron of Rhayader. The *llo* in Cynllo as well as Catlo is of the same origin as the Latin *lupus* (Rhys, *Welsh Philology*, p. 390).

² Lewis Glyn Cothi, *Poetical Works*, 1837, p. 326; Meyrick, *Hist. of Cardiganshire*, 1808, p. 118; Evan Davies, *Hanes Plwyf Llangynllo*, Llandyssul, 1905.

In a poem entitled "Elphin's Consolation," attributed to Taliessin, but in reality late mediæval, occurs the line, "The prayer of Cynllo shall not be in vain."¹ It doubtless refers to this Saint.

S. CYNOG AB BRYCHAN, Martyr

CYNOG, called in Welsh hagiology Cynog Sant and Cynog Ferthyr, is invariably represented as the eldest son of Brychan. "Anlach gave his son Brachan as hostage to the King of Powys, and afterwards, in process of time, Brachan violated Banadlinet the daughter of Benadel. And she became pregnant and bore a son, Kynauc by name, who was carried to the *caer* and baptized. After this Brachan took a torque from his arm, and gave it to his son Kynauc. That Saint Kynauc is very celebrated in his own county of Brecheniauc, and that torque is preserved to the present time in the said province among its most precious relics."²

Giraldus Cambrensis describes this armlet. "I must not be silent concerning the collar (*torques*) which they call S. Canauc's; for it is most like to gold in weight, nature and colour; it is in four pieces wrought round, joined together artificially, and clefted as it were in the middle, with a dog's head, the teeth projecting. It is considered by the inhabitants so powerful a relic, that no man ventures to swear falsely upon it when laid before him. It bears the marks of heavy blows, as if made by an iron hammer; for a certain man, it is said, endeavouring to break the torque for the sake of the gold, experienced divine vengeance, was deprived of his eyesight, and lingered out the rest of his days in darkness."³ It was preserved long in the district.

His mother's name in the Domitian *Cognatio* is Banadylued, and is usually given in the late documents as Banhadlwedd ("Broom-aspect"), the daughter of Banhadle of Banhadla in Powys.⁴ There are three townships in the parish of Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant (patron, his half-brother S. Doewan), which contain the name Banhadla, and

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 69.

² *Cognatio de Brychan* in *Cott. Vesp. A. xiv.* In the Domitian version he is said to have been baptized by S. Gastayn, to whom is dedicated Llangasty Talyllyn, who became his preceptor. His name occurs in the genitive *Cunaci* on the seventh or eighth century inscribed stone at Gesel Gyfarch, near Tremadoc. With the prefix Ty (anciently To) we have it in the Toquonocus (Tygynog) of Wrmonoc's *Life of S. Paul de Léon* (*Revue Celtique*, v, p. 437).

³ *Itin. Camb.*, i, chap. 2.

⁴ *Peniarth MS.* 127; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 421.

the parish adjoins that of Llangynog, Montgomeryshire. Banhadel was at the time prince of Powys.

Most of the churches dedicated to Cynog in Wales are situated in Brychan-land. He has the following dedications: Merthyr Cynog (where he is buried), Defynog or Devynock, Ystradgynlais, Penderin, Battle, and Llangynog, in Brecknockshire; Boughrood, in Radnorshire; and Llangynog, in Montgomeryshire. Llangynog in Carmarthenshire is probably not dedicated to him. Two other Llangynogs mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, but now extinct, were in all probability dedicated to him. One, Lann Cinauc, is Llangunnoch, on the Garra, in Herefordshire.¹ The other, called Lann Guern Cinuc and Henlenic Cinauc,² is Llangunnoch, on the Pill, in Monmouthshire. The latter was united at an early date with Llanddewi Fach, and is not mentioned in the *Taxatio* of 1291 or the *Valor* of 1535. Its ruins are near a farmhouse called Llys Brychan. It has been supposed that it was dedicated to a Cynog ab Cynwyl ab Gwyngon, who was nephew to a Brychan ab Gwyngon,³ but the two names are misreadings of Conhae and Bricon. Devynock, formerly called Y Ddyfynog,⁴ is sometimes said to have been re-dedicated to S. Dyfnog, but this is a mere guess from the name. In a document dated 1315 in the Cartulary of S. Peter's, Gloucester,⁵ the church is called "Ecclesia Sancti Kannoci de Devennock." The church of Aberhafesp, Montgomeryshire, is also sometimes said to be dedicated to him,⁶ but this is a mistake for Gwynog.

According to Welsh tradition Cynog ended his days in Brecknockshire. It is stated that he was murdered by the pagan Saxons, upon a mountain called Y Fan Oleu, or the Van, in the parish of Merthyr Cynog.⁷ If so, then the church was a *martyrium* erected over his grave. However, it must be remembered that among the Irish a *martyrium* did not necessarily mean a place of martyrdom, but a consecrated tribal cemetery, in which some relics had been placed to sanctify it.⁸

How Saxons can have been in Brecknockshire in the fifth century is not easy to see. If Cynog was killed there it was in one of the struggles for the expulsion of the Irish Brychan family, when he headed his clan pouring curses on the enemy, which failed in their effect, and

¹ P. 275. ² Pp. 31, 43, 90, 252. ³ *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 606-7.

⁴ E.g., the parish list in *Peniarth MS.* 147 (circa 1566).

⁵ Rolls Series, 1863, i, p. 42.

⁶ Carlisle, *Topog. Dict. of Wales*, London, 1811, etc.

⁷ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 119.

⁸ See what is said on this subject under the head of S. EUNY.

he was slaughtered, and the rest of his kinsmen either fell with him or fled to Cornwall or Ireland.

There is preserved a poem, *Cywydd Cynog Sant*,¹ by the bard and historian Hywel ab Dafydd ab Iefan ab Rhys, who lived in the second half of the fifteenth century, and was evidently connected with Brecknockshire. In it he addresses the Saint as Cynog of Breconia, who had been left by Brychan supreme governor of that country. He had in earlier life, he says, refused a dominion and crown in Ireland—"a prosperous, brilliant crown"—but, for love of God, he chose the hermit-life instead. When he came over to this island he encountered in Caer Wedros (in S. Cardiganshire) a fiendish giant, addicted to cannibalism, that infested it. To spare a victim, he allowed the giant to cut a large slice off his own thigh; and over the place grew "a sheep's white wool." The fiend, relishing it, came again for a slice, but Cynog slew him with his "torque from heaven," fashioned of red-yellow metal without the operation of a smith's hand. A smith of "Evena" once broke the torque in three, but it was miraculously pieced together again. When the Saint had his head cut off he still walked about with it hanging from his body, and he only ceased to live when the relic was snatched from under his garment. The bard concludes by invoking his good offices on behalf of Brycheiniog, being its "head and protector."

Since writing the above we have come across the legend of S. Cynog as recorded by Hugh Thomas (died 1714), the Brecknockshire herald, which he had from "the poor Ignorant Country People" about the year 1702. It is found in one of the volumes of his collection, bequeathed by him to the Earl of Oxford, and now in the British Museum, being *Harleian MS.* 4181. The legend is at ff. 70a-71b, where it is said of Cynog: "In his youthfull days forsaking this World for the next, he retired from his Fathers Court to a Cott or Hermitage not far from the high Roade betweene Brecknock and Battle, about a Mile from Carevong his fathers Metropolitan City . . . where he traviled up and downe in a poor miserable Habit and made himself a heavy boult or Ring of Iron for his head roughly twisted together like a Torce or Wreath instead of a Crowne of Gold. . . . This rendered him . . . the Scorne and Derition of all that saw him from which he was nick named Kynog Camarch that is the Dispised Kynog [*cammarch*, literally, a crooked horse, *i.e.*, a camel]. . . . There was in those days a savage Reprobate People that Inhabited the Woods and Desarts called Ormests or [blank; *gormes* means an encroach-

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 302-4. There are copies of it in *Llanstephan MS.* 47 (circa 1630), and *Llanover MS.* B 1 (Llywelyn Sion).

ment, oppression, or plague] and in old Welsh Tails Keurey or Giants that Robed and Pillaged the Civill Inhabitants destroyed their houses laying waste whole Countries in the Night and eaven eate up mens flesh. These doeing much Damiage in the Country where Kynog abode a poor Widow who had severall small Children and no body to defend her from their rage and fury seeing one day St. Kynauc pass by her dore earnestly intreated him to take compassion upon her and her Children and to deliver them from these Ormests who but the night before had destroyed many of her neighbours the Holy man overcome with the Tears and Prayers of the poor Woman resolved to guard her house that Night which he spent in Prayer before her Dore when about Midnight these Ormests came who understanding by their Spyes there was no man to opose them but Kynauc they first set upon him and sirrounded him like so many furious Wolfes prepared for slaughter who resigned to Divine Goodness remained immoueable all the time on his Knees Jmploring Divine Aids till a Voyce from Hevine commanded him to throw his Torce at them having no other Wepon of Defence whereupon he hit their Ringleader such a blow that he Instantly fell downe Dead and his Bowells which had devoured much Jnocent Blood like Judas's burst in sunder and fell to the ground which so terified the rest of the Crew that they presently Flead leaving the Dead body as a testimony of the miracle and were never heard off in the Country after. This wrought in some an Honour and Respect for the Holy man and in others new Jndignities so that passing one day by a smith's shop where were a parcell of Idle fellows scoffing at the story the Smith call'd him in for sport and derition and taking from him his Torce or Wreath and striking it upon his Anvill in scorne said this never kil'd an Ormest with which a little piece of it flew of and perced it Braine that he presently dropt downe Dead a Splinter of it being suffitient to kill a misbeleiver and struck them all into a fear and reverence of the Holy man as took away all Doubt of the story and caused it to be bruted all over the Countrey. . . . The manner of his martirdom is related thus being in his later dayes desirous of a fixed solitude for meditation he retired into his owne Country and adjoyned himselfe to the society of Sertaine Religious men that led a hermiticall life under the government of a superior in little cells upon the hill call'd the Vann about four miles from Brecknock and about 2 miles from Carevong the place of his birth which is now destroyed and called the Gare where he built him a hermitage under a steepe Rock neare the top of the Mountain. These men lived by the labour of their hands and had no water but what they fetched from the River at the futt of the Mountain which was very troublesom

to carry up the steep hill ; this made them Grudg and Repine strangely while this Holy man underwent the labour with all chearfullness, and Reprehended them for their Murmerings and Slouth against a Labour which in it selfe was holy and worked an exceeding reward. . . . This raised their whole spleen against himselfe, while God considering his age and good Will gave him Water upon the top of the Rock ouer his little Cell where he mounted every morning for meditation and Prayer where no man else could have any, this so enveterated their Rage thinking themselves mock'd by him that they Resolved to murther him, where upon two of them mounting the top of the Rock one Sunday morning found him at his Prayers and saw the Christiall spring at his feet, they furiously ran at him and cut of his head with a sword which dropt into the Well where the Water imediately gave way to his head and dried up, nor would God Almighty suffer these Wicked Monkes to triumph ouer that sacred head which had Humbled it selfe so much for his sake, for his Dead body assisted by his Holy Spirit imediately took up his head in his hands and carried it downe the Hill . . . from thence he walked on to a rising ground about a fields breadh beyond the Church and layed it downe under a Bush of Brambles."

Over his head and body was raised the Church of Merthyr Cynog. Of the two churches formerly dedicated to him in that parish Hugh Thomas observes that the more ancient was taken down in the reign of Charles I, "as the simple country people tould me, who showed me the ruins of the church then remaining, with the yew trees then growing about it, and the church dore then to be seene."

A supposed saying of Cynog's is recorded among "the Sayings of the Wise":¹—

Hast thou heard the saying of S. Cynog,
 Supreme governor of the land of Brecknock?
 "Two-thirds of one's education is already in the head."
 (Deuparth addysg ym mhenglog.)

Some curious customs formerly obtained at Devynock in connexion with his *Gwyl Mabsant*, or the wake. A fair, called *Ffair y Bwla*, was held on the second Thursday in October (O.S.), at which purchases were made for the wake, which commenced on the Sunday following, and lasted the week. It was held in front of the Bull Inn, and a great quantity of meat, poultry, and other good things, for consumption especially at the feast, was disposed of. The custom ceased in 1835, excepting only as regards the general purchase of geese against that particular Sunday. On the Monday, popularly called *Dydd Llun Gwyl Gynog*, the custom of "carrying Cynog"

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 252.

took place. A man, sometimes a stranger, for the consideration of a suit of clothes or money, enacted the part of Cynog, but on the last recorded occasion he was a drunken farmer of the neighbourhood. "Cynog" was dressed in a suit of old clothes, carried once through the village of Devynock, and then thrown into the river amid the jeers of the crowd, to scramble out as best he might. This was in 1822. On the Tuesday all the tithe of cheese, in lay hands, was brought to the churchyard, and laid on the tombstones, where it was sold.¹

That Cynog came to Cornwall, when such a migration of his family took place as covered the east of the county with their foundations, is probable. A feast of SS. Cadoc and Cynog was kept at Padstow, on January 24. But his great foundation would be what is now S. Pinnock, Goidelic C becoming in Brythonic P. The adjoining parish of Boconnoc (Both-Cynog), however, retains his name unaltered—Bod-conoke, Bishop Brantyngham's Register, 1382, 1394; Bod-conoke, 1383. Nicolas Roscarrock, in his MS. *Lives of the Saints*, calls him Cananus or Conaucus, Martyr, eldest son of Brychan, otherwise called Canock, and makes him succeed S. Patrick in the see of Armagh. A curious blunder—he must have confounded him with Cormac who followed Jarlath the successor of Benignus. His statement, however, shows that a tradition did exist in Wales that he had worked in Ireland with Patrick. Roscarrock's authority was a Welsh priest, Edward Powell.

Moreover, the Irish do claim him as having settled in Ireland and as having been an active assistant to S. Patrick. The Tract on the Mothers of the Saints, attributed to Oengus the Culdee, but probably by MacFirbiss, gives his mother's name as Dina, and calls her daughter of a Saxon king. "She was mother of ten sons of Bracan, King of Britain, son of Bracha Meoc, to wit, S. Mogoroc of Struthuir, S. Mochonoc the Pilgrim of Kill Chairpre, etc."² Mochonoc is Mo-Cynog. The title of "Peregrinus" applied to him implies a somewhat restless habit. He did not remain all his life as an ecclesiastic with Patrick. He is perhaps the same as the Conan mentioned in the Life of the great Apostle, "Patrick went into Magh Foimsen, and found two brothers there, namely Luchta and Derglam. Derglam sent his bondsman to slay Patrick. Howbeit Luchta forbade him. Cui dixit Patricius: There will be priests and bishops of thy race. Accursed,

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 1853, p. 325; Wirt Sikes, *British Goblins*, 1880, pp. 279-80. Theophilus Jares (*Brecknockshire*, ed 1898, p. 498) says the Cynog was a poor hired boy, "who was carried at night about the village in a chair, and thrown into every dirty puddle through which his bearers could stagger along."

² Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.*, i, p. 311.

however, will be the seed of thy brother, and they will be few. And he left in that place Priest Conan." ¹

Crimthan of the Hy Cinnselach expelled the Hy Bairrche family from their territories, and gave to S. Patrick in his own land and in that newly acquired some thirty or forty sites for churches, and among these was one for Moconoc. ² One of the guest masters of S. Patrick was called Ocanotus, and he was a priest. Colgan was inclined to think that he was identical with Mocanoc. ³

In Ireland he was chiefly venerated at Galinne and Killros, and he seems to have been the founder of Kilmacanoge, near Bray, in the county of Wicklow. Galinne is Gallen in King's County. Killros, or Kill-Mucrois, would seem to be intended for Mochros in Wales, as it is quite inadmissible that he should be found up in Donegal, where is a small island of the name in Lough Swilly. Those of the Brychan family who did settle in Ireland remained in the south, about the Hy Cinnselach and Hy Bairrche country.

In Ireland he is venerated on February 11.

Mr. Shearman conjectures that Cynog is the same as Mochonoc, the Pilgrim of Cill Moconoc, in Wicklow, and Gallen nam Breitnach, King's County; and Colgan was led to the same conclusion. ⁴ Canoc or Mochonoc was entered in the Irish Martyrologies on November 18. He is said to have been brother of S. Dabeoc or Mobeoc, but MacFirbiss, in his *Genealogies of the Irish Saints*, makes Dabeoc son of Luainin, of an Ulster family. The identification of Mochonoc with Cynog is more than problematical.

The mother of Mochonoc and Dabeoc is, moreover, asserted to have been Digna or Dina, daughter of a Saxon chief, and to have been also parent of Mogeroc, Mochonog, Diraidh, Dubhan, Cairinne, Cairbre, Just, Elloc, Paan, and Caomhan; and none of these names occur among the children of Brychan. ⁵

Wilson, in his *English Martyrologie*, 1608, gives Canock, Confessor, on February 11, and with an asterisk to show that there was no authority for this attribution. He is followed by Cressy. He says: "In Brecknockshire of Wales the Commemoration of S. Canock, Confessor, who being son to Braghan, King of Brechon . . . and great uncle to S. David, Bishop of Menevia, was very famous for holiness of life in those parts, about the yeare of Christ, 492; and

¹ *Tripartite Life*, p. 111; also *Life in the Book of Armagh*, ii, pp. 321-2.

² *Tripartite Life*, p. 193.

³ *Trias Thaumaturga*, Vita 7m, lib. iii, c. 98, and nn. 125-6; nn. 167, 188.

⁴ Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.*, February 11, pp. 311-4.

⁵ O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, i, p. 13. He refers to the *Féilire* of Oengus, but we can find no such entry in Whitley Stokes' edition.

whose memory is yet famous amongst the ancient Britons of our Island, especially in South Wales. He had a brother called S. Cadocke, that was a martyr, and a sister named S. Keyne, who lived about the same time, in great opinion of sanctity, as the records of their lives, yet extant, do demonstrate."

Wilson, accordingly, did not reckon Cynog as a martyr. He was mistaken in making Cadoc a son of Brychan, and he had no authority for setting Cynog's day on February 11.

His festival in Wales was in October, as at Devynock. The Prymers of 1618 and 1633 give the 8th; so does Browne Willis¹ as his festival at Llangynog, Montgomeryshire, and the same day occurs in a number of Welsh Almanacks of the eighteenth century. The *Iolo MSS.* Calendar and Nicolas Roscarrock give the 9th. Hugh Thomas says the festival was kept in his time on the second Thursday in October. *Allwydd Paradwys* (1670) gives March 14. At Padstow he was commemorated, as we have seen, on January 24.

S. CYNOG, Bishop, Confessor

LLANGYNOG, in full Llangynog yn Derllysg,² in Carmarthenshire, is most probably dedicated to Bishop Cynog.³ His parentage is not known. He was first of all Bishop of Llanbadarn, where he seems to have succeeded S. Padarn, but he cannot have presided over it for long. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth and Giraldus Cambrensis he was transferred from Llanbadarn to become the immediate successor of S. David at Menevia,⁴ where he died in 606 (*Annales Cambriæ*). The see of Llanbadarn was for the principality of Ceredigion, but it included only the northern half of modern Cardiganshire, together with Brecknockshire north of the Irfon, the west of Radnorshire, and perhaps a few parishes along the southern boundary of Montgomeryshire. Little is known of the see during its short-lived existence.

¹ *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, p. 360. In his *S. Asaph*, 1720, p. 293, he had said, "Feast follows the Sunday after the 7th of October." He gives the 7th also against Battle parish (*Parochiale Anglicanum*, 1733, p. 180).

² *Myv. Arch.*, p. 421; *Peniarth MS.* 147 (parish list).

³ Rees, *Welsh Saints*, pp. 139-140. "Deiniol, Theon, Cynawg . . . escobion oedd ynt yn nyddiau Arthur" (*Peniarth MS.* 316).

⁴ Red Book *Bruts*, Oxford, p. 233; Giraldus, *Itin. Camb.*, ii, ch. 1; *Opera*, vi, ed. Dimock, p. 102; Basil Jones and Freeman, *S. David's*, 1856, pp. 248, 258. Under Llawhaden is mentioned in the *Valor* of 1535, iv, p. 389, a mansion called "Seynt Canock."

Many of its churches were in 720 destroyed by the Saxon invaders.¹ Soon afterwards, probably weakened and disorganized, it must have been merged in the see of S. David's. The suppression, however, is said to have been effected in consequence of the murder of Idnerth, their Bishop, by the people of Llanbadarn.² S. Curig, if Bishop of any see, was probably of Llanbadarn. Under the year 1136 is recorded the death of Ieuan, "archpriest" (archeffeirad) of Llanbadarn,³ which would seem to mean its abbot.

Cynog's festival is not known. Possibly it is that given in *Allweydd Paradwys* on March 14.

S. CYNON of Armorica, Confessor

THIS Cynon was one of the large band that came over from Llydaw with S. Cadfan.⁴ His name⁵ in the early genealogies in *Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45, and *Hafod MS.* 16 is written Cynan. His pedigree is not given. In the late *Iolo MSS.* documents we are told that he was of the *gwelygordd* or stock of Emyr Llydaw, and therefore related to Cadfan. Further, that like Cadfan and the rest of his companions, he was at one time a "Saint" in Bangor Illtyd and Bangor Catwg, and when Cadfan went to Bardsey and founded Bangor Enlli, he accompanied him, as did nearly all his other "Saints and learned men." Here he became Cadfan's *cynghellawr* or chancellor.

He is generally regarded as being the patron of Tregynon, in Montgomeryshire, and Capel Cynon, in Cardiganshire, but on what authority it does not appear. Two miles north-east of Llanbister village, in Radnorshire, there is an antique family mansion called Croes Cynon. He has been connected with this spot. Here, it is said, was his Cross; his hermitage was scooped in the rock called Craig Cynon, and his beverage was the water of Nant Cynon!⁶ The triplets called the "Stanzas of the Hearing" and the "Sayings of the Wise" would seem to confirm this⁷ :—

¹ Caradog's *Brut*, p. 6, supplement to *Arch. Camb.* for 1864.

² Giraldus, *Itin. Camb.*, ii, ch. 4; Gibson's *Camden*, ii, 769, 776.

³ Red Book *Bruts*, p. 310.

⁴ *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 421–2; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 266.

⁵ Pp. 103, 112, 133.

⁶ Williams, *Hist. of Radnorshire*, in *Arch. Camb.*, 1858, p. 502; W. Scott Owen, *Parochial Hist. of Tregynon*, 1897, p. 1.

⁷ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 129; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 253. The texts slightly differ. The form of the "saying" as a proverb is usually inverted, "The key of the heart is good ale" (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 839).

Hast thou heard what Cynon sang
 When avoiding drunkards?
 "(Good) ale is the key of the heart."
 (Cwrw (da) yw allwedd calon.)

Browne Willis gives Tregynon as dedicated to a "S. Knonkell," with festival on November 9,¹ by whom Cynon is no doubt meant, as there was no Saint of that name. His festival does not occur in any of the Calendars.

Cynon was once rather a common name. Several Cynons, who were clerics, are mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâv*.

S. CYNON of Manaw, Confessor

THERE was another Cynon, who was of the family of Brychan, either a son or grandson of that great father of Saints. In the *Vespasian Cognatio* he is entered as a son, thus, "Kynon qui sanctus est in occidentali parte predicte Mannie"; in the Domitian version as a grandson, "Arthen qui erat pater Kynon qui est in Manan." *Jesus College MS.* 20 gives him as a son of Brychan. He does not occur as Cynon in the late Brychan lists, but as Rhun. So in the Domitian entry, "Run ipse sanctus ycallet (*sic*) in Manan."

Mannia or Manaw is either Manaw Gododin, which stretched along both sides of the Forth below Stirling, or the Isle of Man. Brychan's children, Arthen and Bethan (Bechan), are also connected with the same district.

No churches are mentioned as being dedicated to this Cynon.

S. CYNOR or CYNWR, see S. CYNFOR

S. CYNWAL or CYNWALAN, Confessor

THESE names are only known to us through the *Book of Llan Dâv*, and seem to represent but one person. Under the form Congual he

¹ *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, p. 360; *Liber Regis*, ed. Bacon, 1786, p. 1,047, etc. Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains*, p. 412, writes it "Knomkell."

is mentioned in the *Life of S. Dubricius*¹ as a disciple of that Saint. Lann Cingualan, otherwise Cella Cyngualan, situated in Gower, is said to have been a church which belonged to Llandaff before the first visitation of the Yellow Plague, but was then lost.² It was afterwards recovered, and is given in the lists of churches claimed by the church of Llandaff in the twelfth century. It was called Monasterium Sancti Cinguali in the time of Bishop Lybiau, 927-9, from which it may be inferred that it was still a monastery.³ It has been suggested that it is Ilston,⁴ but without sufficient grounds.

Dr. Frederic Seebohm makes the very plausible suggestion⁵ that the Gospel codex, the *Book of S. Chad*, was bought, for a "best horse," by Gelhi for the altar of Llandaff from the monastery of S. Cingual.

S. CYNWYD, Confessor

It has been usual to regard the church of Llangynwyd, sometimes called Llangynwyd Fawr, in Glamorganshire, as dedicated to Cynwyd Cynwydion, the son of Cynfelyn ab Arthwys, of the race of Coel Godebog, and the father of Clydno Eiddyn, Cynan Genhir, Cynfelyn Drwsgl, and Cadrod Calchfynydd. But he was one of the "Men of the North," who were all warriors, and there is no proof that he was ever connected with Glamorgan. Like the rest of those northern chieftains, he has been appropriated by the compilers of the late *Achau'r Saint* in the *Iolo MSS.*,⁶ and made to be a Saint of Bangor Catwg, at Llancarfan.

Among the "Stanzas of the Hearing" occurs⁷—

Hast thou heard what Cynwyd sang
And heard said?
"The most excusable of injury is the evil of war."

One of the "Stanzas of the Achievements" runs⁸—

"The achievement of Cynwyd Cynwydion
Was the advancement of goodly institutions,
And the establishment for *côrau* of wise regulations."

¹ P. 80. A cleric, Cingual, signed two grants in the time of Bp. Gulfrit, p. 224.

² P. 144.

³ P. 239.

⁴ *Liber Landavensis*, p. 386.

⁵ *Tribal System in Wales*, 1895, p. 183.

⁶ Pp. 105, 128. A brook called Cynwyd runs into the Dee at Cynwyd village, near Corwen.

⁷ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 127; cf. *ibid.*, p. 846. There is a variant reading of the last line, "The best of iniquity is possessing." The text is corrupt. We give Dr. Owen Pughe's renderings.

⁸ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 263.

The only evidence that seems to support his association with Llangynwyd, is the fact that two of the largest farms in the Middle Hamlet, Bryn Cynan and Maes Cadrod, contain the names of two sons of his. Cynwyd occurs in the cartulary of Llancarfan in the name of one of the *atria* belonging to its *canonici*—"Atrium Albryt mab Cynuyt, cum villa Alt Cynuit."¹ Browne Willis² gives Llangynwyd as dedicated to S. Cunetus, that is, Cynwyd, with festival on September 28. Edward Lhuyd gives as well October 15 as the festival day. Ffynnon Gynwyd is near the church. The old day-school, which stood near the church tower, was called by the villagers Ty Cynwyd; and there was formerly near the village a cromlech popularly called "the Old Church."

S. CYNWYL, Confessor

CYNWYL was the son of Dunawd ab Pabo Post Prydyn, of the line of Coel Godebog, by Dwywei, daughter of Lleenog.³ Dunawd was one of the chiefs of the north who was forced to fly to Wales from the conquering Picts and Scots, and he placed himself under the protection of Cyngen ab Cadell Deyrnllwg, prince of Powys. He and his sons embraced the religious life, and Dunawd, along with his sons Deiniol, Cynwyl, and Gwarthan, founded the monastery of Bangor Iscoed, on the banks of the Dee, in Flintshire. According to the *Iolo MSS.* the three brothers were disciples of S. Catwg at Llancarfan, and it was he that sent them to direct the Bangor in Maelor, which, "in consequence of their wisdom and piety," became very eminent.

Cynwyl, however, moved away, and he seems to have been favourably received by S. David, and perhaps by his advice planted himself in the fertile mountain-basin of Caio, that is traversed by the old Roman Road, the Sarn Helen, from Loventium. Here he selected a green knoll at the higher end of the basin, once the bed of a lake, with the mountains, Mynydd Mallaen, rising at the back to fifteen hundred feet, clothed in heather. Here the river Annell comes dancing down from its moorland cradle, and meets another stream. Combined, they sweep down the long trough past a rocky height that shoots up as an island, and where, possibly, the turbulent Sawyl had

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 83.

² *Llandaff*, 1719, append. p. 4. In a deed of Margam Abbey, dated 1331, it is called the Church of S. Cunit; Birch, *History of Margam Abbey*, 1897, p. 302.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 126, 129, 150.

planted himself in a prehistoric fortress, till it discharged into the Cothi.

On the knoll that rose between the Annell and its humble tributary, Cynwyl erected his church and cell of wattles, and about him he gathered disciples.

But every now and then the yearning came on him to be alone with God, and then he ascended the narrow valley of the Annell, to where a huge block has rolled down from the mountain, and stands poised above the babbling stream.

Here he was wont to pray ; tradition says that he knelt in the water and prayed there, and hollows are shown in the rock, worn by the swirl of the stream, but supposed to have been indented by his knees. Till quite of late years farmers would scoop the water out of these hollows to pour it over the backs of their cattle as a preservative against sundry disorders.

But Cynwyl did not confine himself to Cynwyl Gaio.¹ The churches of Cynwyl Elfed, Carmarthenshire, and Aberporth, Cardiganshire, have likewise been attributed to him, and he is the patron Saint of Penrhos, a chapel under Llannor, Carnarvonshire. The last named was sometimes called Llangynwyl or Llangynfil. Browne Willis gives it as dedicated to the three Saints, "Cynvil, Heged, and Rhodd-iad."² There is a Lann Cinuil mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâu*,³ which has been identified with Llangynvyl, near Monmouth, now extinct. See under S. CYNFALL.

His festival does not occur in any of the Calendars, but Rees⁴ gives it as April 30. Browne Willis,⁵ however, gives January 5 as his festival at Cynwyl Elfed, January 8 at Cynwyl Gaio, and November 21 at Aberporth (here as Cynfil).

Cynwyl Sant is mentioned in the Arthurian romance of *Culhwch and Olwen*⁶ as "the third man that escaped from the Battle of Camlan, and he was the last who parted from Arthur, on Hengroen his horse," the other two being Morfran ab Tegid and Sandde Bryd Angel. Cad Gamlan, so often alluded to in the mediæval Welsh bards, was fought

¹ The church is called "Ecclesia Sancti Kynwil" in a charter of Talley Abbey (17th Edward II), *Arch. Camb.*, 1893, p. 42. Ffynnon Gynwyl is on the banks of the Annell, and Croes Gynwyl is in the neighbourhood. Cynwyl is a brook name at Cynwyl Elfed.

² *Survey of Bangor*, p. 275 ; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 331, gives Cynwyl only.

³ P. 275.

⁴ *Welsh Saints*, p. 260.

⁵ *Parochiale Anglicanum*, 1733, pp. 187, 189, 198.

⁶ *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 108. In the later version of this Triad we have instead of Cynwyl, Gwylwyd Gafaelfawr, of whom it is said, "because of his stature and strength everybody fled from him" (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 393).

between Arthur and his nephew Medrod on the banks of the Camlan on the borders of Devonshire and Cornwall, in the year 537, when Arthur was mortally wounded.

S. CYNYDYN, Confessor

CYNYDYN was the son of Bleiddud ab Meirion ab Tybion ab Cunedda, and the brother of S. Cynfelyn. He was a *periglawr* or confessor in "Bishop Padarn's Côt" at Llanbadarn Fawr, Cardiganshire, where he lies buried.¹ No churches are mentioned as dedicated to him.

Lewis Morris² thought that the *Canolinn* on an inscribed stone in the churchyard of Llanwnnw, Cardiganshire, might refer to Cynyddyn. The correct reading of the inscription, however, is *Carolinn*,³ and local tradition connects it with the name of Caradog, there being a waterfall, called Pwll Caradog, close by.

Nothing more appears to be known of Cynyddyn.

S. CYNYR, Prince, Confessor

CYNYR of Caer Gawch, in Menevia, the grandfather of S. David, is included among the Welsh Saints in the late documents printed in the *Iolo MSS.*⁴ According to these he was the son of S. Gwyndeg ab Seithenin, and had a brother S. Padrig.⁵ He is said to have been twice married; first to Mechell (correctly Marchell), daughter of Brychan; but she was the wife of Gwrin Farfdrwch of Meirionydd, as we know from the *Cognatio de Brychan*. His other wife was Anna, the daughter of Gwrthefyr Fendigaid. He was father of SS. Gwestlan (Guistlianus), Sadwrn Hên, Non, Gwen, and Banhadlen.⁶

Cynyr has been made to be regulus of a district in Pembrokeshire, which became afterwards known as Pebidiog or Dewisland, and is now, it would appear, conterminous with the Deanery of that name. The *Iolo MSS.*⁷ add, "Cynyr gave his territory to God and Dewi and the Saints for ever, to found a church in Menevia; to which place Dewi came from Caerleon on Usk after the death of Arthur the Emperor." Cynyr thereupon embraced the religious life. These are late statements, and altogether uncorroborated. There do not appear to be any traces of the names Cynyr and Caer Gawch⁸ in Dewisland.

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 125.

² *Myv. Arch.*, p. 422.

³ Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliæ*, 1876-9, pp. 144-5.

⁴ In these and other late documents his name is often wrongly written Gynyr and even Ynyr, through misunderstanding of such a formula as the *Bonedd* "Non ferch Gynyr." Cynyr as a name has been identified with the Irish Conaire.

⁵ P. 141.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 106-7.

⁷ Pp. 106, 114, 124.

⁸ For the names see Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, pp. 410-1.

S. CYNYW, see S. CYNFYW

S. CYSTENNIN, see S. CONSTANTINE

S. CYWAIR, Virgin

THE saintly genealogies know nothing of this Saint. The name is generally assumed to be that of a female Saint, and is written Cywair and Cowair.¹ She is the patroness of the little church of Llangywair or Llangower, near Bala, in Merionethshire. She is sometimes said, but wrongly, to be the same as Gwawr, daughter of Brychan, and mother of Llywarch Hên, the latter being traditionally associated, towards the close of his life, with the neighbouring parish of Llanfor.

Her festival is July 11, and is entered against this day in many of the Welsh Calendars, and a number of eighteenth century Welsh Almanacks. Browne Willis, and Bishop Maddox (1736-43), in MS. Z in the Episcopal Library at S. Asaph, also give the same day. Edward Lhuyd says it is "a fortnight after S. Peter's Day."

There is a stone in the parish known as Llech Gower, which has a cross upon it. She has her holy well here. Edward Lhuyd says, "Ffynnon Gower is within quarter of a mile of the church, where they used to bathe children for the rickets."

According to the legend of the formation of Bala Lake, current in the early eighteenth century, Cywair had another holy well. The legend states that the lake was "at one time only a well, about the middle of the present lake, opposite Llangywer. It was called Ffynnon Gywer, and the town was then situated near and about the well. A command had been given, and it was the imperative duty of someone, to place a cover over the well every night. (It was understood that if this was neglected the town would be imperilled.) The cover, however, was forgotten one night, and by the morning, lo, the town had subsided, and a lake had been formed three miles long by one mile broad. They say, moreover, that in fine weather some people have seen the chimneys of the houses beneath the clear water. It was after this calamity that the present town of Bala was built." ²

¹ The parish occurs as Langewoyr in the *Taxatio* of 1291, p. 287.

² *Cyfaill yr Aelwyd*, 1889, p. 50; *Cymru*, September 1903, p. 141; Rhys *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 376-7. For another version of the legend see W. Jenkyn. Thomas, *Welsh Fairy Book*, London, 1907, p. 114. A well-known local "prophecy" says:—

"Y Bala aeth, a'r Bala aiff,
A Llanfor aiff yn llyn."

But there are similar "prophecies" of other Welsh towns.

S. CYWYLLOG, Matron

CYWYLLOG or Cwyllog was one of the several children of Caw that have foundations in Anglesey.¹ Caw, having lost his territory in North Britain, sought an asylum, with his children, in Wales. Maelgwn Gwynedd granted him the district of Twrcelyn in north-east Anglesey. Cywyllog founded the church of Llangwyllog, which parish, situated in the centre of the island, embraces portions of several commotes, Twrcelyn among them. She was the wife of Medrod, the traitorous nephew of King Arthur, who was killed at the Battle of Camlan, on the borders of Devonshire and Cornwall, in 537. Angharad Llwyd² says that "she embraced a religious life after her husband's death." Her festival at Llangwyllog was January 7 according to Browne Willis,³ but it does not occur in any of the calendars.

She has not given name to Gyffylliog, near Ruthin. Willis says: "Cyffylliog, ita dicta quod ibi in trunco querno inventa fuit imago Beatæ Virginis."⁴

S. DAGAN, Bishop, Abbot, Confessor

DAGAN was son of Colmad, of the illustrious house of Dal-Messin-corb. His mother, Coeltigherna, was sister of S. Coemgen. He had three brothers, Mobai, Menoc, and Moliba, Bishop of Glendalough.⁵

Dr. Lanigan adduces good reasons for holding that the birth of the Saint cannot be placed later than 570,⁶ and Colgan also holds that he was born at the close of the sixth century.

One day, some monks visited S. Pulcherius at Liathmore, having with them Dagan, then a little boy. They found the Abbot on his knees in a field. He bade them prepare for death, for it had been revealed to him that, with the exception of the little lad, they would die shortly, and this took place.

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 422; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 109, 117; in one list of Caw's children, p. 137, Cywellog is given as a son.

² *Hist. of Anglesey*, p. 284.

³ *Survey of Bangor*, p. 281.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 278. "Mewn ciphyl derw y cad delw Fair"—MS. of 1590-1 (J. G. Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 914).

⁵ Colgan, *Acta SS. Hibern.*, p. 586; Colmad is called Colman in the *Sanctilogium Genealogicum*, c. xx. Gloss on *Félire of Oengus*, ed. Whitley Stokes, p. xliii.

⁶ *Eccl. Hist. Ireland*, ii, p. 366.

Eochaid Lamdoit

Fothad

Fergus Lamderg

Ainmire, = Brig = Maine Eiges, the
K. Ireland 568-571.

Poet, of the Hy Bairche.

Aidh mac
Ainmire,
K. Ireland
572-598.

S. Edan,
B. of Clonmore,
living 598.

S. Etchen,
B. of Clonfoda, d.
577.

S. Seighar,
Abbot of
Kilshine.

Conall
Clogach.

Domnal, Maelcobha the Cleric,
K. Ireland 612, resigned and became
a monk at Drum-dellar, 615.

S. Coemgen,
Abbot of Glen-
dalough, d. 617.

Melda = Cormac Camstron
K. of the Hy
Cinnsealach.

Coemlog = Cacmell.

Coeltighern = Colmadh
macConall.

Coemfada

Cainech

S. Eoghain,
B. of Ardstraw,
d. c. 570.

S. Abban the
younger.

S. Dagan,
Abbot of Inver-
doil, Wicklow,
d. 642.

S. Mobai,
S. Critan
of Mocradan, Abbot of
in Wicklow, Glen-
& S. Creed, dalough.
Cornwall. fadhle.

S. Moliba, S. Menoc,
Abbot of Glen-
dalough.

Dagan remained with Pulcherius.

Not long after, a raid of Ossorians took place, and the raiders, finding Dagan keeping the cattle of the monastery, dealt him a wound in the throat, from which he ever after bore a scar. In thankfulness for his preservation from death, Dagan received the Communion from the hands of his Abbot.¹

Probably, whilst he was still young, he went to Cornwall, and became a pupil of S. Petrock,² though a passage quoted by Leland intimates that it was much later.³ But otherwise it is not possible to reconcile the chronology of his life with that of S. Petrock.

Eventually Dagan returned to Ireland, and settled at Inverdaoile, near the coast, in Wicklow, then in the territory of the Hy Cinniselach. Inverdaoile is now Ennereilly, and the ruins of an old Church remain there, surrounded by a graveyard much in request. It is near the sea-shore, in a bleak spot, above the Red Cross River. A Holy Well gushes forth below the cemetery.⁴

For some time Inverdaoile bore the name of Achadh Dagan, or the Field of Dagan, and it was here that his monastery was founded. He was consecrated Bishop about the year 609. Dagan is said to have taken S. Ligid's Rule to Rome, and to have shown it to S. Gregory (590-604). S. Ligid's Rule divided the day into three parts, one for work, one for prayer, and one for study. When Gregory saw it, he said, "The man who drew up this Rule had an eye ranging round his community and up to Heaven."

When S. Ligid felt his end approaching, he went to consult Dagan as to whom he should nominate as his successor. "Lactean is the man for you," said Dagan.

"I think so," answered Ligid. Then Dagan said, "Bless us before you depart." "Blessing shall be given you from above," answered Ligid.

Dagan supposed that he purposed mounting a hill and blessing the monastery thence, but Ligid meant that the benediction would descend from Heaven.

Ligid went thence to S. Cronan of Roscrea, and received the Communion from his hands, and surrendered his monastery to him, and not to Lactean, as Dagan had advised.

¹ *Vita S. Mochoemochi sive Pulcherii*, in Colgan, and *Acta SS. Boll.*, Mart., ii, pp. 381-8.

² William of Worcester, *Itin.*, ed. Nasmith, 1778; Leland, see next note.

³ "Quaesitus hoc laboriosa scientiae thesaurus cura, Tandem inventus est; qui jam ne deliteret, inventor Hibernicas gazas in Coriniam transtulit, et videndas omnibus exhibuit." Leland, *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*, i, p. 61.

⁴ O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, ix, p. 319.

The Saint was a great traveller, and acquired the title of "the Itinerator."

Dagan was an ardent supporter of the Irish modes of tonsure and Paschal computation.

How it was, we do not know, but by some means he was brought into communication with Laurentius, immediate successor to Augustine at Canterbury (604-619). Augustine had failed to come to terms with the British Bishops, who were offended at his arrogance. Laurence attempted to effect a union with the Scotie (Irish) Bishops.

Bede gives us the beginning of a letter sent to them, in which reference is made to Dagan.¹

"To the lords, our very dear brethren, the bishops and abbots throughout all Scotia, Laurence, Mellitus, and Justus, bishops, servants of God :—

"When the Apostolic see sent us, as its wont has been in all parts of the world, to preach in these western parts to the pagan races, it happened that we entered the country before we were properly acquainted with it. We have venerated both the Britons and the Scots with great reverence for their sanctity, believing that they walked in the way of the Universal Church. But since we have got to know the Britons, we have supposed that the Scots are superior to them. Now, however, we have learned by means of Bishop Dagan, who has come to Britain, and of Abbat Columbanus among the Gauls, that they do not differ from the Britons in their manner of life. For when Bishop Dagan came to us, he not only would not take food with us, but would not even take food in the same guest-house in which we were eating."

Dagan had passed through Wales. Popular tradition pointed out the place of his landing on Strumble Head, where stood a Chapel Degan, commemorating his visit there. About this more presently.

In Wales, among the British, he had heard of the conference at Augustine's Oak, and had felt the resentment that had been provoked by the rudeness of Augustine, shown to men he venerated profoundly, and he hotly took their side against the Italian Missioners.

Nevertheless, he is represented as a man of very mild disposition—*præ-placidum* he is called by Marianus O'Gorman, who is a very late authority (1167), and drew from his own imagination the characteristics of the Saints he commemorated.

One is tempted to quote the words of Pope in the *Dunciad*, relative to this controversy—

¹ *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, c. 4.

Behold yon Isle, by Palmers, Pilgrims trod,
 Men bearded, bald, cowl'd, uncowl'd, shod, unshod,
 Peel'd, patch'd, and pyebald, linsey-wolsey brothers,
 Grave Mummers ! sleeveless some, and shirtless others.
 That once was Britain. Happy ! had she seen
 No fiercer sons, had Easter nearer been.

Of Dagan no biography exists.

The Bishop of Bristol (Dr. Browne) says, in reference to the controversy between Dagan and Laurence, "It is very interesting to find that we can, in these happy days of the careful examination of ancient manuscripts, put a friendlier face upon the relations between the two Churches in times not much later than these, and in connexion with the very persons here named. In the earliest Missal of the Irish Church known to be in existence, the famous Stowe Missal, written probably eleven hundred years ago, and for the last eight hundred years contained in the silver case made for it by order of a son of Brian Boroimhe, there is of course a list—it is a very long list—of those for whom intercessory prayers were offered. In the earliest part of the list there are entered the names of Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, the second, third and fourth Archbishops of Canterbury, and then, with only one name between, comes Dagan. The presence of these Italian names in the list does great credit to the kindness of the Celtic monks, as the marked absence of Augustine's name testifies to their appreciation of his character. Many criticisms on his conduct have appeared ; I do not know of any that can compare, in first-hand interest, and discriminating severity, with the omission of his name and inclusion of his successors' names in the earliest Irish Missal which we possess. It is so early that it contains a prayer that the Chieftain who had built them their church might be converted from idolatry. Dagan, who had refused to sit at table with Laurentius and Mellitus, reposed along with them on the Holy Table for many centuries in this forgiving list." ¹

Dagan died on September 13. The *Annals of the Four Masters* give the date as 640.

The meeting with Laurence would seem to have taken place about 608. He was then a bishop, and probably not very young.

S. Mochoemog or Pulcherius is said to have died in 655 at the advanced age of a hundred and six.

If we suppose that Dagan died at the age of eighty-eight, then he was born in 552, and he would have been over fifty when he met Laurentius. The dates in the life of S. Petrock are very difficult

¹ Browne (G. F.), *The Christian Church in these Lands before Augustine*, S.P.C.K., 1897, pp. 128-9.

to determine. Dagan was with him for five years. Petrock's arrival in Cornwall was between 520 and 560, so that Dagan was with him only when quite young.

His day in the *Félire of Oengus*, the Donegal and Tallagh Martyrologies, is September 13. He is also commemorated, as of Glendalough, on January 8. That this is the same Dagan we can hardly doubt, as he was akin to S. Coemgen of Glendalough.

In Wales he seems to have tarried some time and to have been well known. Fenton, in his *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*,¹ says:—"Westward of Trehowel, near the edge of the cliff, overhanging a small creek, are seen the faint ruins of a Chapel dedicated to S. Tegan or Degan, of whom this country abounds with legends; his sanctity bore no proportion to his stature, for that is represented as most diminutive. When very young, I recollect an old man who said he remembered the Chapel up, and in a part of it then roofed, the Saint's sacred vest was preserved and shown, which was purchased many years after by a stranger travelling in those parts; with the removal of his robe, the fame of his sanctity died away.

"It seems this sacred garment was in existence about the year 1720; for in a letter of that date to Browne Willis, from one H. Goff, a member of the Cathedral of S. David's, the writer says (*MSS. Bib. Bodl.*), 'That above a small creek in Lanwnda parish there is a ruined chapel, called S. Degan's, having near to it a spring, named after the saint; and above the said spring a tumulus, called S. Degan's Knwc or Knoll, where people resort to seat themselves on holidays and Sundays. There is a remarkable habit of this said S. Degan preserved for several ages; the person that has it now having had it in his custody for forty years, to whom it was handed down by an elderly matron of upwards of ninety years of age. This habit, a piece whereof I have sent you enclosed, I had the curiosity to see; it is much in the form of a clergyman's cassock, but without sleeves. There were two of them of the same make near a yard in length, but having a like slit or hole at every corner on each end, and on the brim of each side were loops of blue silk.'

"The veneration for this little duodecimo saint is hereditary amongst the inhabitants of this district, who tell a thousand miraculous stories of him, and never fail to point out the prints of his horse's feet in the cliffs up which he rode when he emerged from the ocean, for it seems he was a sort of marine production. Numerous prophecies, likewise ascribed to him, have been handed down traditionally from father to son for generations; and one more remarkable than the rest for

¹ London, 1811, pp. 20-1; Brecon, 1903, pp. 13-4.

prefiguring, with a most circumstantial coincidence, the late French descent on that coast."—Fenton alludes here to the French abortive invasion of Wales in 1797.

In the Dunkeld Litany he is invoked as Dagamach, and in Scotland he is called Dagam. "We often find a confusion between *n* and *m* in the Scottish lists. We find Cromanus and Cronanus confounded, so this Dagamus is the same as the Daganus of Beda."¹ He received a certain cult in Galloway.

Bishop Forbes gives as his day May 29, but he does not occur in the Scottish Calendars.

William of Worcester says that Dagan with his companions Medan and Croidan were commemorated at Bodmin on June 4.

Leland says: "S. Petrocus, S. Credanus, S. Medanus, et S. Dachuna vir in Botraeme [Bodmin in Cornubia]," *i.e.*, were buried.²

Dagan is invoked in the Litany in the Stowe Missal.³

A Dagan was Abbot of Llancarfan in the time of Bishops Oudoceus and Berthwyn.⁴

S. DANIEL, see S. DEINIOL

S. DAVID (DEWI), Abbot, Bishop, Confessor, Patron of Wales

THE authorities for the Life of Dewi Sant or S. David are:—

1. A *Vita S. Davidis*, by Ricemarchus (Rhygyfarch), Bishop of Menevia 1088–96, composed some 500 years after the Saint's death.

Of this several MSS. exist, two in the British Museum, *Cotton Vesp. A. xiv*, and *Nero, E. i*; two in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; and one in Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge—all of the thirteenth century. It was published in part by Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii, pp. 645–7, and in whole by Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 117–43.

The various other Lives are all amplifications or abridgments of

¹ Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 320.

² *Collect.*, i, p. 75.

³ Warren's *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, Oxf., 1881, p. 240.

⁴ *Book of Llan Dâw*, pp. 158, 175, 187, 196. Danoc is also given (p. 179) as its abbot in the latter bishop's time, by whom is probably meant Dagan. Danoc occurs also as a clerical witness in the Cartulary of Llancarfan (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 90).

this one, the fullest known text of which is that in *Cott. Vesp. A. xiv*, but it may not be as Rhygyfarch wrote it.

2. A second, by Giraldus Cambrensis, d. 1223. The MS. *Cotton Vitellius E. vii* was badly injured by fire in 1731, and is now illegible. It was copied, however, by Wharton before its defacement, and printed in *Anglia Sacra*, ii, pp. 628-40, and again, after Wharton's transcript, in Brewer's *Works of Giraldus*, 1863, iii, pp. 377-404. Leland had made some extracts from the original, *Collectanea*, iv, p. 107. This Life is an expansion of that by Rhygyfarch. *MS. Regis 13, C. i*, gives the *Miracula S. Davidis*.

3. A third, from a MS. at Utrecht, in *Acta SS. Boll.*, March 1, pp. 41-6. An abridgment of that by Rhygyfarch.

4. An abridgment of Rhygyfarch's in John of Tynemouth's Collection (Tiberius E. i), taken into the *Nova Legenda Angliæ* of Capgrave. The MSS. *Lambeth 10-12* give the *Historia Aurea* of John of Tynemouth. *Vita S. Davidis* is No. 12, fol. 250.

5. A Welsh Life, in Jesus College, Oxford, MS. 119, generally known as *Llyfr Ancr Llanddewi Brefi*. This MS. was written in 1346 by an anchorite of Llanddewi Brefi, in Cardiganshire, and has been published by the Clarendon Press, 1894, edited by Professors Morris Jones and Rhys. The Life is at pp. 105-118. A copy of it is also given in *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 102-16, from MS. *Cotton Titus D. xxii* (fifteenth century). There are copies of circa 1400 in *Llanstephan MSS. 4 and 27*, and fifteenth century copies in *Peniarth MSS. 15 and 27* (part ii). This Life again is an abridgment of Rhygyfarch's, but, like that by Giraldus, embodies material from other sources that are lost to us.

Rhygyfarch was the son of Bishop Sulien, and belonged to a family of scholars and divines that was in great prominence during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Diocese of S. David's. He is styled "the Wise," and he died at the age of 43 in 1097-9. He wrote his own name in the quasi-Latin form Ricemarchus, which yields in Welsh Rhygyfarch.¹

When we come to enquire whence he drew his material, we are bound to admit that he had but little at his disposal beyond oral tradition and ballads relative to the Saint. The city and church of S. David's had been sacked repeatedly by the Northmen between 795 and 1088. Two bishops met with violent deaths at their hands,

¹ The name occurs as Rigewarc in *Annales Cambriæ*, Rigyvarch in Geoffrey's *Brut*, Rychmarch in *Brut y Tywysogion*, and Rhyddmarch in the *Gwentian Brut*. Rhygyfarch is the correct form. For his eulogy see the *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, pp. 273-4.

Morgeneu in 998, and Abraham in 1078. The latest visit, in 1088, saw the complete destruction of the Cathedral. We may well doubt whether any written documents relative to S. David had survived to the time of Rhygyfarch,¹ though he mentions certain extant documents, "principally of his own city," which he professes to have drawn upon, "written with the old style of the ancients."² His style is rugged and unclassical, but he shows himself well acquainted with the localities. Giraldus professed chiefly to present him in a more scholarly dress. The latter Life is divided into ten *lectiones*, being intended to be read in Church on the Saint's festival.

Taking Rhygyfarch's biography as giving a Life in chronological sequence of events is impossible. Tradition records incidents and events, whilst disfiguring them, but not their sequence. In giving the Life of the Saint we shall not, accordingly, follow the order pursued by Rhygyfarch, but that which seems to us to be better established.

The first difficulty we encounter relates to his ancestry on the father's side. The father was Sant, in Latin Sanctus.³ The oldest MSS. differ among themselves as to Sant's father. Some give him as son of Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig (by Meleri, daughter of Brychan); others as son of Cedig ab Ceredig. The following authorities of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries give him as Ceredig:—the *Cognatio de Brychan* (both versions), the *Progenies Keretic*, *Peniarth MSS.* 12 and 27 (part ii), *Hafod MS.* 16, *Jesus College MS.* 20, and also the Latin Life by Giraldus and the Welsh Life. The following give Cedig:—*Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45, and *Llanstephan MS.* 28. Cedig might well represent a scribal contraction for Ceredig; but in genealogies a name is more likely to slip out, especially if it be that of a person who is inconsiderable and has left no mark, than that such a name should be inserted arbitrarily.

Of Cedig nothing is known save that he was the father of SS. Afan Buellt and Doged. Afan's mother, according to the late *Iolo MSS.*⁴ documents, was Tegfedd, daughter of Tegid ab Cadell Deyrnllwg.

¹ In the *Life of S. Caradog* by Giraldus, it is said that for seven years the site of S. David's was left deserted, so that it took a priest several days to hack his way through the brambles that covered it. "Urbs Menevensis per piratas ab insulis Orchadum longis navibus advectos . . . crebra infestatione per septennium fere desolata fuisset; sacerdos quidam religiosus, spinas et tribulos extirpando, ad tumbam sancti confessoris David vix septimo die pervenit."

² *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 143.

³ The correct Welsh form of the name of Dewi's father is Sant. Sanddef or Sandde, often met with, is very late, and is responsible for the Latin form Xanthus; but it is a totally distinct name. It is curious to observe that whilst Dewi's father's name should mean "a saint," i.e., "a monk," his mother's should also mean "a nun."

⁴ Pp. 110, 125.

In the Welsh Life, Dewi's genealogy is traced up to "Eugen, the son of Eudoleu, the son of the sister of the Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ."¹

The *Vita* by Rhygyfarch opens with fabulous matter.

Sant, King of Ceredigion, having enjoyed the royal government of the Ceredig nation, laid it aside so as to acquire a heavenly kingdom, in other words, embraced the ecclesiastical profession. Nevertheless, he went a-hunting, and chased a stag beside the river Teifi, and found a swarm of bees in a tree at a place called Lin henlan, and he took the honey, and caught a fish in the river. By the advice of an angel he transmitted a portion of the stag, of the fish, and the honeycomb to the monastery of Maucan, "which to the present time is called the Monastery of the Deposit." And the angel further informed him that these gifts would symbolize the virtues of a son who—notwithstanding that he had embraced the monastic life—would be born to him. The spot of the "Old Church" is about three miles east of Newcastle Emlyn.

Rhygyfarch goes on to relate that thirty years before the birth of David, S. Patrick came to Vallis Rosina, or Glyn Rhosyn, in Menevia, and vowed that he would stay there; but an angel appeared to him, and told him that it was God's will that he should cross over into Ireland, and become the apostle of that island, and further, that the settling at Glyn Rhosyn was reserved for one who would be born thirty years later.² In token that this was a true message, the angel showed to Patrick from a seat among the rocks, since called Eisteddfa Badrig, the entire island of Hibernia.

This story is wholly fabulous. The vision and prophecy are introduced to prepare the reader for what is to follow, the superlative saintliness of Dewi.

That Patrick did come to Porth Mawr, in Mynyw, is probable enough. The ruins of his Chapel mark the spot where he is traditionally said to have embarked for Ireland. His seat was on Carn Llidi, the purple Cambrian rocks of which shoot above the heather slopes, and form a bold feature in the landscape. Hence, at sundown, the mountains of Wicklow are distinctly visible, and this simple fact has been expanded by the legend writer into a vision of the whole of Ireland.

The monastery of Maucan or Mancen was at Ty Gwyn, on the side

¹ In Rhygyfarch (p. 144) it is Eudolen, the son of Eugen, the son of the sister of Mary.

² The reception of S. Carannog in Ireland is dated similarly thirty years before the birth of S. David (see p. 79).

of Carn Llidi, and there till a few years ago were the remains of a rude early church or chapel surrounded by an extensive cemetery. The tombs are formed of rude slate slabs set up perpendicularly and each covered with a slab. No inscription has been found, but the place has never been explored, only such graves opened and destroyed as interfered with the tillage.

The monastery was probably double, or rather it was a school to which were admitted pupils of both sexes. Thus it was that Non Nonna, or Nonnita (Melaria, according to Breton tradition), was in it, not perhaps as a *monialis*, but as a pupil. But, possibly enough, her name has led to the assumption that she was a nun.

No deductions can be drawn from the statement that David was born thirty years after the visit of Patrick, for the story is obviously introduced into the Life in order to enhance the glory of David, for whom was reserved that which was denied to Patrick.

Rhygyfarch had a peculiar notion of inspiration, for according to him it was "virtus divina" which led Sant to violate the virgin Non.

According to him, moreover, she "nec antea, nec postea virum agnovit, sed in castitate mentis et corporis perseverans, fidelissimam duxit vitam." This clashes with Irish accounts. In the *Treatise on the Mothers of the Saints*, Mor, mother of S. Eltin of Kinsale, is represented as the sister of S. David, as also Magna, wife of Erc and mother of Setna, Gobain and Maelteoc. This latter may be identical with Eltin, and if so, Magna is the same as Mor.

Non was the daughter of Cynyr of "Caer Gawch in Mynyw." Neither Cynyr nor Caer Gawch is mentioned by David's biographers, and all our information respecting them is derived from the late documents printed in the *Iolo MSS.*¹ According to these Cynyr was the son of Gwyndeg ab Seithenin, and the husband of Anna, daughter of Gwrthefyr Fendigaid (Vortimer). He was the father, besides Non, of Guistlianus or Gwestlan, a pre-Davidian bishop in Menevia, Sadwrn Hên, Gwen, the mother of Cybi, and Banhadlen, the mother of Ailbe. Caer Gawch is therein identified with Pebydiog, but it is rather strange that no trace of either Caer Gawch or Cynyr has been found in Dewisland. The name Cynyr is equated with

¹ The documents printed therein state (pp. 82, 106, 114, 124, 151) that Cynyr "gave all his allodial lands, viz., Pebydiog and its dependencies," to God and Dewi, and that he "assisted" Dewi in founding Bangor Mynyw, which accommodated 500 saints. We are also told that the district was called Pebydiog "because Dewi was Pope of that district." This is inadmissible, as the name is a derivative of *Pebyd*, apparently a man's name, and not from *Papa*. Pebydiog as the deanery name has, in modern times, been supplanted by Dewisland. The cantred of Pebydiog comprised the commotes of Mynyw, Pencaer, and Pebydiog. (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 330.)

the Irish Conaire ; and the lesser Dyfed of those days was in all probability strongly Goidelic, for it was not ruled over by the Cuneddan family. Thus, through his mother, Dewi must have had Goidelic blood in his veins, whilst on his father's side he was Brythonic, and allied to the powerful Cuneddan dynasty.

Rhygyfarch gives us another story, also told for the purpose of enhancing the glory of his hero. One day Gildas came to the church of Ty Gwyn,¹ and he endeavoured to preach to the people, but found his tongue tied. Unable to account for this, he bade the congregation leave. "The people having gone out, the mother remained concealed in a corner." Then Gildas again tried to speak, and still found himself tongue-tied. Then he cried with a loud voice, "I adjure thee, if any one lies hid, that thou showest thyself openly." Thereupon Non, who was concealed between the wall and the partition that divided the church in two, the males on one side, and the females on the other, rose up and showed herself, and left the church. At once Gildas found that his faculty of speech had returned, and he informed the congregation, when recalled, that the reason of his finding himself unable to address them, was the presence in the church of the unborn David. "Farewell, brothers and sisters," said he ; "I cannot dwell here any longer on account of the son of this nun, because to him is delivered the monarchy over all men in this island ; it is therefore necessary for me to go to some other island, and leave all Britain to this child."

Rhygyfarch has fused two stories into one. Precisely the same story is told in the Life of S. Ailbe. He came to a certain place on his way to Ireland from the Continent, and was unable to proceed with the Mass. "Then Ailbe looking round the church, saw a certain pregnant woman, and said, 'You cannot offer, because this woman bears in her womb David of Kilmuin, a bishop, and a priest must not celebrate before a bishop without his consent.'"²

Gildas was certainly older than S. David, but he cannot possibly have been over twenty-four when David was born.

But about the year 527 he was in Pebydiog and then did attempt to wrest from David the authority over the monks in that district, as we shall see in the sequel. Rhygyfarch took the story of Ailbe's turning Non out of the church for her incontinence, gave it a complexion honourable to his hero, and fused with this the discomfiture of Gildas at his attempt to supplant David in Menevia. Geoffrey

¹ In Giraldus (*Works*, iii, p. 381), the church is called "Kanmorva (*read* Kairmorva), i.e., urbs maritima vel castrum."

² *Vita* SS. *Hibern.* in *Cod. Sal.*, col. 245.

of Monmouth knew the story, not as told of Gildas, but of Ailbe, for he says: "*Menevia pallio urbis Legionum induetur, et prædicator Hybernæ propter infantem in utero crescentem obmutescet.*"¹

These tales, however much disfigured by legend, have generally some basis in fact, and here the fact may have been that Ailbe, scandalized at the lapse of his aunt from virtue, excommunicated her, or at all events refused to proceed with the Mass till she left the church. When Non and David came to be esteemed as Saints, it was no longer possible to tell the tale as it actually occurred, and it was accordingly altered.

Non now retired from the monastery of Maucan to a cottage on the cliffs beyond Bryn y Garn, above a little bay that now bears her name, and to which the purple cliffs fall precipitously. Here was a spring, and here she remained till she brought forth her child. Rhygyfarch says that there was a "certain man in the district, accounted a tyrant," who sought the life of the young child, and Non had to fly to this place for concealment from him. The man who was a *tyrannus* in the district was her own father Cynyr, who may very possibly not have relished the scandal in his family.

The child was born in the midst of a violent storm. "The mother, when bringing forth, had a certain stone near her, against which, when in pain, she pressed her hands; whereby the mark was left on it as an impression upon wax." Moreover, the stone against which she leaned was split by lightning, and one portion leaped over her and planted itself at her feet. "In that place a church is built, in the foundation of whose altar the stone lies covered." The ruined Church of S. Non still remains, and is of great interest. It points approximately north and south, and is rectangular, but not exactly so. The substructure is of rude masses of stone put together without mortar, and may well be of the fifth century. In mediæval times it was converted from a house into a chapel, and a superstructure of stone and mortar was raised on the old foundations, and as the angles on one side were not exactly rectangular, the mediæval building was carried as far as possible on the old wall, but where that wall did not serve it was broken down and replaced by another.² On the east side is an early incised cross. The finger marks of S. Non on the stone were, almost certainly, an Ogam inscription, which Rhygyfarch did not understand. An exploration of the chapel was made in the hopes of recovering this stone, but it was found that it had been removed, at some time unknown, from

¹ *Hist. Brit.*, vii, c. 3; *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 145.

² "Exploration of S. Non's Chapel," *Arch. Camb.*, 1898, pp. 345-8.

the floor of the footpace on which the altar stood. The marks of removal were clearly distinguishable.

The Holy Well, beside the chapel, still exists, and the water still flows. Bishop Ailbe, who resided at his *llan* near Solva, and who had refused to say Mass with Non in the Church, came over and baptized her child in a spring at Porth Clais. The spring is still there, with foundations of a chapel above it. He gave to the infant the name of David.¹

Rhygyfarch calls the bishop Helue.² In the Life of S. Ailbe, it is said that Sant had the child baptized. "Pater filium suum ipsum David obtulit sancto Albeo in eternum," implying that he handed him over to be fostered and brought up in the ecclesiastical profession by Ailbe. In the Life of S. Colman of Dromore it is implied that he baptized David, having first resuscitated him, born dead.³ But this is unsubstantiated.

David was sent at a suitable age to be instructed at Yr Henllwyn or Vetus Rubus, "the Old Bush," the same place as Ty Gwyn, over which now Paulinus was abbot. The place is known by a variety of names, and is confounded with Glyn Rhosyn, the Alun Vale where is now the Cathedral, and to which David subsequently moved the college and abandoned the old monastic site, when its ruins acquired the name of "the Old Church."⁴ It is frequently mentioned in

¹ S. David's name in Welsh is almost invariably Dewi, but in the Welsh Life Dewi and Dafydd are used indifferently. The form Dewi stands for Dewidd, which actually occurs in one Cambridge MS. of his Life (see Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, i, pt. i, p. 119). The loss of final *dd* is rather a feature of the Pembrokeshire dialect; cf. *newi* and *muni* for *newydd* and *mynydd*. S. David was a Pembrokeshire man to his very name. Dafydd, which is later and not phonologically correct, was the most common Welsh name in use in the Middle Ages, *Ieuan* coming next. Taffy seems to be an English mimicking of Dafydd. Gwas Dewi (his servant) occurs as a man's name—a translation or imitation of a well-known Goidelic formula, of probably pre-Celtic origin. Like several other Welsh personal names, Dewi occurs as the name of a stream which runs past Mydrim Church (S. David), Carmarthenshire. In Brittany he is called Divy, Ivy, and Avit. He is usually "styled" in Welsh—Dewi Sant. (See i, p. 287.)

² Rees incorrectly prints Belue. In the *Life of S. David*, a MS. that belonged to David Routh, Bishop of Ossory, given by Colgan, *Acta SS. Hibern.*, p. 425, the name is Helvæus, and Ælveus in the Life by Giraldus Cambrensis.

³ *Acta SS. Hibern.* in *Cod. Sal.*, col. 832.

⁴ See a paper by Mrs. Dawson in *Arch. Camb.*, 1898, pp. 1–20. Some ridiculous derivations of Menevia are given in Browne Willis, *S. David's*, pp. 50–1. S. David's is generally called to-day by the Welsh Ty Ddewi (his House). Fenton (*Pembrokeshire*, 1903, p. 186) says that the Welsh name of S. Dogwell's in Dewisland was Llan Ty Ddewi. It would appear to have been also the Henlle Dewi of the old parish lists. With Ty Ddewi, the name and mutation, compare Ty Feuno, Ty Gustenin, Ty Illtyd, Ty Dduw, and Ty Ddafydd. We have it also in Irish; e.g., Teach-Moling, now S. Mullins.

the Lives of the Irish Saints as the monastery of Rosnat, with, sometimes the *alias* Alba. Rosnat stands for Rhosnant, a name convertible with Vallis Rosina or Glyn Rhosyn; and Rhosan or Rhoson is still the name of a farm in the district.

The name Alba, or rather Alba Domus, is the Latin rendering of Ty Gwyn, which is the name of the farmhouse on its site, and it was in the "White Church," as we learn from the *Buhez Santez Nonn*, that Gildas was supposed to have been silenced because of the presence of the pregnant Non. Vetus Rubus is the Latin rendering of Hen Meneu (Old Menevia), in modern Welsh Hên Fynyw, which distinguishes it from the Mynyw of to-day. It is a totally different place from that of the same name in Cardiganshire, with which it is sometimes confounded. The Irish equivalent for Mynyw is Kil Muine, of the latter part of which Rubus is given as a translation. In the *Annales Cambriæ* (s.a. 601) the place is mentioned under the peculiar form Moni Iudeorum.

On the slope of Carn Llidi, above Porth Mawr and the chapel of S. Patrick, stood "the Old Bush," probably of thorns, where the stone monastery was erected, as tradition said, by Patrick, and then it was whitewashed and acquired the name of Alba Domus, or Ty Gwyn. Patrick had placed over it his fellow-worker Mancen or Maucan, and purposed, we may well suppose, that it should become a nursery of missionaries for Ireland.¹ No doubt this *Ultima Thule* of South Wales was chosen on account of its accessibility from Ireland.

But Mancen had passed away, and the White House was ruled by Paulinus, "a disciple of Germanus, a bishop, who in a certain island led a life agreeable to God."

"And David grew up full of grace and lovely to be looked at. And he learned there the rudiments, the psalms, the lessons of the whole year, and the Mass and Communion (*sinaxin*); and there his fellow disciples saw a dove with a golden beak playing about his lips, teaching him, and singing the hymns of God."

The Life of S. David by Rhygyfarch says that David was first at "the Old Bush," and afterwards with Paulinus. But this latter was head of a Ty Gwyn which has been supposed to be that *ar Dâf*. There is, however, no evidence that this was a monastery before Norman times, and we may conclude that Paulinus taught, after the death of Maucan, at the Ty Gwyn in Menevia.² According to the Life

¹ The angel says to Sant: "Partem piscis et cervique custodienda filio ex te nascituro transmittre ad Maucani monasterium" (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 117).

² The legend that S. David was educated under Paulinus at Whitland is

of S. Teilo, that Saint was a disciple of Paulinus along with David,¹ and they became much attached to each other. A pretty story is told of David whilst with his master. Paulinus suffered from inflammation of the eyes, and David stroked them. As the eyes soon after became better, Paulinus was pleased to attribute it to the touch of the innocent boy.

With this master David remained ten years. The Life of S. Paul of Léon asserts that he, Samson and David were together disciples of S. Illtyd, as well as Gildas.² In the Life of Gildas no mention is made of David as a fellow disciple, nor is David mentioned as a pupil in that of Illtyd; and we can hardly accept this unsupported statement.

After the period spent in his training David started as a founder himself. "He founded twelve monasteries to the praise of God. First going to Glastonbury, he erected a church there, and then he went to Bath (in the Welsh Life *Yr Enaint Twymyn*, 'the Hot Bath'), and there by blessing a deadly water he rendered it salutary for the washing of bodies, and communicated to it perpetual heat."

Bath hot springs, it need hardly be said, had existed in Roman times, and were in resort long before David was born.

"And he went to Croulan and Repetun, and afterwards to Colguan (Colvan, Collan), and to Glascum, and he had with him a double-headed altar (*altare anceps*). Then he founded the monastery of Leominster, and built a church at Raglan in Gwent, and founded a monastery in Gower, at a place called Llangyfelach, in which he afterwards placed the altar sent by Pepiau . . . also Boducat and Maitium (Maitrun, Nailtrum), two Saints in Kidwelly, gave him their hands. These places having been founded according to custom, and vessels of canonical order placed in them, and a rule of cenobial use (*habitus*), he went to the place whence he had formerly departed, and returned to the Old Bush."

This, for the most part, is as untrue as that he converted the poisonous springs of Bath into hot and healing waters.

Apparently, Rhygyfarch is attempting to show that the prophecy he had put into the mouth of Gildas was now fulfilled, that David was

based on fourteenth and fifteenth century MSS. of his Life, which describe Paulinus as residing in *insula Withlandi*; other MSS. give in *insula Guit*, whilst the Life by Giraldus gives *Vecta Insula* (= the Isle of Wight!). The *Withlandi* and *Guit* of these late MSS. are obviously meant to be a sort of translation of the *Lantquendi* of the oldest MSS. The copyist (*circa* 1200) of what is perhaps the only full version—preserved in *Cotton Vesp. A. xiv*—known of Rhygyfarch's Life merely describes the place as *in insula quadam*. The Welsh Life mentions no place at all (Owen, *Pembrokeshire*, ii, pp. 425-6).

¹ *Vita S. Teliaui* in *Book of Llan Dâu*, p. 99.

² *Vita S. Pauli Leonensis*, ed. Dom Plaine, *Analect. Boll.*, 1882, c. 8.

to have "all Britain." He therefore converts him into the founder of Croyland, Repton, Coldingham, and Leominster. Croyland, we know, was founded by S. Guthlac in 716, Repton was a nunnery established by the Mercian kings about 660, and Coldingham was called into existence by S. Ebba in 650. Leominster owed its origin to Roger de Montgomery in the time of William the Conqueror, and there is not a particle of evidence that these foundations occupied old abandoned Celtic sites. Indeed, it would have been impossible for David to have visited them in the sixth century, when the territories on which they were were in the hands of the Angles and Saxons. Rhygyfarch has confounded times in the narrative.

What probably took place was that Paulinus retired, and Dewi, as of the founder's kin, succeeded him. Then Gildas appeared on the scene, about the year 527. He was in quest of recruits for his monastery at Ruys, and finding the Old Bush monastery without a head other than Dewi, who claimed it by virtue of his being of the seed of the founder, but who was still young—he cannot have been much over twenty-seven—Gildas, with characteristic overbearing, sought to turn him out and to seize on the government of the Domus Alba for himself, and either make it his head establishment, or, more probably, a feeder and daughter-house to his great settlement in Armorica. Finnian of Clonard was called in to interfere, when Cadoc declined to be mixed up in the matter, and Finnian pronounced in favour of David.¹ He could hardly do other. Cynyr, if we may trust the *Iolo MSS.*, had given all his possessions to the Church, and it would be against all Celtic ideas of justice to dispossess the grandson for the sake of a stranger.

But David did leave his monastery for a while, having placed his uncle Guistlianus in charge of it. Menevia is a promontory thrust forth into the sea, and walled off from the rest of the world by the Pressilly Mountains. It was not a place where he could collect about him many disciples. He must needs have feeders elsewhere, in more populous districts. Accordingly he departed. Whether it was now or at a subsequent time that he established some of his many churches in South Wales we do not know.

According to Gwynfardd, a Welsh writer of the early thirteenth century, David was for a while in Cornwall, where he endured persecution at the hands of some ill-disposed woman, and he adds that he endangered the sceptre of that realm.² That David did visit Dam-

¹ Life of S. Finnian in *Book of Lismore*, Anecd. Oxon., pp. 222-3.

² *Myv. Arch.*, p. 194. William of Worcester is the sole authority for the statement that David was born in Cornwall.

nonia seems pretty certain, and it is possible that it was at this time. His aunt, S. Gwen, was married to Selyf the king, who resided where is now Callington between the Lynher and Tamar.¹ He may have visited them to extract some donations from them. A series of churches dedicated to him possibly marks his course through Devon, Thelbridge, Exeter, and Ashprington. In Cornwall he is patron of Davidstow or Dewstowe.

On his return to the Old Bush he found Guistlianus² still there. David had come to the conclusion that the site was undesirable. He said to him: "From this place scarce one in a hundred will go to the Kingdom of God. I know another spot whence few will go to hell; for every one who shall be buried in that cemetery in sound faith will obtain mercy."

This is quite in accordance with Irish mode of thought. David may have put his proposition in this form, but his motives were much more reasonable. The Old Bush was easy of access from Porth Mawr, the only safe harbour on that rocky headland. At any day a pirate vessel might run in there, and in a quarter of an hour destroy the monastery on the slope above it, and cut off escape in the direction of the mainland by sending men up the little valley of the stream that discharges into the sea at Porth Mawr. A more unsafe site for a monastery in those perilous times could hardly have been selected. It was expedient, David argued, for the brethren to go further inland, and to settle in a spot concealed from the sea, and less exposed to the storms.

Now the river Alun or Alan runs through a deep cleft in the rocks, that expands at one spot, where is marsh and meadow.

Whether Guistlianus were convinced and persuaded to abandon the Old Bush, we are not told. The old site was now given up, and David and his disciples Aidan, Teilo and Ismael, with other unnamed disciples, migrated to the new locality. This was Glyn Rhosyn, in the valley of the Hodnant.³

They settled there in the evening, and lighted a fire. Some way off a prong of igneous rock stands up, commanding the Alun valley. It is one of those masses, nuclei of hard substance, left, when the

¹ *Vita S. Kebii in Cambro-British Saints*, p. 183.

² Rhygyfarch says (*ibid.*, p. 124) that he was David's *patruclis*, cousin; and Giraldus (*Opera*, iii, p. 386), *avunculus*. The Welsh Life makes him "a brother in the faith" (*brawd ffydd*). In reality his maternal uncle.

³ Giraldus says (*Itin. Camb.*, ii, c. 1):—"The spot where the Church of S. David stands is called the Vale of Roses, which ought rather to be named the Vale of Marble, since it abounds with the one and by no means with the other." *Rosina* does not derive from *roses*, but from *rhos*, a moor.

glacial period ended, which had not been fretted down by the ice. This prong had its summit walled about and formed into a stronghold. It goes by the name of Clegyr Fwya (the Rock of Boia),¹ and it takes its name from an Irish freebooter who had settled there, and who terrorized the neighbourhood.²

In the morning he saw the smoke of David's fire rising from the meadow by the river in the ravine. His wife, a veritable shrew, ascended the rock on which Boia was standing, and as he seemed to be indifferent, she goaded him to interference, bade him go to the spot, and expel those who had thus taken possession. Boia went, but David easily pacified him, and the Irish freebooter consented that he should have and hold the patch of sheltered ground in the valley bottom.³ Boia's wife was highly incensed when she found how complaisant her husband had been, and when she further learned that the settlers were monks, who had migrated from "the Old Bush," she was the more resolved to rid the neighbourhood of them.

Accordingly she sent her maids to bathe in the stream close to where the saints were. Some of the monks complained to David that this was an intolerable nuisance, and was likely to continue, and, if repeated every day, would render the place unendurable. But David bade them disregard the immodest girls, who would soon tire of their bathing if no notice were taken of them.

As Boia refused to be egged on to molest the monks, and as—if we may credit the account of the incident in the Life of S. Teilo—he was even so won over as to consent to be baptized, the wife resolved on having recourse to her gods, the Siddi, or underground divinities, and to propitiate them with a sacrifice.

She invited her step-daughter, named Dunawd, one warm day,

¹ In Rhygyfarch and Capgrave he is called Baia; in Giraldus, Boia; in the Welsh Life, Boya; and in John of Tynemouth's *Historia Aurea*, in the Lambeth Library, Beias. The name occurs in the story of the Déisi in the *Book of the Dun Cow*. Clegyr Fwya is sometimes wrongly explained as "the biggest rock."

² *Scottus* in Rhygyfarch, *Yscot* in the Welsh Life, and *Gwyddel* in Gwynfardd. The Life of S. Teilo calls him a Pict. "In illorum sanctorum diebus, quidam populi . . . qui Picti dicebantur, innumera classe ad Britanniam devenerunt et capti amore terræ potiundæ propter bonarum rerum copiam . . . magis fraude quam viribus Britannos invaserunt, et in eos miram tirannidem ad tempus exercuerunt. . . . Cumque quidam illius nefariæ gentis princeps trucidando miseros incolas . . . a navalibus (ubi) appulerant usque Minuensem civitatem processisset, ibi constitit ibique suum palatium construxit" (*Book of Llan Dâu*, pp. 99-100). Boia is called a *magus*, which is the usual Latin rendering of the Irish for Druid.

³ "Deditque Baia eadem die David agio totam Rosinam Vallem, perpetuo possidendam" (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 125).

to descend into the hazel-brake in Glyn Alun to pick nuts, and where, she intimated, she could examine her head.¹ When the girl laid her head in the step-mother's lap, the wretched woman shore off her hair. This was tantamount to adoption ; and then, with a knife, she cut the girl's throat, and poured out her innocent blood to the gods.

This did not avail, and the woman, frightened lest Boia should punish her for the murder of his daughter, ran away, and what became of her is not recorded. She probably purposed absenting herself till her husband's resentment had abated ; but circumstances occurred that made a return impossible. During the ensuing night Lisci (Leschi), son of Paucairt, another Irish pirate, entered the little port that now bears his name, stole in the dark up the crag, and finding the entrance to the fort unguarded, burst in with his men, and slew Boia in his bed.

The Life of S. David says that fire fell from heaven and consumed the castle. This is a figurative way of saying that Lisci, after having pillaged the stronghold, set fire to the wattled huts within the walls.

As Clegyr Fwya has been very carefully explored, it may be as well here to sum up the results. It must be premised that the original surface within the camp is 4 ft. 6 in. below the present level, and that the ruined walls still rise some 2 ft. 6 in. above the turf. The walls were constructed without mortar, and were faced externally with large slabs set on end. The entrance was protected by horn-works, now destroyed, but visible when Basil Jones and Freeman wrote their *History of S. David's*. It was to the south. A considerable amount of rude pottery, unornamented, was discovered, as well as several hearths. No metal was found, but innumerable sling-stones, and apparently the place had at some time been attacked from the north. Numerous round stones and long water-worn pebbles were unearthed, all suitable as missiles. There were no indications of an extensive conflagration. The pottery was of local make, of the glacial clay of the meadow below the rocks, and was rude. There is a second camp, dominating the Alun valley, at Penllan, but its character is distinctively later. It was thrown up by Northmen. The Life of S. David speaks of Boia standing on the rock and surveying the valley. There is rock at Clegyr Fwya, none at Penllan.

Dunawd, daughter of Boia, would seem to have been regarded as a martyr, although unbaptized. Rhygyfarch says :—" A clear fountain arose in the place where her blood flowed to the ground, which abundantly cured many diseases of mankind, which place

¹ " Tribue caput tuum in sinu meo ; volo enim cirros tuos leniter investigare " (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 126). In the Welsh Life Boia's wife is called Satrapa.

the common people call the *Martyrium* of Dunawd, to this day." ¹ The Welsh Life says it was called Ffynnon Dunawd. ²

David was now able to proceed with the construction of his monastery. It was probably of stone, as no timber of any size grows in the neighbourhood. Gwestlan seems now to have joined his kinsman, for he is credited with having called forth a miraculous spring, as did also Teilo. "And cripples, and blind, and diseased persons have obtained cures from these two fountains." ³

At what time David was summoned to undertake the organization of the Church in the southern portion of Demetia, we do not know. Urien Rheged had expelled the Goidels from Gower, and the district between the Tawe and the Towy, ⁴ and it was when they were cleared out that David went there and founded churches. His presence in these parts we know of through the Life of S. Aidan or Maidoc, and from the fact of there being churches there bearing his name.

David devoted himself wholly to prayer, study, and to the training of his disciples. Of these he had some who became distinguished. He also received visits from many Irish Saints as they passed through on their way to the Continent, or on their return from it. Such were S. Scuthin of Sliab Mairge, S. Barri or Finbar of Cork, and S. Senan of Iniscathy, with whom he made a contract of brotherhood. Cybi also visited him on his way to Ireland, and Constantine, the Cornish king, is said to have gone for a while to the Menevian monastery after his conversion. That David's visitors were not always agreeable may well be suspected. An Irish Saint came there. He was of good birth, and of saintly attainments, and David offered him a cordial welcome, and detailed a boy to wait upon him during his stay. The holy man was exacting and peppery, and tried the lad's patience, so that one day, under provocation, the lad muttered some impertinent remark behind his back. The fiery Irishman turned and knocked him down; and his fist was so heavy that the boy died of concussion of the brain two days after. David was highly and justly incensed. The Irish Saint endeavoured to exculpate himself by alleging the provocation offered. Finally a compromise was patched up. He undertook thenceforth to assume the dead lad's name, so that some of his merits might reflect on the murdered youth. Thenceforth he was known as Laicinn, or, with the affec-

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 126.

² *Ibid.*, p. 107.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁴ Sometimes their expulsion is attributed to Cunedda and his sons. Momm. sen, *Chronica Minora*, iii, p. 156; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 70-1.

tionate prefix given to the boy, Mo-lacca. By this he is known, what his baptismal appellation was is not recorded.¹

Domnoc, or Modomnoc, another Irishman, was for a long time with David. He cultivated flowers in the monastic garden, and attended to the bees. When about to return to his native land, as he mounted the boat at Porth Mawr, the bees swarmed and settled on the boat. So Modomnoc took the swarm with him to the Emerald Isle, and it is said that these were the first bees introduced into Ireland.² Later on, Molacca, by fair means or foul, got hold of this hive and carried it off to his own monastery, which thenceforth received the name of Lann Beachaire, or "The Church of the Bees."

This Modomnoc was brother of S. Domangart, and son of Saran, fourth in descent from Niall of the Nine Hostages. He died at the close of the sixth century.

That all in David's monastery was not "sweetness and light" may be inferred from the fact of his steward attempting to murder David's favourite disciple Aidan, and from the cellarer trying to poison David himself. The Penitential Code of David shows that much wild blood was to be found in his and other monastic settlements of the period. Severe penalties had to be adjudged in cases of drunkenness, murder, and attempted murder, and other gross crimes. Kissing a girl had to be expiated by three days' penance.³ But we shall have more to say on the Penitential Code later.

Except when compelled by unavoidable necessity, David kept aloof from all temporal concerns. He did not attend the Synod of Llanddewi Brefi when convened by Dyfrig. As no agreement could be arrived at relative to matters in dispute, Paulinus, with whom David had studied, advised that he should be sent for, and Dyfrig and Deiniol went in quest of him, and insisted on his attending the Council. On his arrival, David found the Synod gathered in a very incommodious place, the old Roman station of Loventium, and by his advice it was removed a little distance to Llanddewi Brefi, where was a mound, upon which the speakers could stand and be heard by those whom they desired to address. Such, we may take it, is the meaning of the legend which represents David having mounted a heap of clothes, whereupon the earth swelled under it into a mount.

¹ *Vita S. Molacci* in Colgan's *Acta SS. Hib.*, p. 150. In the original it is not said that the Irishman killed the boy by a blow, but that the boy was killed by the judgment of God for having used impertinent language. But the wrath and resentment of David clearly show that the Irishman had actually killed the boy.

² *Vita S. Modomnoci* in Colgan's *Acta SS. Hibern.*, p. 336; *Vita S. David* in *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 134.

³ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., i, p. 126.

Rhygyfarch and Giraldus both misrepresent the Council as one convened for the suppression of the Pelagian heresy. But it was really called together to enact canons of discipline for the clergy and laity. The canons have been preserved in a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.¹

A second Council was held later, the Synod of Victory, in 569, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, but, as we have shown in dealing with S. Cadoc, the date of the Council of Brefi must be put before the outbreak of the Yellow Plague, probably in 544 or 545.

The canons passed at these synods reveal a very low state of morals among clergy and laity. It may be as well here to quote the weighty words of Professor Hugh Williams on *Penitentials*. "The Church, for purposes of discipline, had developed various modes of correction in the case of lapses into sin, as well as of reconciliation by absolution. As we approach the sixth century, we find a long development of very varying procedures along independent lines. . . . In one point, however, there seems to have been universal agreement, viz., that acts of contrition and confession, together with the reconciliation which followed, were purely ecclesiastical. While, for the most part, such acts of penance were, in the West, not public but private, they certainly were subject to the judgment of the bishop; he, or the presbyter representing him, was always the ministrant. Yet in Britain and Ireland there had grown up a different system; the disciplinary measures were conducted from the cloister. Different sins began to be catalogued after the manner of penal enactments, with the corresponding penance to be undergone before reconciliation. . . . Books containing such rules, by which sins and the appointed penances were thus arranged in order, were called *Penitentials*. They seem to have had their origin in Britain and Ireland, but, after the seventh century, they are found both in the English

¹ In MSS. Lat. 3182, printed in Haddan and Stubbs, i, pp. 117-8; Wasserschleben, *Bussordnung. der Abendlând. Kirche*, pp. 103-4. Also some Canons attributed to S. David, *De libro Davidis*, Haddan and Stubbs, i, pp. 118-20. As Rhygyfarch admits that all copies of the Acts of these Councils had been destroyed at S. David's, his statement that the Synods were convened against Pelagianism was merest guesswork. Dewi's so-called "Sermon" or "Prophecy," delivered at the Brefi Synod before "22,000 hearers," occurs, with variations, in several Welsh MSS., and has been printed, e.g., in *Trysorfa Gwybodaeth*, 1770, ii, pp. 79-80, and *Y Seren Ogleddol*, 1835, i, p. 68. It is a late tract concerned with neither Pelagianism nor penitential regulations, but is a "prophecy" of abomination of desolation, which would be set right by the Reformation. See *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 134, 755, for the late mediæval poem referring to the Synod, beginning:—

"Pan oedd Saint Senedd Brefi
Yn ol gwiw bregeth Dewi."

Church and in Churches far and wide over the Continent. . . . To me, these Penitentials are reminders of the fierce conflict waged against the wild immorality of olden times : a conflict which, with many failures, proved that the clumsy method of these rules turned out to be for good." ¹

One biographer of S. David could not withhold his hand from a piece of characteristic bombast in his description of the closing of the Synod of Brefi. It was unanimously decreed that "as God has set a governor in the sea over all kinds of fishes, and a governor on the earth over the birds, so has He given David to be a governor over men in this world. In the same manner as God set Matthew in Judea, and Luke in Alexandria, and Christ in Jerusalem, and Peter in Rome, and Martin in France, and Samson in Brittany, so has He given S. David to be in the isle of Britain . . . and on that day all the Saints of this island, and all the kings, fell on their knees to do homage to David, and they granted to him to be the sovereign over the Saints of the island of Britain." ²

The account of these Synods, as given by David's biographers, is purely fabulous, written with the object of establishing the apocryphal supremacy of the Saint and his see over the entire British Church.

The date of the Council of Brefi has been already considered. We have given reasons for supposing that it was assembled before the outbreak of the Yellow Plague. Cadoc was highly incensed at the Synod being assembled whilst he was out of the island, and he especially resented the prominent part taken in it by David. He was with difficulty brought to a better mind by Finnian of Clonard, who died in 548 of the Yellow Plague.

The terrible *Pestis Flava* broke out in 547. It took its name from the yellow and bloodless appearance of those who were attacked by it. Its appearance was heralded by a watery column, with its head in the clouds, that trailed over the earth and discharged heavy rain.³ This had nothing actually to do with the disorder, but it was supposed to be its originator. The physicians knew not how

¹ *Gildas*, Cymmrodorion Record Series, 1901, pp. 272-3.

² *Llyfr Ancr*, p. 115 ; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 113. Rhygyfarch is not so profane as this. Giraldus (*Itin. Camb.*, i, c. 5), in his ambition to get an Archbishopric of S. David's for himself, supplements this. "The Archbishop Dubricius ceded his honours to David of Menevia, the metropolitan see being translated from Caerleon to Menevia, according to the prophecy of Merlin Ambrosius, 'Menevia pallio urbis Legionum induetur.'" The "re-establishment" of S. David's as a metropolitan see was one of the proposals for the pacification of Wales which Owen Glyndwr requested Charles VI of France to submit to the Pope. His letter, dated March 31, 1406, is at the Record Office.

³ *Vita S. Teliaui* in *Book of Llan Dâu*, p. 107.

to deal with it ; vast numbers of all conditions and ages died ; and the very beasts and reptiles also perished. The panic was universal. The idea got about that the sole means of escape from the disorder was to be found in flight across the seas. Accordingly all who could fled, some to Ireland (where, however, the plague raged with equal violence), the majority to France.¹

Teilo feigned that he had received a revelation from heaven bidding him go. Accordingly he ran away, along with some of his suffragan bishops, and men and women of different orders and ranks, and took refuge in Armorica, after having passed through Cornwall. That David also went is probable enough. He and Teilo were close friends. The biographer of S. David does not say that he then went, but he does relate how that David, Teilo and Padarn departed together on a pilgrimage and went to Jerusalem, where David was consecrated bishop by the patriarch. The story of this fictitious journey to Jerusalem occurs in the Lives of David, Teilo and Padarn, with notable variations. But the object of its manufacture is obvious enough. It was invented to establish the independence of the Welsh bishops from the see of Canterbury, by showing that they were consecrated at Jerusalem.

We may dismiss this pilgrimage to Jerusalem as interested fiction ; but there may remain this basis of fact, that David, Teilo and Padarn did abandon their monasteries at one and the same time and cross the seas together.

Both Teilo and Padarn went first to Cornwall when leaving Wales, and we may suppose that David did the same, and that on this occasion he may have picked up his mother, who was residing on one of the lands that had been granted to her by her brother-in-law, Solomon or Selyf, and carried her on with him to Armorica.

Teilo, we know, went into Armorican Cornubia, to King Budic. Whether Padarn went any further than Cornwall may be doubted. But David went into Léon, and during the years of his absence, till after the complete cessation of the Yellow Plague, he founded churches in Léon ; and his mother was settled at Dirinon, near Landerneau, where she is thought to have died, and where is now shown her tomb.

His principal foundation in Léon is S. Divy, near Landerneau, but he had his *locus penitentiæ* at Loquivy, near Lannion. He is also culted at Dirinon. Here are two holy wells, one of S. Non, the other of S. David.

We cannot say with any assurance that the period when David

¹ "Quorum quidam perrexerunt in Hiberniam ; plures vero ducente eo in Franciam" (*Ibid.*, p. 108).

was in Léon was that during which the Yellow Pestilence raged in Britain, 547-550; but we consider it probable, and if so, it is not unlikely that it was during this period that S. Non died.

This residence in Léon may have misled Giraldus into supposing that David was at one time in Caerleon, and so have given rise to the preposterous fable that he had been archbishop there.

If it be allowed that David was in Léon at this time, then his return would be about 551.

After the devastation wrought by the plague, he had doubtless much to do to bring his Menevian monastery into order once more. It is not unlikely that his energy impelled him to go about much at this time and to labour throughout South Wales to re-establish religion. We have churches bearing the name of Dewi in Herefordshire, in Monmouth, Brecknock, and Radnor, as well as in Ceredigion and Pebydic, and those parts of Glamorgan and Carmarthen over which he had exercised influence for some time, Gower and the country between the Tawe and the Towy. It is not easy to explain this extension of his foundations, unless we allow of many journeys and much labour in establishing religious centres, or that some of them were "colonies" planted by monks from his monastery during or after his lifetime.

At home, at Glyn Rhosyn, his rule was too strict to please all the monks. The steward, the cook and his deacon planned to remove him by poison, and some poisonous ingredient was inserted in the bread given to David at table. S. Scuthin,¹ from Ireland, was there at the time on a visit, and for some reason or other, entertained suspicions that an attempt was being made on the life of the venerable abbot-bishop. Starting up from table, he exclaimed, "To-day none of the brethren shall wait on the father but myself." Then the deacon, fearing that the plot was discovered, turned pale and retreated in confusion. The bread offered to David was thrown away; some of it was eaten by a dog, that died almost immediately, as did also a crow that had come down from an "ash-tree," in which it had its nest, to carry off the crumbs. An investigation was held. "And all the brethren arose and lamented, and cursed those deceitful persons, the steward, the cook, and the deacon, and with one voice damned them and their posterity, that they should forfeit their place in the kingdom of heaven for ever."

In 565 Airmire mounted the throne as High King of Ireland.

¹ In Giraldus (p. 392), "Swithunus, qui et Scolanus dictus est." Rhygyfarch (p. 131) also gives the *alias* Scolanus. Bedd Yscolan occurs in the Welsh Life (p. 109).



S. DAVID.

From Statue at S. Yvi, near Quimper.

He was desirous of restoring religion in the island, as paganism was again raising its head, and there was a slackening of the Faith. He invited Gildas, David, and Cadoc to come to him and revive the flagging Christianity of the people. Gildas certainly went in response, but whether David did more than send a form of the Mass and some of his best pupils to engage in the work, we are unable to say. The Church of Naas, in Kildare, however, regards him as its patron, and presumably its founder. Near it are the remains of an ancient structure called by the people the Castle of S. David. It is now converted into a rectory.

At length David's strength began to fail. He was old and weary. Rhygyfarch says that he attained to the age of 147 years, which is absurd. When he felt that he was dying, he said Mass, and preached to the people on the Sunday. On the ensuing Tuesday, being March 1, he was in the Church, as he had been continually for several days, and early in the morning he listened to his clergy singing the psalms. Then falling into an ecstasy, he exclaimed, "Raise me after Thee!" and expired.¹ "After hunger, and thirst, and cold, and labour, and fasting, and relieving the needy; after adversity, and temptation, and anxiety, the angels took his soul to the place where there is light without end, rest without labour, joy without sorrow—where there is health and no pain, youth and no old age, peace and no contention, music and no discord, and rewards without end."² At the very moment of his death his old companion S. Kentigern, whilst engaged in prayer at Llanelwy, had a vision; he saw him enter heaven, conducted "with heavenly music into the joy of the Lord, and crowned with glory and honour."³ The exiled Kentigern had been with him for some time at S. David's before he settled at Llanelwy.

When we come to fix the date of his death we are met with difficulties.

The *Annales Cambriæ* have against 601, "David episcopus Moni Iudæorum," and they couple it with the death of Pope Gregory, which took place in 604. The *Annals of Inisfallen* give as the date 589, the *Chronicon Scottorum*, 588, and the *Annals of Tighernach*, 587.⁴ If we trust the Life of S. Kentigern, David died whilst that

¹ "Tolle me post Te!" *Cambro-British Saints*, i., 142.

² *Ibid.*, p. 116; cf. the Life of S. Cybi.

³ Joscelyn, *Vita S. Kentigerni*, c. 26.

⁴ The *Annals of Tighernach* are unreliable. The compiler did not give the date, but put Kl. for Kalends, with the day of the week in which January 1 fell each year. But he forgot to reckon the leap years, and his dates precede the

Saint was still in Wales, before 574. The story told by Geoffrey of Monmouth, that Maelgwn Gwynedd ordered the burial of S. David to be carried out with great pomp, may be dismissed. William of Malmesbury gives 546, but this is too early, as 601 is too late. David died on March 1, which that year fell on a Tuesday. The day on which that date coincided with a Tuesday might be in 550, 561, 567, 572, 578, and 589. This last year will agree with the *Annals of Inisfallen*.

To help us in the determination of the true date we must consider the dates of the deaths of the contemporaries of David. Gildas was certainly older than he, and he died in 570; Cadoc about 577; Dyfrig, who was assuredly his senior by some years, died about 577. Finnian of Clonard died in 548, during the raging of the Yellow Plague, and died of it, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*. Aidan or Maidoc, the pupil of S. David, certainly some twenty years his junior, died, as we have shown, about 625. Samson, his fellow-student under Illtyd, if we may trust one account, shortly after 557; and Paul of Léon about 560. Senan of Iniscathy, with whom he had entered into a compact of brotherhood, died, as nearly as can be determined, about 568. Brendan, of Clonfert, who visited him, died in 577; Constantine of Domnonia, another visitor, about 598.

We are inclined to take 589 as the date at which David died. Archbishop Ussher was certainly wrong in putting the date so early as 544. The date of his birth was about 500, possibly a few years before that. It is hardly credible that it can have been protracted to 601, the date given in the *Annales Cambriæ*.

We have but conjecture, more or less plausible, to guide us towards fixing tentatively the periods in the Life of S. David when he formed his several foundations.

His first, we may suppose, was the Bangor or Henllan on the Teifi, in Ceredigion, granted to him by his father. The Old Bush would come to him from his maternal grandfather. This, as already shown, had been established some time before under Mancen or Maucan, apparently at the instigation of S. Patrick, but on land that pertained to Cynyr of Caer Gawch. There may have been an understanding that it was to be held by a stranger only until one of the founder's family was in the ecclesiastical profession and ready to assume the headship. In a Celtic monastery the rule as to headship was, "The tribe of the patron saint shall get the Church as long as there shall be a person fit to be an abbot of the tribe of the patron saint, even though there should be but a psalm-singer of them, it true dates by about four years. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, Edinburgh, 1867, p. xxxix.

is he that shall obtain the abbacy." And, "the abbacy shall go to the tribe to whom the land belonged, until a person fit to be an abbot of the patron saint shall be qualified; when he is, the abbacy will be given to him, if he is better than the abbot from the tribe to whom the land belonged and who had taken it. If he be not better, then it is only in his turn that he shall succeed."¹ Only in the absence of any person, a blood-relation to the founder, could the abbacy be held by one not of the tribe, and he had to give securities to surrender the headship when a duly qualified person of the founder's kin appeared to claim it.²

Now the Old Bush must have been conceded by Cynyr to Mancen, according to Celtic rule, conditionally. It had to be vacated as soon as one of Cynyr's blood was prepared to become president. Whether Paulinus succeeded Mancen at the Old Bush is not very clear, but probably he did, and David became his pupil there, with the certainty of becoming abbot as soon as he was of age to assume the position, when Paulinus would surrender it to him without question.

In or about 527, when David was abbot, though quite young, Gildas appeared on the scene, and attempted to wrest the place from him, but failed. Finnian of Clonard, who was called in to settle the dispute, gave judgment in David's favour. He could do no other, as already said. David had a hereditary right to the place.

Next we have the Goidels expelled by Urien Rheged from the district in Carmarthen, and David called in to found churches there.

After 540, when appeared the violent *Increpatio* of Gildas against the Welsh princes, Gower must have been vacated by Cenydd, the son of Gildas, who had been the ecclesiastical head there. It would have been impossible for him to remain on the lands of a chief who had been covered with abuse by his father. Then David slipped in and made his foundations in Gower.

About what time he was in Cornwall, and he and his mother made settlements there, can only be guessed. He passed through Domnonia and planted churches at Thelbridge, Exeter, Ashprington and Dewstowe on his way. These foundations were probably made at no late period in his career.

When the Yellow Plague broke out, we hold that he departed to Léon in Brittany, and the period of his foundations there would be between 547 and 551.

On his return we have assumed that he travelled over nearly all south Wales up to the Wye, working along with S. Teilo in restor-

¹ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, iii, p. 73.

² *Ibid.* See Willis Bund, *The Celtic Church of Wales*, c. 4, "Monasteries."

ing the Church, greatly shaken by the losses caused by the pestilence, and that it is to this period that we may attribute so many Dewi churches scattered far and wide, and to the laying the foundations for the extension of the great Diocese of S. David's, or Menevia, of a later period.

It has been supposed by Rees¹ and others that a regular diocese was formed by S. David; but this cannot be admitted. All David did was to plant centres of religious and monastic influence broadcast over the land. He and Teilo worked together in friendly concord, with the same object, and neither had any idea that there would exist at a later time a rivalry between the sees of Menevia and Llandaff relative to their limits, on account of their foundations being so mixed.

We repeat what has been said above, that we offer this scheme as a suggestion, but do not insist upon it, as there are no positive dates on which to go.

We will now give in tabular form a probable chronology of the life of this venerable Saint—

S. David, born	495-500
Educated as a child by Paulinus at Ty Gwyn.	
Obtains the abbacy of the Old Bush and Henllan.	c. 526
Gildas attempts to wrest the abbacy from him	c. 527
Visits Domnonia and makes foundations there.	
Makes foundations in Carmarthen.	
Returns to Menevia and removes his monastery from the Old Bush to Glyn Rhosyn.	
Makes foundations in Gower	c. 542
Attends the Council of Llanddewi Brefi	c. 545
Outbreak of the Yellow Plague. Goes to Brittany with Teilo, and settles in Léon and makes foundations there	c. 547
Returns to Menevia	c. 551
Engaged for some years in founding churches throughout South Wales.	
Invited by Ainmire to Ireland. Sends a form of Mass and pupils to Ireland, perhaps founded there the church of Naas	565
Attends the Synod of Lucus Victorie.	569
Dies	589

The Festival of S. David, March 1, is given in the Welsh, Sarum, Hereford, Roman, and other Calendars.²

A *Missa de Sancto David* is appended to the life by Rhygyfarch, and at the end of Giraldus' edition of the same is a *Responsio* for the

¹ *Essay on the Welsh SS.*, p. 197. "It is generally agreed that Wales was first divided into dioceses in his time." From this general agreement we entirely differ.

² The Bollandists give August 16 and September 26 as days commemorating reputed Translations of his Relics.

choir, which is partly addressed to the Saint himself. These, like the Teilo fragments, have no real claim to be esteemed Celtic.¹

Under a constitution of 1398 of Archbishop Arundel, his Festival was directed to be observed in every Church throughout the province of Canterbury, and duly marked in the Calendar. Archbishop Chicheley, under a constitution of 1415, further ordained that it be celebrated "cum regimine chori et ix lectionibus," and inflicted a penalty for non-compliance.² With the Reformation its religious observance ceased, to be revived in Wales during last century.

Browne Willis³ says that the Festivals of SS. David, Non, and Lily (Gwas Dewi), held respectively on the first three days of March, were formerly observed with such solemnity at S. David's, that if any one "had been known to work upon any of those days, it would have been esteemed as a very heinous offence."

David is represented in art as a bishop, with a dove whispering in his ear. It is said in his Life that his fellow-pupils often observed such a bird, with a golden beak, playing about him. It also sat on his shoulder at the Brefi Synod. But the leek is also his emblem. There is nothing in his Life about leeks, and the emblem may possibly have been transferred to him from S. Patrick, who miraculously supplied the wife of Ailill with them.⁴ Various attempts have been made to account for the custom of wearing the leek on his day, but none of them are satisfactory. The references to leek-wearing are all comparatively modern. Mediæval Welsh literature has very little to say of the leek.⁵ There is a tradition that S. David lived some time in a cell at Llanthony, in Monmouth-

¹ S. David's Day is liturgically provided for in the Sarum and Roman Missals and in *Allwydd Paradwys*, 1670.

² Wilkins, *Concilia*, 1737, iii, pp. 234-5, 376. "On Feast days certain clerks were appointed to 'rule the quire,' two or three in number. They wore silk copes, and had charge of the music. Feasts were divided also into Feasts of three Lessons and Feasts of nine Lessons, i.e., the number of Lessons at Matins" (Canon F. E. Warren). Chicheley had occupied the See of S. David's before his elevation to the Primacy.

³ *Survey of S. David's*, 1717, p. 36. In the fifteenth century it was honoured with the patronage of royalty.

⁴ *Tripartite Life*, i, p. 201.

⁵ During that period it is referred to oftenest in *Meddygon Myddfai*, "The Physicians of Myddfai," in Carmarthenshire (Llandovery, 1861), who were the physicians of Rhys Gryg, Lord of Dynevor, in the thirteenth century; but it is only in respect to its medicinal properties. Leeks are also incidentally mentioned in the Laws of Hywel Dda and in the *Book of Taliessin*. The leek was by no means so common as a pot-herb formerly in Wales as is now generally supposed. The daffodil is in Welsh *Cenin Pedr*, S. Peter's Leeks, which no Welshman, we believe, would object to see exchanged for the pungent vegetable.

shire, but this arises from a mistaking of the Hodnant in Mynyw with the Hodni or Honddu of Llanthony. Drayton tells us that whilst there, he—

Did so trulie fast,
As he did onelic drinke what crystall Hodney yeelds,
And fed vpon the Leeks he gather'd in the fields.
In memorie of whom, in the reuoluing yeere
The Welch-men on his day that sacred herbe doe weare.¹

The origin of leek-wearing has also been connected with signal victories gained by the Welsh; the one under Cadwallon over the Saxons in the seventh century; and the other at the battle of Cressy, which "took place in a field of leeks."² Shakespeare in *Henry V* also dates the custom from the latter "prave pattle," and associates it with "Saint Tavy's Day." It was "worn as a memorable trophy of pre-deceased valour."

Dewi is still the one purely Welsh Saint that has been formally enrolled in the Calendars of the Western Church. There is no record of the time when, or the occasion on which, his canonization took place, but it has been supposed that it was in the time of Pope Calixtus II, 1119-24.³ At any rate, his pre-eminence over the other Welsh Saints cannot be referred to a period earlier than the twelfth century, if as early. It was then that his cult, from being that of a merely local Saint, became that of the Patron of Wales. His canonization followed closely upon the compilation of the Life by Rhygyfarch, and this latter no doubt helped to bring it about. Its author was the last Welsh occupant but one of the see of S. David's before it became subject to Canterbury. It was a critical period in the history of the Welsh Church; it was on the verge of losing its ancient independence. He glorified his hero to the best of his power, with true patriotism as well as zeal, especially for his own Diocese. He represents him as having been consecrated by the patriarch of Jerusalem, and to have been the Saint specially honoured by him, though the author of the Life of S. Teilo, with equal zeal for Llandaff, emphasizes rather the honour paid to that Saint, and exalts him above his two companions. Dyfrig and Deiniol solicited his presence at the Synod of Brefi, where his pre-eminence was unmis-

¹ *Polyolbion*, second part, 1622, p. 60. Giraldus (*Itin. Camb.*, i, c. 3) does not connect S. David with Llanthony, but mentions his "humble chapel" that had preceded the abbey, and adds that the latter owed its foundation, early in the twelfth century, to two hermits that had settled there. There is a stream called Hodnant also at Llantwit Major.

² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 65.

³ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., i, p. 316.

takably manifested, and Dyfrig afterwards retired from the archiepiscopate of Caerleon in his favour. He was, in fact, "caput et previus ac bragmaticus omnibus Brittonibus."¹

All this must be treated as Rhygyfarch's rhetoric, for Dewi, during his lifetime, and for centuries after, can only be regarded as the supreme or chief saint of the principality of Dyfed, with which the Diocese to-day roughly coincides.

He is often designated Archbishop (*e.g.*, in the Anglican Calendar), but S. David's had never any claim to be considered archiepiscopal, and no such claim was formally put forward until the twelfth century, and Giraldus' arguments only served to show how fictitious it was. Similar claims for the metropolitanship of Wales are made in the *Book of Llan Dâu* in favour of that See. In the Celtic Church of Wales, as of Ireland, the title of Archbishop was used very loosely.

The accounts of David's immediate successor differ. He is variously said to have been succeeded by Cynog, translated from Llanbadarn; by Ismael, consecrated by Teilo; and by Teilo himself, immediately, or after the decease of Cynog. Teilo, however, transferred the "primacy" to Llandaff.

Several of the mediæval Welsh bards wrote poems in honour of S. David, which illustrate the diffusion of his cult under the influence of the Latin Church, and also supply some incidents that are not recorded in the Lives. Gwynfardd Brycheiniog, in the early thirteenth century, wrote a long poem² in which he gives his legendary Life and enumerates the churches that were then dedicated to him, and is, especially on this account, a valuable contemporary document. His method of denoting dedication is *Dewi bieu*, i.e., "Dewi is the owner" of such and such a church, and he mentions some twenty churches by name, all in the Diocese of S. David's, but some of which had originally other dedications. There were present, he says, at the Synod of Brefi, "Saints of Anjou and Armorica, of England and the North, of Manaw, and Powys, and Ireland, of Anglesey and Gwynedd, of Domnonia and Kent, of Brycheiniog and Mae-lienydd," and of other countries besides. The Saint's cult is here very marked and developed. He is "the pride of Christendom," and one of the most exalted of the Saints, but he is not distinctly mentioned as Patron of Wales.

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 140.

² *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 194-6. The earliest copy of this interesting poem is in the *Red Book of Hergest*, col. 1186. The war-cry of Maurice de Prendergast, of Pembrokeshire, in the twelfth century, was "Saint David!"

Iolo Goch, Owen Glyndwr's laureate, was the author of another long poem.¹ It relates the principal incidents in the legendary Life, and supplements it with several particulars, among them a miracle by David, which does not appear to be alluded to elsewhere. God, it says, had transformed, for some grievous sin that is not mentioned, two men of Dyfed into wolves, as well as their mother. The men's names were Gwyddre Astrus and Goddrudd. Through David's miraculous power they became once more rational human beings. These can be no other than "the two cubs of Gast Rhymi, Gwyddrud and Gwyddneu Astrus," mentioned in the story of *Culhwch and Olwen*,² in the long list of Arthur's warriors that were adjured by Culhwch to obtain Olwen for him to wife. To proclaim a man "a wolf" was a not uncommon expression to signify outlawry, and the story means no more than that David restored two outlaws.

The next poem is by Ieuan Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd, who flourished in the early fifteenth century.³ He, too, recounts the legendary Life. From all that he had heard and had learnt from "gold-lettered books" and the Lives of the Saints, it might be truly said that there was no better or greater Saint than Dewi. According to this, as well as the two previous poems, there were as many as 147,000 persons present at the Brefi Synod. It was when he was at Llangyfelach that the angel directed him to visit the Holy Sepulchre. Two pilgrimages to S. David's were equal to one to Rome, and three thither equal to one to the Holy Sepulchre.

In the Demetian Code of the Welsh Laws occur occasional invocations, at the end of chapters and sections, to Dewi as the recognized Saint of Dyfed, such as "Dewi Brefi!" "Dewi Brefi yn ganhorthwy!" (be aiding!), "Dewi Brefi o'r Bryn Gwyn!" (of the White or Blessed Hill!)⁴; and at the end of certain legal Triads of later date, "Dewi Brefi, ora, ora," and "Dewi Ddyfrwr, ora pro nobis!"⁵ These invocations belong especially to this Code, for they do not occur in the Gwentian and Venedotian Codes. David is often called in mediæval Welsh literature Dewi Ddyfrwr, "the Water-man, or Water-drinker," which was rendered by Rhygyfarch

¹ Printed, e.g., in *Gweithiau Iolo Goch*, ed. Ashton, Oswestry, 1896, pp. 589-99.

² *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 111.

³ Printed in the *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 298-301; a copy in *Llanstephan MS.* 47. There are other poems in Dewi's honour by Dafydd Llwyd ab Llywelyn ab Gruffydd (in *Peniarth MS.* 77), Rhisiart ab Rhys of Llanharan (in *Llanstephan MS.* 164), and Lewis Glyn Cothi (in *Addit. MS.* 14, 871).

⁴ *Welsh Laws*, ed. Aneurin Owen, 1841, pp. 292, 576-604.

⁵ *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 943-62.

"David Aquilentus," and "David aquaticæ vitæ," and he was so called, according to him, because he lived on bread and water.¹

In the *Hoianau*, in the twelfth century *Black Book of Carmarthen*,² occurs the line, "They will do honour at the grave of Dewi"; and from another poem, in the fourteenth-fifteenth century *Red Book of Hergest*,³ it is clear that he was then regarded as something more than a local Saint—

Actively will the sons of Cymru call upon Dewi,
Who loveth peace and mercy.

A saying attributed to him is preserved among the "Sayings of the Wise," and the "Stanzas of the Hearing,"⁴—

Hast thou heard the saying of Dewi,
The holy man of broad qualities?
"The best usage is goodness."
(Goreu defawd daioni.)

The Demetian tradition of the death portent known as *canwyll gorff* (corpse candle) is that it was specially granted through the intercession of S. David to the people of his Diocese.⁵ According to Welsh folk-lore the *canwyll* precedes the funeral of a person whose death it forebodes, and moves from the house to the Church in the same way exactly as the actual funeral, and finally disappears at the spot where the grave is to be. Its colour and brightness vary with the age, sex, and strength of the doomed person. We cannot do better than give here the tradition of its origin in the words of an eighteenth century writer, who implicitly believed in it.⁶ He says:—"The prevailing opinion is, that it is an effect of S. David's prayer, some will say of some other Bishop; but the more intelligent think it of S. David, and none indeed so likely. Being a very spiritual man, and observing that the people in general were careless of the life to come, and could not be brought to mind it, and make a preparation for it, though he laboured much to bring them

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 133, 118; Giraldus, iii, p. 379, "David vir aquaticus." For other "Water-men" see under SS. DYFRWYR.

² Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, p. 22.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 252; *Myr. Arch.*, p. 128. This proverbial saying is also attributed to Catwg Ddoeth, *Ibid.*, pp. 777, 779, and cf. p. 846. A late Triad (*Ibid.*, p. 402) mentions Dewi, Padarn, and Teilo as "the three blessed visitors of the Isle of Britain."

⁵ It is, however, known to North Wales folk-lore. See Rhys, *Celtic Folk-lore*, p. 275, and Elias Owen, *Welsh Folk-lore*, pp. 298-301.

⁶ Edmund Jones, *A Relation of Apparitions of Spirits in the County of Monmouth and the Principality of Wales*, Newport, Mon., 1813, pp. 84-5. The author, "the Old Prophet," as he was popularly called, was an Independent minister, and the first edition of his extraordinary book appeared in 1767.

to it, prayed God to give a sign of the immortality of the soul, and of a life to come, a presage of death, and a motive to prepare for it; and that God, in answer to his prayer, sent the Corpse Candles, and likely the Kyhirraeth¹ to answer the same pious end. This is the tradition of the country about it; and this is the only likely thing, for no other reason can be given for it, and it hath answered this good end; for in those parts the opposite infidelity prevails not, at least among the common people; and if it doth with some others who are hardened and abandoned, it will greatly aggravate their sin. S. David had one of the best of ends in making this kind of prayer; and if he had not, God would not have answered his prayer, and for so long a time."

Giraldus says² that there was preserved at the Church of Glasgwm or Glascombe (S. David), in Radnorshire, "a portable bell, endowed with great virtues, called Bangu, and said to have belonged to S. David." Gwynfardd Brycheiniog also mentions the Bangu, and says that it was borne to Glasgwm by Dewi's two famous oxen, still popularly associated with Llanddewi Brefi.

S. David's plain but empty shrine now occupies a very modest position in the Choir of his Cathedral Church. It is, however, rather a base and a frame for a movable feretory. The few scattered notices of the shrine may help us to form an opinion as to its real use. S. David was buried in his own Church, and his confessor, Justinian, was not long after buried in the same tomb. His remains appear subsequently to have been placed in a shrine or feretory, and that it was portable is evident from the fact that in 1088 it was stolen out of the Church by some unknown person or persons, carried a short distance off, broken, and plundered of its contents.³ In the following century a claim was put forward on behalf of the monks of Glastonbury to possess the body of S. David; and William of Malmesbury definitely states that the relics were transferred to Glastonbury in 946.⁴ However, they appear to have been still in their proper place when Henry II made his pilgrimage in 1173, and we find Bishop Richard de Carew in 1275 building a new, and we

¹ The *Cyhirraeth* is described as some repellent creature that portended death by giving in the night a blood-freezing shriek, accompanied by a most doleful noise, like the Irish banshee.

² *Itin. Camb.*, i, c. 1. Gildas presented David with a bell cast by himself, but he finding that Illtyd had taken a fancy to it gave it him. *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 175.

³ *Brut y Tywysogion* in *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 270; cf. *Myv. Arch.*, p. 699, and *Brut y Saeson* in *ibid.*, p. 665. In the latter *Brut* it is called *kist*=chest or coffin; in the former, *yscrin*=shrine.

⁴ Gale, *Scriptores*, xv, p. 299.

may suppose, a more elaborate shrine. But we find that the relics, or part of them, were enclosed in a portable shrine even after this date; for the *Black Book of S. David's*,¹ an extent of the Bishop's lands and rents made in 1326, informs us that the burgesses of S. David's were bound in time of war to follow the Bishop with the shrine and relics of S. David for one day's journey.²

The shrine was both an object of considerable veneration and a source of considerable profit. Besides Henry's royal pilgrimage, William the Conqueror in 1079, and Edward I and Queen Eleanor in 1284, are said to have undertaken the journey, and of course innumerable other votaries. According to the *Chronicon Angliæ Petriburgense* Pope Calixtus II, in 1124, "pro viarum periculo, pro una peregrinatione Romana bis Sanctum Davidem petere concessit." Archbishop Peckham is reported to have found the well-known monkish lines at S. David's—

Meneviam pete bis, Romam adire si vis,
Merces æqua tibi, redditur hic et ibi;
Roma semel quantum, dat bis Menevia tantum.³

At the last restoration of the Cathedral, immediately behind the High Altar, was found, walled up, a recess with a window into it of fine Norman work. This was probably a *fenestrella confessionis*. Behind it, in the recess, were bones. These were placed in a box and buried below the spot on the east side of the Altar screen. They were probably, but not certainly, relics of the Patron Saint. There was, however, no metal shrine, and no inscription to state whose bones they were.

¹ Published by the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion in 1902, ed. Willis Bund; see especially pp. 37, 51, 153.

² See further Basil Jones and Freeman, *S. David's*, 1856, pp. 102-6; Robson, *S. David's* (Bell's Cathedral Series), 1901, pp. 50-4 (with an illustration of the shrine).

³ Some one has put the sentiment embodied in these lines into Welsh, thus:—

"Dôs i Rufain unwaith
Ac i Fynyw ddwywaith,
A'r un elw cryno
A gei di yma ag yno."

Another bard reckons up the miles and hills between Haverfordwest and S. David's:—

"O Hwlffordd i Dŷ Ddewi
Fe ga'r pererin blin
Un filltir lawn ar bymtheg
Ac ugain bryn ond un."

Dafydd ab Gwilym, in the fourteenth century, wrote a playful poem describing Morfudd, his lady-love, going on pilgrimage from Anglesey to S. David's to do penance (Poem xxxiii of his published works).

The fountain of S. David, which supplied his monastery, was to the east of the Church. It was a source of injury to the building, and has since been carried away by an underground drain.

We will now give his Church dedications in Wales. As the situation of these show, he was emphatically a South Wales Saint, and more particularly of the principality of Dyfed.¹ Rees, in his *Essay on the Welsh Saints* (1836) enumerates forty-two churches and chapels dedicated to him in the Diocese of S. David's, eight in Llandaff, and three in Hereford; fifty-three in all. This makes him, as regards cult, the third most popular Saint in the whole of Wales. He is preceded only by the Blessed Virgin and S. Michael the Archangel, to whom Rees ascribes 143 and 94 churches and chapels respectively. The Dewi churches frequently come in groups: we get an old foundation with churches of later date clustering round it.

It is worth noticing that churches or chapels dedicated to S. Non, placed near those of S. David, occur several times in Wales, once in Cornwall and Devon, and once at least in Brittany.

In Pembrokeshire the following churches are dedicated to him: the Cathedral Church of S. David's, but now to SS. David and Andrew, which occurs apparently for the first time in the *Privilegium* of Pope Calixtus II, 1123²; Whitchurch; Brawdy; Llanychllwydog; Llanychaer; Maenor Deifi; Bridell; Llanddewi Velfrey; Hubberston; and Prendergast.³

In Cardiganshire—Bangor Teifi, or Bangor Esgor; Henllan, under Bangor; Bangor, near Aberystwyth; Blaenporth; Henfynyw; Llanddewi Aberarth; Llanarth, previously S. Meilig; Llanddewi Brefi; Blaenpenal; and Capel Dewi in Llandyssul parish.

In Carmarthenshire—Abergwili; Bettws; Henllan Amgoed; Abergorlech; Llanarthney, previously S. Arthneu, with Capel Dewi, extinct; Llangadock, with S. Cadoc; S. David's, Carmarthen; Llanyerwys, formerly Llanddewi y Crwys; Meidrym; Capel Dewi, near Llwyn Dewi, and a chapel in Dynevor Castle, both extinct,

¹ The name of Llanddewi in Denbighshire is misleading, as it is a modern (1867) church and parish. Dewi, as distinguished from Dafydd, enters but sparingly into the topography of North Wales. Cerrig Ddewi is the name of a township of Llangwyllog, Anglesey. Edward Lhuyd, in his *Itinerary*, 1699, says under Caerwys, Flintshire, "There is a foot of ground in the churchyard called Tir Dewi; on which account the plague (*cornwyd*) will never come to this township." In the early 14th century there was founded a Chapel of "SS. John and David" within the Chapelry of Knockin, Salop, in the Diocese of S. Asaph.

² Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., i, p. 315.

³ Henlle (Hunlle, Ianlle) Ddewi is given in old parish lists (Dr. J. G. Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 917; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 746) as the name of a parish in Pebydiog, by which S. Dogwell's is probably meant.

in the parish of Llandeilo Fawr ; and Capel Dewi, extinct, in the parish of Llanelly.

In Brecknockshire—Garthbrengei ; Llanfaes, otherwise Brecon S. David ; Llanwrtyd ; Llanddewi Abergwessin—the parish of which was joined in 1886 to that of Llanfihangel Abergwessin, its church being pulled down—and the chapel in the same Llanddewi, at Llwyn y Fynwent, long since extinct ; Llywel, with SS. Llywel and Teilo ; the extinct chapelry of Dolhywel, now included in the parish of Myddfai ; Trallwng, for Trallwng Cynfyn ; Maesmynys, formerly Llanddewi Maesmynys ; Llanynys, under Maesmynys ; Llanddewi'r Cwm ; and Tir Abad, otherwise Llanddulas.

In Radnorshire—Cregruna, i.e., Craig Furuna, according to Gwynfardd ; Gladesbury, formerly Llanfair Llwythynog ; Glasgwm or Glascombe, with its chapels of Colfa and Rhiwlen or Rhulen ; Llanddewi Ystrad Enny ; Llanddewi Fach ; Heyope, formerly Llanddewi Heiob ; and Whitton, formerly Llanddewi yn Hwytyn.

In Glamorganshire—Llanddewi, in Gower¹ ; Llanyfelach, with S. Cyfelach ; Ystalyfera ; Bettws ; and Laleston.

In Monmouthshire—Llanddewi Fach, anciently Landdeui Penn bei² ; Llanddewi Ysgyryd or Skirrid ; Llanddewi Rhydderch ; Llanthony, formerly Llanddewi Nant Honddu ; Bettws ; Raglan, given also as dedicated to S. Cadoc ; Trostre ; and Llangeview, previously S. Cyfyw. Dewstow, south of Caerwent, is extinct.

In Herefordshire—Much Dewchurch, the Lann Deui Ros Cerion of the *Book of Llan Dâv* ; Little Dewchurch ; Kilpeck, the Lann Degui Cilpedec of the *Book of Llan Dâv* ; and Dewsall.

It should be observed, in the face of these numerous churches now assumed to be dedicated to S. David, that some of them—a few at any rate—may not have been originally dedicated to him. Dewi formerly was not a very uncommon name ; at least four persons (lay as well as clerical) of the name are mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, none of whom can possibly be identified with him. One, “Deui summus sacerdos,” the son of Circan the priest, was clearly an important person locally—at Llanddewi Rhôs Ceirion, it would appear—and it is very probable that the Hereford Dewi churches

¹ Near this church is Maen Cetti, which “was, according to ancient tradition, worshipped by the pagans ; but Dewi split it with a sword, in proof that it was not divine ; and he commanded a well to spring from under it, which flowed accordingly” (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 83). For the superstitions practised at this cromlech, till within recent times, see *Arch. Camb.*, 1870, pp. 29–30.

² S. David was one of the saints called in to settle the dispute between Cadoc and Arthur, and as an acknowledgment Cadoc gave him this *villa*. *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 50, and this work, ii, p. 29.

enumerated commemorate him, and were only associated with his more celebrated namesake of Menevia by later tradition. This Llanddewi, now Much Dewchurch, seems to have been a church of importance, and to have become the mother church of the adjacent Little Dewchurch, Dewsall, and Kilpeck. The dedications to S. David in Lower Gwent and in Morganwg are very few, and some of them late.¹

Besides the churches and chapels dedicated to him, Dewi's name has been perpetuated by a variety of objects that are still associated with him, but many are forgotten. We will only mention a few, as they are too numerous. The brook, Pistyll Dewi, flows into the Alun or Alan at S. David's; and on Dowrog Common there was, until recent years, a large upright stone called Maen Dewi, and an adjoining farm still retains the name. At Maesmynys there stood on a small eminence, about quarter of a mile from the Church, another large stone, about $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, called Maen Dewi, which was blasted about 1800. Sarn Dewi (his Causeway) extends for about quarter of a mile into Cardigan Bay, near the Church of Llanddewi Aberarth. Llanddewi Brefi is rich in Dewi associations. There is a legend still current that during the erection of the church two oxen were employed to haul stones. On one occasion they were so overladen that one of them fell down dead from the effort to drag the load up hill. The other, at the loss of its companion, bellowed nine times, whereupon the hill opened, and a way was thus made for it to draw the load alone without difficulty. The incident is popularly commemorated in these lines—

Llanddewi y Brefi braith,
Lle brefodd yr ych naw gwaith,
Nes holli Craig y Foelallt.

The folk-etymologist accounts for the Brefi of the name from the ox's bellowing (*brefu*), but it is so called in reality from the *brook* there of the name.²

There is another legend of Dewi's oxen, into which enters the *afanc*, an aquatic monster, like the *piast* of certain Irish lakes—a legend found in various forms over Wales. At Llanddewi Brefi Church a curious stone was found by Edward Lluyd over the chancel

¹ See Mr. Egerton Phillimore in Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, pp. 274–5. There is a *Poguisma Deui*, i.e., Pywysfa Dewi, "David's Resting-place," mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâw*, pp. 158, 260. It was in the parish of S. Nicholas or S. Lythan's, Glamorganshire.

² Another etymology substitutes Dewi for the ox, and explains it:—"illic sanctus Dav'd contra haereticos mugiebat" (Leland, *Collect.*, 1774, iv, p. 91).

door, bearing an inscription, and the inhabitants said that this commemorated a person struck dead by S. David for letting loose a monstrous beaver that had with great difficulty been captured. The sexton of the Church showed him the rarity called *Matkorn yr ych bannog* or *Matkorn ych Dewi*, which was said to have been preserved there from the time of S. David. He told the story of how that oxen called *Ychen bannog* (the large horned oxen) drew away the dead body of the beaver. "If the *Matkorn* is not the interior part of an ox's horn, as its name imports, it very much resembles it, and is so heavy that it seems absolutely petrified."¹

Ffon Ddewi (his Staff), a monumental stone, stands in the churchyard, near the west door of the church, and bore an inscription which is now obliterated. Tradition says that the Saint leaned against this pillar whilst preaching at the Synod. Ffynnon Ddewi, in the parish, is said to have sprung up on the spot where he raised the dead. The Dewi Holy Wells are very numerous. There is one Ffynnon Ddewi as far north as the parish of Llanbadarn Fynydd, in Radnorshire, which was considered efficacious in scorbutic complaints.

The dedications to S. David in Cornwall, Devon, and Brittany have been already mentioned. There may have been a chapel, at Trethevy, between Boscastle and Bosinney; the place is called by Leland Tredewi. There is also a Pendavy or Pendewy in Eglos-hayle, and a Landue in Lezant, but this may mean "The Black Church." It is, however, to be noted that it is separated only by the Tamar from Bradstone, the dedication of which is to S. Non. At Lansallos is a Landaviddy, with a Holy Well, now called "The Saint's Well."

Barton, in Somersetshire, and Moreton-in-the-Marsh, in Gloucestershire, are dedicated to S. David. An ancient chapelry at Airmyn, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, is dedicated to S. David; and Farnsfield and Holme, now regarded as respectively under the invocation of S. Michael and S. Giles, were formerly dedicated to

¹ Gough's *Camden's Britannia*, ii, p. 527. Dineley, in his *Official Progress of the Duke of Beaufort*, 1684, pp. 114-6, says the ox "had so large an head, that the Pith of one of its horns would equall in bigness a middle siz'd mans thigh. This Pith I saw; it is kept in a chest in the high Chancel to shew strangers." See also Meyrick, *Cardiganshire*, 1808, pp. 266-9. The *matkorn*, or rather *matgorn* (a horn-core), is not now in the church, but the remaining fragment of it is said to have belonged to the *Bos primigenius* (*Arch. Camb.*, 1868, pp. 85-9). There is a dyke in the district known as *Cwys yr Ychen Bannog* (their Furrow). According to the tale of *Culhwch and Olwen* the two *Ychen Bannog* were originally two men, Nynnio and Peibio, "whom God turned into oxen on account of their sin" (*Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 121; cf. *Iolo MSS.*, p. 193).

S. David. Besides these, there are a few churches of late foundation dedicated to him in England.

In Brittany, at Dirinon (The Stair of Non), which lies on high ground, and where in a chapel near the church is the tomb of S. David's mother, there are two Holy Wells, one of S. Non and another of S. David. In the Church is his statue, of the fourteenth century. He is represented as a monk, with his head half covered by a hood; over his habit is a stole, bound about the body by a cord. In his left hand he holds a chalice, in the right a host. The statue is of wood, of the 14th century. But on his Holy Well he is represented as a Bishop. So also at Loquivy by Lannion. Here, in this *locus penitentiae Sti. Davidis*, is a church in a most picturesque spot, embowered in trees, and on the slopes of a hill, steeply descending to the river. A marvellous Renaissance fountain plays in the churchyard. Outside the cemetery wall is a flamboyant Holy Well of the Saint, and he is represented thereon as an archbishop with crozier.

He is invoked in Brittany in children's maladies, and his commemoration is on July 10.

The paintings on the ceiling of the Church of Saint Divy, near Landerneau, are in six groups. 1. "David vulgo Devi ab angelo predicatur, terdenis priusquam nasceretur annis, prophetatus inoluit." The French inscription is—"L'ange apparaît à Xantho, roi de Walles, père de Monsieur S. Divy, et lui annonce que le lendemain chassant, il rencontrerait, un cerf, un poisson et un essain d'abeilles, qui pronostiqueroient la sainteté de S. Divy, son fils. Le cerf pronostiquerait son zèle, le poisson son austerité, et l'abeille sa sagesse." Xantus is represented asleep on a state bedstead, receiving the visit of the angel. The inscription is "Xanto patri." Above are huntsmen preparing for the chase with hounds, and going towards a monastery inscribed Nantanum. Before the monastery is a woman in white (S. Non), addressed by three persons, one of whom, bare-headed, bends the knee to her. The three symbolic animals are figured below.

2. "Eodem tempore sanctus Patricius, angeli jussu, Rhosinam vallem dimittit, tendens Hyberniam, linquens David Meneviam." And the French inscription—"Saint Patrice est adverty par un ange de quitter le vallon tres agréable, réservé pour Monsieur S. Divy qui devoit noistre de la à trente ans, et passer en Hybernie pour en être l'apôtre, et s'embarquer au port Maugan. Il ressuscite Runilher qu'il amene avec luy." This picture represents S. Patrick kneeling, and the angel appearing. The ground is covered with roses to indi-

cate the place, the name of which is written above, Traon Rhos. In the centre a man rises out of a tomb, on which is inscribed, "Runilher a xv annis hic sepultum, resuscitur." On the right a town with the name over it "Portus Maugan," and the sea beyond on which is a ship, also in the distance an island, inscribed Hybernia.

3. "Gignit Xantus sanctum David de beata Nonnita, in tempore conceptionis duo grandes lapides apparuerunt de nova." And the French words, "Xantus, roi de Cornouailles, à présent Wallis, en Angleterre, faisant rencontre de Sainte Nonne, engendre son fils, S. Divy, entre deux roches miraculeusement apparues. La terre s'amollit sous les coudes de Sainte Nonne, en enfantant Saint Divy, son fils." Below a rearing horse can be seen two heads, one that of a woman wearing a crown, and inscribed "Nonnita oppressa." In the centre of the picture, S. Nonna, in a long red dress with a white veil on her head and with a nimbus, and her rosary at her waist, has the right hand on her heart. Behind are two *meini hirion*, and below is the legend "Nonnita concipit." In the distance S. Nonna is kneeling on a rock by the child to whom she has given birth.

4. "Puer quando baptizatur aqua coeco Mobo lumen datur oculos qui respersit." And the French, "Hilve, evesque de Ménévie, baptisa S. Divy. Mobus, aveugle, son parrain, est illuminé, se lavant les yeux de la nouvelle fontaine. S. Divy, estant escolier, rendit la vue à son maître Paulinus, par le signe de la Croix." Mobus, with closed eyes, holds a child above a trough, and a bishop is baptizing the child. Further on Divy is advancing towards a doctor habited in black and wearing a cap and bands, and who is seated with closed eyes. In the rear other boys looking on inquisitively.

5. "Dum predicat incredulo, humus tunc colli similis surget . . . (?) prius humile ac error evanuit (*sic*)." The French: "La terre se leva sous les pieds de Monsieur S. Divy . . . de montagne. Lorsqu'il prescha dans le Concil de Brévy . . . Pelagiens, et un ange descendit comme un . . . qu'il devoit prêcher." S. David, seated on a conical height, holds a pastoral staff in one hand, a dove flutters near his right ear. A great crowd of persons, amongst them bishops, are listening attentively to his words. Above his head is inscribed "Sanctus David archiepiscopus."

6. "Esto præsens . . . patrone desolatis in agone. Salutem fer pastor bone, nostræ semper Trevid." And the French: "Dieu advertit S. Divy de sa mort prochaine, qui arriva l'an 107 de son age." S. David is represented on his bed, S. Kentigern is bending over him and exhorting him. Jesus Christ, holding His Cross, appears to the Saint. from whose mouth issues a scroll on which is inscribed "Tolle me post te."

S. David is also patron of Bodivit in Plomelin, near Quimper. The Church is in ruins, and the statue of the Saint has been removed to the parish Church of Plomelin. Also of Plonevez Porzay, a chapel at Plounéour Menez and Trémeven.

S. DAY, Monk, Confessor

S. DAY, who has given his name to a parish in Cornwall, between Truro and Redruth, is probably the same as the Breton S. They or Déi. He is traditionally held in Brittany to have been a monk of Landevenec, and if so, then he must be the Tethgo whose name occurs in the Life of S. Winwaloe as that of a brother, moved by the spirit of inquisitiveness, who listened to a dispute that took place in the night between the Devil and the Abbot. He informed the other brethren of what he had heard, and they were all greatly edified.¹

He never became abbot of Landevenec, but he seems to have been a founder on his own account.

According to modern Breton tradition he was a native of Bordeaux (!). God bade him quit his native place, and settle in Brittany, and he disembarked at Pors-ar-Sent. A Breton ballad relates—

Sant They, erves an istor, a so guinidic deus a Vourdel
Dre bermission Doue a so deud da chom a Breis-Izel.

He resided for a while where is his newly constructed chapel; and some lines put into his mouth declare—

Me vel bagou Breadic a pesketa ar Raz
Hac oc'h ma gullet aman na rent hed de Sein.
(I see the boats of Brehat fishing in the Raz of Sein,
And little they concern themselves about my being here.)

His chapel at the Cape of Cleden is in the midst of reminiscences of the work of S. Winwaloe.²

He was formerly patron of Locthei, near Pleyben.³

He has chapels at Cleden-Cap-Sizun; Plouhinec, near Pont-Croix;

¹ *Vita S. Winwaloci*, ed. Plaine, *Anal. Boll.*, vi (1888), p. 224; ed. de la Borderie, pp. 69–71.

² *Les Chapelles du Cap Sizun*, by M. Le Carguet, in *Bull. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de Finistère*, xxvi (1899), p. 418.

³ Called Locus Sancti Tadei in the *Cartulary of Quimperlé*, in 1163–86, ed. Léon Maitre and Paul de Berthou, Paris, 1896, p. 197.

Pléhérel ; Poullan, near Douarnenez ; and S. Ségal, near Châteaulin ; and two on the Bay of Audierne, at S. Jean Trolimon, and S. They-ar-Gorzec.

At Pluduno, in Côtes du Nord, he is also venerated as S. Tayde or S. Ayde, and he is there represented as a monk with a long-sleeved habit, his head enveloped in a hood, and holding a closed book in his right hand. This is out of the Winwaloe region, and we cannot be certain that S. Tayde is the same as S. They.

S. Day in Cornwall is also quite apart from the Winwaloe churches in that county. Perhaps Day may have broken his connexion with Landevenec owing to some dispute after the death of the great abbot.

The Pardon on S. They in Plouhinec is on the second Sunday in July ; that at his chapel in Cleden-Cap-Sizun is on the first Sunday in July ; and that at Poullan is on the second Sunday in May.

Garaby says of him only that he was a monk of Landevenec, but gives no day. Kerviller gives July 11, but without stating his authority.

In Brittany, S. Déi or They is invoked by parents to ward off death from their sick children.

S. DECUMAN, Hermit, Martyr

THE authority for his Life is a *Vita Sti. Decumani* by John of Tynemouth, in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ* ; reprinted in *Acta SS. Boll.*, August, vi, pp. 24-25. It is merely an epitome of a Life now lost.

He was born in the western part of Wales and was piously educated. He resolved to leave his native place and crossed the Severn on a hurdle of rods—"Virgas secus mare in fruteto, quas reperit crescentes, colligavit in fasciculum, et tali utens vehiculo misit se in profundum, et provectus est ad littus oppositum prope castrum Dorostorum" (Dunster). That is, in fact, he made a coracle, and crossed therein.

At that time the district under Exmoor was desert—"Vasta eremi, solitudo frutetis et vepribus obsita, et densibile silvarum in longum et latum spaciöse porrecta, montium eminentia sursum educta, et concavitate vallium mirabiliter interrupta. Haec ei sedes complacuit."

Here, at S. Decombe's, he lived the life of a hermit for many years, nourishing himself on the milk of a cow. Here also he met his death

at the hands of a truculent fellow, a man of Belial, who cut off his head "cum quadam vanga," *i.e.*, a spade; vanga is a misprint for vanga = sarcula.

In Welsh his name occurs as Degymman, Degeman, and Degman; but it is quite distinct from that of Tegfan, the patron of Llandegfan, Anglesey, which has been thought by Browne Willis and others to be the same.

He is the patron, in Wales, of Rhoscrowther, Pembrokeshire, which was also formerly called Llanddegymman and Eglwys Degeman. It occupies the site of one of the "Seven Bishop-houses (*Esgobdy*) in Dyfed," mentioned in the Demetian Code of the Welsh Laws.¹ Its abbot, we are told, "should be graduated in literary degrees." There is an extinct chapel, Llandegeman, in the parish of Tretower, Breconshire. It is now a farm-house.²

Decuman is said to have died in 706.

In the Bath Abbey Calendar he is entered as commemorated on August 27, also in the Wells Ordinal, and in the *Altemp's Martyrology* of the thirteenth century, and in a Norwich Martyrology (*Cotton MS.* Julius, B. vii), by Wilson in his *English Martyrology*, 1608 and 1640, and in *Allwydd Paradwys*, 1670. Curiously enough, not by Whytford. But the Calendar in *Cott. Vesp. A.* xiv, and Nicolas Roscarrock give August 30.

Llanddegymman or Rhoscrowther may have been the place of his birth, as he is said, "ex illustri est prosapia oriundus in occidentali-bus Cambriae partibus, quae nunc Wallia nuncupatur." Not far from the Church was his Holy Well, S. Degman's Well, arched over, to the waters of which great virtues were ascribed.³

His name has become S. Decombe in Somersetshire, where is his Church and parish, S. Decombe's, a little over five miles from Dunster. His Holy Well was long pointed out there. There was also a chapel dedicated to him in the parish of Wendron, near Helston, in Cornwall.⁴

¹ Ed. Aneurin Owen (folio), pp. 273, 794, 839. The earliest MS. of Hywel Dda's Laws is the twelfth century *Peniarth MS.* 28.

² The church of Pwllcrochan, adjoining Rhoscrowther, now usually given as dedicated to S. Mary, is said to have been originally dedicated to Decuman (*Arch. Camb.*, 1888, p. 127).

³ Fenton, *Pembrokeshire*, 1811, p. 400.

⁴ Oliver, *Monasticon Dioec. Exon.*, p. 443.

S. DEDYW, Confessor

IN the two versions of the *Cognatio de Brychan* are mentioned as sons of Clydwyn, the son of Brychan, "Clydouc sanctus et Dedyu sanctus" (Vesp. A. xiv), and "sancti Clydauc et Dettu" (Dom. i). In *Jesus College MS.* 20 they appear as "Clytawc sant, Hedetta sant." The Dedyn or Neubedd, and daughter Pedita, children of Clydwyn as given by Rees,¹ are misreadings—Pedita being manufactured out of Hedetta, which simply stands for *ha Dettu*, "and Dettu"; and Neubedd is another name introduced, which occurs also as Neufedd.

There can be no manner of doubt that we have here the name of the real patron of Llanddettŷ,² or, as it is now generally spelt, Llanthetty, in Breconshire. Rees and others say that the church is dedicated to "Tetta, abbess of Wimburn (Wimborne) in Wessex, about A.D. 750,"³ but this is a mere guess. In a will, proved 1533, in *Harley Charter* III. B. 35, it is called the Church of S. Dettutus,⁴ a Latinization of his name.

No doubt he was the same person as the Detiu whose name occurs in the Cartulary of Llancarfan as one of Cadoc's three clerics who witnessed the grant of a church by him to his Irish disciple Macmoil.⁵

S. DEGWI, see S. TEGWYN

S. DEGYMAN, see S. DECUMAN

S. DEIFER, see S. DIHEUFYR

S. DEINIOL or DANIEL, Abbot, Bishop, Confessor

THERE is extant a Latin Life of S. Deiniol or Daniel, but it has

¹ *Welsh Saints*, pp. 143, 146.

² So spelt in the parish list circa 1566 in *Peniarth MS.* 147 and in the list in *Myr. Arch.*, p. 747; Llanddettŷ in a bond dated 1566 in *Harley Charter* III. B. 39. In the *Taxatio* of 1291 (p. 273) it is spelt Landetten.

³ P. 322; Theo. Jones, *Brecknockshire*, ed. 1898, p. 427. The first and last letters of Tetta are fatal to the equation of the name with that of the patron of Llanddettŷ. Whether we adopt the MS. *d* or *t* as the middle dental of his name, accented *d* becomes *t* in the Gwentian dialect.

⁴ *Catalogue of MSS. relating to Wales in Brit. Mus.*, by Mr. Edward Owen, p. 592.

⁵ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 88, and the corrected text of the Cadoc records in Dr. Seebohm, *Tribal System in Wales*, 1895, p. 207.

never been published. Only one copy of it is known, which occurs in *Peniarth MS.* 226, and was transcribed from an "ancient" MS. by Sir Thomas Williams, of Trefriw, in 1602. It is entitled *Legenda novem lectionum de S. Daniele Ep'o Bangoriensi*.¹ A poem, written in 1527, by Sir David Trevor, parson of Llanallgo, of which there is a copy in *Cardiff MS.* 7, also gives a few details. The little that is known of him is of a very fragmentary character.

Deiniol was the son of Abbot Dunawd Fwr or Dinodus, son of Pabo Post Prydyn, by Dwywai, daughter of Lleenog.² He is often called Deiniol Wyn, the Blessed. He was the brother of SS. Cynwyl and Gwarthan, and the father of S. Deiniolen; but his wife's name is nowhere mentioned.

Pabo and his family, having lost their territories in North Britain, retired to Wales, where they were well received by Cyngen ab Cadell Deyrnllwg, king of Powys, who granted them lands, and whose son and successor, Brochwel Ysgythrog, married Arddun, Pabo's daughter. His son Dunawd, embracing the religious life, founded the monastery of Bangor in Maelor, otherwise Bangor Iscoed, on the Dee, with the assistance of Cyngen, who, as well as Brochwel, generously provided for it, and it remained, we are told, during its brief existence "under the protection of the race of Cadell."³

The late Glamorgan hagiological documents printed in the *Iolo MSS.* state, for the glorification of Cadoc, that Dunawd's three sons were disciples of Cadoc at Llancarfan, and that he sent them to be "directors and principals" of Bangor in Maelor, "and in consequence of the wisdom and piety of these three brothers it became the most honourable and numerous its saints of all the Bangors in Britain."⁴ It is likely enough that they assisted their father in its foundation.

Deiniol, however, does not appear to have remained long at Bangor in Maelor. He left Powys for Gwynedd, where he founded the monastery of Bangor in Carnarvonshire, under the patronage of Maelgwn Gwynedd,⁵ who largely endowed it with lands and privileges, and, it is said, raised it to the rank of an episcopal see, conterminous,

¹ See Dr. J. G. Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, pp. 1051-2, where the beginning and the end of the *Legenda* are printed. So far we have not been able to get a copy of it. Deiniol's name, like a few other Hebrew names adopted at an early period, bears a duly naturalized Welsh form. The oxytone *Δανιήλ* yielded in earlier Welsh *Deinioel*, becoming later *Deiniol*.

² *Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45, *Hafod MS.* 16, *Hanesyn Hên*, pp. 25, 113, *Myv. Arch.*, p. 423, *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 102, 127. The later genealogies give his mother as daughter of Gwallog ab Lleenog ab Llyr Merini.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 126.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 151.

⁵ Deiniol's name occurs among the witnesses of the grant by Maelgwn to



S. DEINIOL.

From 15th century glass in Chancel window, Llandyrnog Church, Denbighshire

as to-day, with the principality of Gwynedd. Here Deiniol spent the remainder of his days, as abbot and bishop.

It is stated in the *Book of Llan Dâu* that Deiniol was consecrated bishop of Bangor by Dubricius. A note of later date among its *marginalia*, however, says that it was Teilo that consecrated him, and that thus the see became subject to the archbishopric of Llandaff¹—a preposterous assertion. Rees² was of opinion that he was probably consecrated by S. David, “as there was reason to assert that he and his relatives had lived for some time under the protection of that Saint at Llanddewi Brefi, where churches still retained their names.” He was apparently not aware of the Llandaff claim.

We know but little of Bangor in Arfon, or Bangor Fawr, as compared with some of the other Welsh monastic foundations. Some of the sons of Helig ab Glannog were saints or monks of it; and on the destruction of Bangor Iscoed by Ethelfrid in 607 or 613 some of the monks that escaped came hither. Deiniol is said to have been succeeded by his son Deiniol the Younger; and the next bishop whose name is known was Elfod “Bishop of Caergybi,” who “removed his palace to Bangor Deiniol.”³ He is styled Archbishop of Gwynedd, and died in 809.

Deiniol was present at the Synod of Brefi, which took place some time before 569, probably in 545. It is represented that it was convened to put down Pelagianism, but what we know of the canons passed by the Welsh Church at this time shows that there was no concern felt about any heresy affecting the Church; what was under consideration was penitential regulations. No agreement having been come to by the Synod, Paulinus advised that S. David should be sent for; he knew his worth and force of character. But the messengers despatched failed to induce him to come. At last Deiniol and Dyfrig went, and they succeeded in overcoming his scruples, and brought him with them.⁴

Sir David Trevor, in his poem, speaks of Deiniol as “one of the seven blessed cousins,”⁵ who had spent part of his early life as a hermit “on the arm of Pembrokeshire,” but God called him to be a bishop, deficient though his education was. He performed many miracles. Thieves stole a ploughman’s oxen; Deiniol yoked stags in their stead, and made the thieves “lie upon the ground like stones.”

Kentigern in the *Red Book of S. Asaph* (p. 119) in the Episcopal Library at S. Asaph.

¹ Pp. 71, 337.

² *Welsh Saints*, p. 259.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 127.

⁴ *Vita S. David in Cambro-British Saints*, p. 137.

⁵ For their names see *Ibid.*, p. 271, and *Myv. Arch.*, p. 423.

A woman had taken poison ; she drank of the water of his well, and immediately threw up "numberless worms." The Latin *Legenda* says that she was a woman of Caerwy, or Carew, in the neighbourhood of Pembroke, for whom physicians could do nothing. She came to the Church of S. Daniel, on the mountain, and, after drinking of the water of the well, returned to the door of the Church, and before all "ex ore suo ejecit tres vermes horribiles cum quatuor pedibus in singulis."

Deiniol received a somewhat extensive cult, especially in North Wales, to judge from the impress his name has left upon the topography. The Churches themselves dedicated to him are not many, and their distribution does not help one to ascertain the probable extent of his Diocese, on the principle adopted by Rees. He is the patron of the Cathedral Church of Bangor and also of the Diocese. The only memorial of him at Bangor Iscoed is Cae Ffynnon Daniel, mentioned in Norden's *Survey*, 1620, as the name of a field in that parish. Hawarden Church has two dedication festivals, the one on December 10, S. Deiniol's Day, and the other on September 14,¹ the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the latter probably in reference to the tenth century local legend of the Roodee. There is a place in the parish still called Daniel's Ash. To him is also dedicated the Church of Marchwiel, near Wrexham. It is given by some as dedicated to S. Marcella (September 5, Browne Willis) or S. Marcellus, but these are mere guesses from the name. There is a tenelement, of some fifteen acres, near the Church, called Tyddyn Daniel, purchased in 1626, and its rental is applied to "the repair and use of the Church" (terrier, 1749). Browne Willis says that the church "was formerly called S. Daniel's chapel, and belonged to the monastery of Bangor, and after its destruction took the present name, from the materials of which the former Church was built" ²—i.e., *marchwiall*, saplings. Worthenbury, in Flintshire, which until 1689 was a chapelry belonging to Bangor, is dedicated to Deiniol.³ To him are also dedicated the churches of Llanuwchllyn and Llanfor, near Bala, in the diocese of S. Asaph. It is said that the former was at some remote time called Llanddeiniol uwch y Llyn, and the

¹ The wake was held on the first Sunday after Old Holy Cross, usually the first Sunday in October (*Memoir of Hawarden Parish*, Chester, 1822, p. 75). Edward Lhuyd in his *Itinerary*, 1699, says under Hawarden, "Wakes abt. 15 Sept." The S. Deiniol's Library and Residence at Hawarden was founded and endowed by the late Mr. W. E. Gladstone for the promotion of Divine Learning.

² Quoted by Archdeacon Thomas, *Hist. of Diocese of S. Asaph*, 1908, i, p. 454. This derivation is on a par with the dedications of the church given above.

³ Browne Willis, *Bangor*, p. 359, gives it as S. Dinioth.

latter Llanddeiniol is y Llyn,¹ in contradistinction. It is generally supposed that Llanfor, like Llannor in Carnarvonshire, is dedicated to S. Mor ab Ceneu; but the earlier form of both names was Llanfawr, *i.e.*, the Large Church. Moreover, the wakes at Llanfor followed S. Deiniol's Day, September 11, and there is a Ffynnon Ddaniel by the churchyard fence. Rees² gives a Nantgyndanyll, in Carnarvonshire, as dedicated to him. It is now unknown, but it is probably a mistake for Llangwnadl (S. Gwynhoedl), also called Nangwnadl. In a document *circa* 1498 "an Isle in the See called Seynt Danyell's Isle, otherwise called Ennys Moylronyon"³ (the Seals' Island) is mentioned as belonging to the See of Bangor. It is off the north coast of Anglesey, and is now known as the Skerries.

In South Wales there are a few dedications to him:—Llanddeiniol or Carrog, in Cardiganshire, at one time a prebend in the collegiate Church of Llanddewi Brefi; and the chapel of S. Daniel or Deiniol, about a mile south of Pembroke, once attached to Monkton Priory. It was on an eminence, and in Fenton's time had become a "Methodist conventicle."⁴ The Church of Itton, in Monmouthshire, formerly called Llanddeiniol, is dedicated to him, and seems to be the Church mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâw* as Lann Diniul (Diniuil or Dineul). Llangarran (near the river Garra), in Herefordshire, is also ascribed to Deiniol.⁵ Near the Church of Penally, Pembrokeshire, is the Holy Well of S. Deiniol or Daniel, and another in the parish of Penbryn, Cardiganshire.

His festival day is given in the Welsh Calendars on September 11, and occurs in a good number from the fifteenth century downwards. The Wakes at Llanuwchllyn and Llanfor were on this day, and a fair is still held at the former on the 22nd. December 1 is also given in *Allwydd Paradwys* and Willis' *Bangor* (p. 272); and December 10 by Ussher and Rees. There was a fair held at Hawarden on the 10th (O.S.), and later on the 21st. Not a single early Calendar, however, enters him in December.

Deiniol died according to the *Annales Cambriae* in 584, and was buried in Bardsey.⁶

¹ *Y Traethodydd*, 1877, p. 69. S. Deiniol for Llanfor occurs in Willis, *Bangor*, p. 362; *Liber Regis*, ed. Bacon, 1786, p. 1049; and J. G. Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 913.

² *Welsh Saints*, p. 332.

³ Willis, *Bangor*, p. 244.

⁴ *Pembrokeshire*, 1811, p. 375. In the *Valor* of 1535 (iv, p. 387) it is called "Libera Capella Sancti Danielis juxta Pembr'."

⁵ *Arch. Camb.*, 1861, p. 115. Gwallter Mechain in a MS. note:—"Llech Ddeinioel, Llanrhaiadr in Cynmeirch, where was a building, but now a long pavement."

⁶ Giraldus, *Itin. Camb.*, ii, c. 6.

He is represented, with SS. Asaph, Winefred, and Marchell, in fifteenth century glass in the chancel window of Llandyrnog Church, in the Vale of Clwyd. There was formerly a figure of him in a window on the south side of the Choir of Bangor Cathedral. Bishop Sheffington (died 1533) in his will directed that his body be buried at Beaulieu, and his "Harte be caryed to Bangor, there to be buryed in the Cathedrall Church, before the Pictour of Saint Daniell."¹

He is not infrequently referred to or invoked by the mediaeval Welsh bards, and especially by Dafydd ab Gwilym and Lewis Glyn Cothi. The former exclaims in one passage, "Myn Delw Deiniol!"² (By Deiniol's image!)

He is mentioned in the Life of S. Elgar,³ who had been shipwrecked on Bardsey Island, and had lived there as a hermit for seven years. Caradog hearing of him, came to interview him. Elgar told him that holy spirits ministered to him day and night, and that, although separated from him, yet when he met them he knew them by their frequent intercourse. They were Dubricius, Daniel, bishop of the Church of Bangor, Padarn, and many others, whose bodies lay buried in that island.⁴

That he was for a while in Brittany is probable, as he is venerated there as S. Denoual, at a church bearing that name near Matignon in Côtes du Nord, and at Plangenoual in the same department, near Pléneuf; also at La Harmoye, where Gildas had a settlement. There was a statue of him habited as a monk at Saint Denoual, which was destroyed during the Revolution in 1793. Ploudaniel, in Finistère, does not apparently take its name from him, but from some British lay settler of the same name. He probably crossed in 547, flying from the Yellow Plague.

His festival is given by O'Gorman and Maguire, and in the Martyrologies of Donegal and Tallagh, as that of Daniel, Bishop of Bennchoir, on September 11, his generally received day of commemoration in Wales.

¹ Willis, *Bangor*, p. 246; cf. pp. 17, 98. The Chapter seal has a figure of him habited, with mitre and crozier (*Ibid.*, p. 45).

² *Works*, ed. 1789, p. 291; cf. p. 171. In the *Hoianau* occurs the line (*Black Book of Carmarthen*, ed. Evans, 1906, p. 56):—

When Deinoel, the son of Dunawd Deinwyn, becomes enraged.

There seems to be an allusion here to the burning of Bangor by King John in 1210 (*Ibid.*, p. xxviii; *Bruts*, Oxford, p. 347).

³ *Book of Llan Dâw*, p. 3.

⁴ The prophet Daniel (Deinioel) is somewhat similarly introduced in the Life of S. Beuno. According to one of the Triads of the third or latest series, Deiniol was one of "the three Holy Bachelors (*Gwynfebydd*) of the Isle of Britain" (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 409).

S. DEINIOL THE YOUNGER, Abbot, Confessor

AN entry in the *Iolo MSS.*¹ states, "Deinioel, the son of Deinioel ail ab Dunawd ab Pabo Post Prydain, was a Saint of Bangor Maelor, upon the destruction of which he went to Gwynedd uwch Conwy, where he presided over the *Côr* of Bangor Fawr in Arllechwedd, which is called Bangor Deinioel, in the time of Cadwaladr Fendigaid, who gave lands towards that *Côr*." The word *aíl*, second, is here clearly misplaced, as it must refer to Deinioel the Younger, known also as Deiniolfab and Deiniolen,² the son of Deiniol the Elder, Abbot of Bangor in Arfon. He was, as far as we know, his only son. He was brought up under his grandfather at Bangor Iscoed, and is said to have succeeded his father in the abbacy.

Leland³ says of him—"erat, ut ferunt, discipulus Kibii, vel, ut quidam volunt, Beunoi." He was most probably a disciple of Beuno, as his name occurs in the list of six persons supposed to have been raised from the dead by that Saint (*Peniarth MS.* 75).

He is the founder of two Churches, Llanddeiniolfab or Llanddeiniol, under Llanidan, in Anglesey, and Llanddeiniolen, in Carnarvonshire. In the former parish is Ffynnon Ddaniel, which had the property of removing warts; whilst in the latter is Ffynnon Ddeiniolen, a little distance south of the Church, on the road side, which was formerly in great repute in rheumatic and scorbutic cases. In the latter parish is also situated the well-known chalybeate spring, Ffynnon Cegin Arthur (the Well of Arthur's Kitchen).

Deiniolen's festival is given as November 22 in Welsh Calendars of the sixteenth century and later, and also in many Welsh Almanacks of the eighteenth century, and by Browne Willis.⁴ It occurs, however, as the 23rd in the *Cambrian Register*,⁵ which is followed by many subsequent writers. The wake in the Anglesey parish was on the 23rd,⁶ and not on September 11 (S. Deiniol the Elder), as given by Browne Willis, Angharad Llwyd, and others.

¹ P. 127.

² This form led Lewis Morris, naturally enough, to call him "Deiniolen Santes" (*Celtic Remains*, p. 127). The suffix is, apparently, diminutive.

³ *Collectanea*, 1774, iv, p. 85; *Itin. in Wales*, ed. L. T. Smith, 1906, p. 129.

⁴ *Bangor*, p. 272.

⁵ iii, p. 223 (1818).

⁶ *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 435.

S. DERFEL GADARN, Confessor

DERFAEL or Derfel Gadarn was son of Hywel Mawr ab Emyr Llydaw by Alma Pompeia, and the brother of Dwyfael (*Iolo MSS.*) or Dwywai (*Myv. Arch.*), Arthfael, and Hywel Fychan (father of SS. Cristiolus and Rhystud). Hywel the Elder is called Hywel Faig or Farchog, and is said to have been buried at Llantwit Major. Derfael, Dwyfael and Arthfael were "saints" of Llantwit, and the first two are supposed to have afterwards gone with Cadfan, their cousin, to Bardsey.¹ If the Breton tradition be trustworthy there was another brother, S. Tudwal, bishop of Tréguier, whose mother was Alma Pompeia. Arthfael became a man of great ecclesiastical import in Brittany.

Derfel is usually given the epithet *Cadarn*,² "the Mighty." In early life he was a warrior, and his might and prowess in war are constantly alluded to by the mediaeval Welsh bards. He is reported to have been present at the battle of Camlan, in 537, when he greatly distinguished himself.³

He is the patron of Llandderfel, Merionethshire, where his wooden image was held in high reverence, as we find from correspondence that took place at the Reformation.⁴ Dr. Ellis Prys or Price (generally known as Y Doctor Coch, of Plas Iolyn, Co. Denbigh), Cromwell's Commissary-General for the Diocese of S. Asaph, in a letter dated April 6, 1538, wrote desiring special instructions as to what to do with respect to the image of "Darvel Gadarn," "in whome the people have so greate confidence, hope, and truste, that they cumme dayly a pilgrimage unto hym, somme with kyne, other with oxen or horsis, and the reste withe money: in so muche that there was fyve or syxe hundrethe pilgrames, to a mans estimacion, that offered to the saide Image⁵ the fifte daie of this presente monethe of Aprill. The innocent

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 112, 133; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 424. Derfel is sometimes said, but wrongly, to be brother to Cristiolus and Rhystud. In the name Maelderw we seem to have the compounds transposed.

² Compare Efrog Gadarn, Hawys Gadarn, Ercwlff Gadarn, Ector Gadarn, etc.

³ Lewis Glyn Cothi, *Works*, 1837, pp. 19, 216; *Cefn Coch MSS.*, 1899, pp. 304, 430; *Cynfeirdd Llyn*, 1905, p. 16; the collected poems of Howel Srdwal, ed. J. C. Morrice, 1908, p. 20.

⁴ *Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. iv*; Wright, *Suppression of the Monasteries*, Camden Series, p. 190; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, ed. Jas. Gairdner. Bp. Baulow in his letter, written about 1539, to Cromwell, asking him to translate the see from S. David's to Carmarthen, refers him to "Dervel gadern Conoch, and such other Welsh gods, antique gargels of idolatry" (printed in Fenton, *Pembrokeshire*, ed. 1903, p. 335). Michael Wodde in his *Dialogue between two Neighbours*, 1554, says, "If the Welchman wold have a pursse, he praiod to Darvel Gatherne."

⁵ The *Taxatio* of 1291 and *Valor* of 1335 take no notice of these offerings.

people hathe ben sore alured and entisid to worshiþe the said Image, in so muche that there is a commyn sayinge as yet amongst them, that who so ever will offer anie thinge to the saide Image of Darfel-gadarn, he hathe power to fatche hym or them that so offers oute of Hell when they be dampned."

He was instructed to send it up to London, but the people remonstrated. In a second letter he says that "the person and the parysheners profered him fortie powndes that the said Ymage shulde not be convaide to London," and because he had refused, they were coming up to make their complaint in person.

An excerpt from Hall's *Chronicles* completes the history of the image. There was a Franciscan Friar, John Forest, of Greenwich, confessor to Catherine of Aragon, who, for denying the King's supremacy was condemned to be burnt in Smithfield, May 22, 1538. "A little before the execution a huge and great Image (Derfel's) was brought to the gallows. The Welshmen had a prophecy that this Image should set a whole forest afire; which prophecy now took effect, for he set this friar Forest on fire, and consumed him to nothing.

"Upon the gallows that he died on was set up, in great letters, these verses following:—

David Darvel Gatheren,
As sayth the Welshman,
 Fetched outlawes out of Hell;
Now is he come with spere and sheld,
In harnes to burne in Smithfeld,
 For in Wales he may not dwel.

And Foreest the Freer,
That obstinate lyer,
 That wylfully shal be dead,
In his contumacye
The Gospel doeth deny,
 The Kyng to be supreme heade.

Bishop Latimer was requested to preach at the execution. He replied that he was quite ready "to play the fool after his customable manner when Forest should suffer," and he desired that his stage might stand near Forest, so that the poor martyr might hear what he howled forth. But he expressed his fear lest the man should be too well treated in Newgate, and that he should be allowed before his death to receive the Sacrament. The whole letter is not pleasant reading. Forest was suspended in chains from a pair of gallows with Derfel underneath him; the wooden image was set on fire, and Forest perished slowly in the flames.

There are still preserved at Llandderfel, in the church porch, certain relics of Derfel, which are popularly called his Ceffyl (horse) and Ffon

(stick). Some have said that the "horse" is a lion, others a stag. The relics are now in a very mutilated and worm-eaten condition. The staff, of which there is but a short piece left, measuring 44 in. long and 6 in. in circumference, with four bosses on it, was once gilded, and must have been rather heavy. It has been variously pronounced to be a crozier, sword, and lance.

There is a reference to the "horse" in the parish registers, which record an application in 1626 to the bishop for permission to erect a reading-seat on the north side of the church at a spot where "there is now a wooden Image of a Redd Stag as a relique of the Image of Dervell Gadarn." The Rural Dean in 1730 ordered the figure, then placed near the altar rails, to be decapitated. Stag or steed, it has suffered very much. Its hind legs are gone, and the front part of its head has been struck off. The neck is slightly movable in its socket, and there is a short tail resembling more a stag's than a horse's. On the back of the figure there is a square cavity, in which Derfel's image was probably inserted, and another larger cavity in the side, where the pole, mentioned below, was fixed. The latter hollow is said to have at one time served the purpose of a pig trough. The "horse" is 48 in. in length, 17 in. high at shoulder, and 31 in. high to top of its head.¹

Annually, on Easter Tuesday, it used to be brought out and carried in procession to Bryn Sant, the great gathering point, where, fixed to a pole placed in a horizontal position, attached to another placed perpendicularly, and resting on a pivot, it afforded a ride to the juveniles and others, after the manner of a wooden horse at a fair. The rider took hold of the staff, which was fastened to the horse. People used to resort hither on these occasions from all parts of the country.

This must have been Derfel's horse, which does not appear to have been taken up to London. On it was placed, astride, the wooden image of the saint, represented in armour ("harnes"), and holding a "spere and sheld." The equestrian figure was probably set up at his shrine.

The offerings to him of "kyne, oxen, and horsis" imply that he was regarded as their special patron. Some late Welsh writers say that he was Abbot of Bardsey.²

¹ We are indebted to Mr. C. E. Morgan, late of Llandderfel Rectory, for these details of the relics. See also Archdeacon Thomas, *S. Asaph*, 1st ed., pp. 697-9, and Lewis Glyn Cothi, *Works*, p. 216.

² It has been surmised that a place at Blaenau Ffestiniog, Merionethshire, called Llys Dorfil, may have been his residence in his military days. (Owen Jones, *Cymru*, 1875, i, p. 407.)

Ffynnon Dderfel is on the hill, Garth y Llan, to the west of the church, about 500 yards off, and seems to have been at one time conveyed to the church. The hilly field close to the rectory is called Bryn Sant,¹ which was also the name of the old rectory, but the present house often goes under the name of Bryn Derfel.

Derfel's festival, April 5, occurs in most of the early Welsh calendars.

There were formerly two chapels in the parish of Llanfihangel juxta Llantarnam, Monmouthshire, the one named Llanderfil or S. Derval's, and the other S. Dial's. Both are now in ruins, but the former was still used in 1535, as may be gathered from the *Valor* ² of that date, where it is entered as "Capella S'ti Dervalli," and belonging to the Cistercian Abbey of Caerleon. Rees ³ ascribes it to Derfel Gadarn. In a Survey of the Manor of Llandimor, made in the time of Queen Elizabeth, Dervell's Well is mentioned as the source of the Burry, which falls into the Lougher.⁴

A saint variously called Dervel and Dervet is venerated at Plozévet in the Bigauden district of Finistère, on the sea by Plogastel S. Germain. Nothing is known of him, but he is represented in the church mitred and with pastoral staff.

SS. DERIEN and NEVENTER, Confessors

ALL that we know of these saints is from the Life of S. Rioc, extracted by Albert le Grand from the MSS. of Landevennec and Daoulas, now lost. As De Kerdanet says, "Le P. Albert le Grand a donné de ces deux saints une histoire aussi détaillée que s'ils avaient vécu de nos jours."⁵ Albert employed as well an old Life preserved in his day in the parish church of Plouneventer, that was lost at the Revolution. We are unhappily unable to say, accordingly, how much he extracted from these documents and how much is due to his imagination.

Derien, a contraction of Adrian, and Neventer were two British colonists who settled, in the fifth century, in Léon to the north of the Elorn. As there are traces here of colonization by one branch of the family of Ceredig ab Cunedda, it is possible that they also may have

¹ "Bryn y Sanct," about an acre and a half of glebe, is mentioned in the terrier of 1682, and later ones. "Out of that p'te whereof wch. lyeth on the North side of a pearle of water therin issueth sixpence yearly time out of minde" from the rector to the owner of Plas Isa.

² iv, p. 365. Its oblations are entered at 26s. 8d. per ann.

³ *Welsh Saints*, p. 342.

⁴ J. D. Davies, *West Gower*, ii, p. 189.

⁵ Albert Le Grand, *Vies des Saints de Bretagne*, ed. Kerdanet, 1836, p. xlvii.

pertained to this stock, but the Welsh genealogies afford us no light thereupon.

Neventer formed a *plou* or tribe, and a parish bears his name to this day ; and the adjoining parish is called Saint Derrien. Both are near Landivisiau.

One day as these two were walking beside the Elorn, then called Dour-Doun (the deep water), they came to that portion of the river above which rises precipitously a rock of snow-white quartz surmounted by a *caer*, in the possession of a native chief of the country, belonging to the original race of occupants of the land ; his name was Elorn. They found him drowning in the stream, and both plunged in and succeeded in rescuing him.

Derien and Neventer asked Elorn how he came to tumble into the water, and then he told them a sad tale. A dragon lived near by, and it was the custom, once a week, that lots should be drawn, and he on whom the lot fell was bound to provide a man to be sent to be devoured by the dragon. Elorn had already been compelled to furnish food in this way for the monster, and now the lot had again fallen on him, and none were left to him and his wife but one son, a child in years, and rather than witness the sacrifice of this child, he had thrown himself into the river, thus to end his woes. Derien and Neventer, moved by this dismal tale, undertook to destroy the dragon. This they effected, and then demanded that the child should be given up to be baptized and educated in the Christian faith. Elorn himself, though he had suffered so much in his paganism, obstinately refused to abandon the religion of his ancestors. The child Rioc, however, he surrendered, and he became eventually a monk in the monastery of Landevennec.

The place where the dragon was destroyed and flung into the sea was Poullbeuzaneual near Plouneour-trez on the north coast of Léon. Then, at the instigation of the saints, but reluctantly, Elorn furnished material for the construction of a church at Plouneventer. However, according to Albert le Grand, he did this with such a bad grace that the church was not completed till a century later.

Such is the legend, and it is not difficult to see that it contains some traces of early tradition.

We shall point out when we come to the Life of S. Paul of Léon, that these dragon stories are based on the practice of the early dusky race to make sacrifice annually to their pagan deities to obtain fertility to their fields and increase to their cattle ; and that the manner of making the sacrifice was to enclose the victim in a wicker-work figure of a monster and consume it by fire, and then to take the ashes and distribute them about the fields.

This, perhaps, explains the story. The lot had fallen on the child of Elorn, and the victim was saved by the intervention of the two British Christian colonists, who peremptorily put an end to these human sacrifices.

Le Grand exaggerates when he says that these took place every week; they were performed once in the year, at Midsummer.

We know nothing further of Derien and Neventer.

That they extended their authority further south is possible, as Derien is culted at Commana, on the slopes of the Monts d'Arrée. He is patron of Drénec, the adjoining parish to Plouneventer on the west, as he is at S. Adrien on the east.

He was also formerly honoured at Duault, where Rioc was culted. At Drénec is a statue of him as a priest in sacerdotal vestments and with mitre and crozier; the statue is early, attributed to the thirteenth century. At Commana he is represented as a monk holding an open book in both hands. The reason why he appears as a bishop or abbot is that he has been replaced by S. Adrian of Canterbury.

Neventer figures as a Roman warrior at Plouneventer. The Pardon there is on the 1st Sunday in May. He does not appear in the authorized calendars. Garaby gives May 7.

Dom Morice identifies Derien with Audrien or Aldor, son of Solomon ab Erbin, and a brother of S. Cybi. This, however, can hardly be maintained. We do not know that Solomon or Selyf had a son of that name.

S. Winwaloe died in 532, and Rioc about 562, so we may put the date of Derien and Neventer as about the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth centuries.

The Derien who is remembered with chilly indifference at Bourbriac and Ploulech in Côtes du Nord, cannot be the same as the saint on the Elorn.

Derien is invoked in the tenth century Litany of the Missal of S. Vougé.¹

S. DERUVIANUS, see S. DYFAN

S. DERWE, Virgin, Martyr

ONE of the company of Irish that came over and occupied Penwith and Carnmarth, in Cornwall. Derwe was, perhaps, killed, as her *Martyrium* was in Camborne parish at Mertherderwa, or Menaderva as it is now called, where was a chapel dedicated to SS. Hia and Derwe. It existed till late in the Middle Ages, as well as a Bridge of Derwa.

¹ *Revue Celtique*, xi, p. 141.

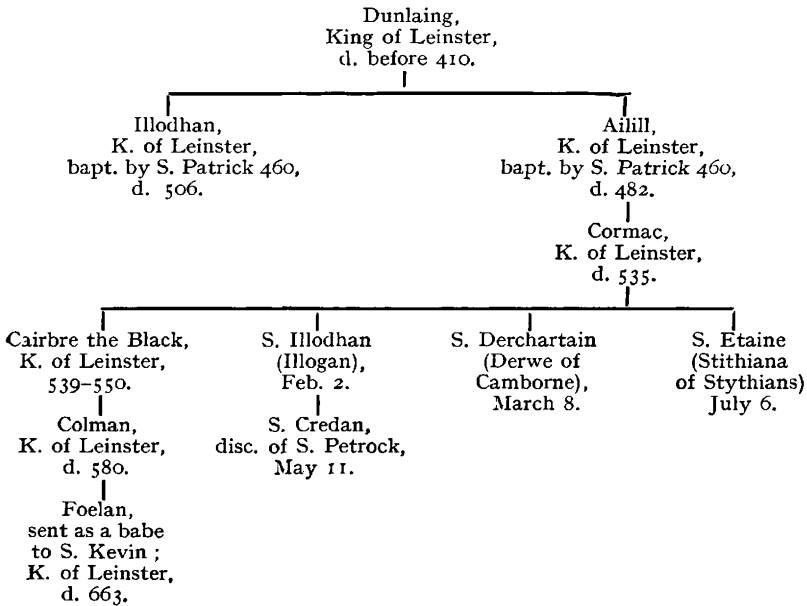
As the names of the patrons of Camborne (Cambron, the crooked hill) are given as Hia and Derwe,¹ it is reasonable to suppose that Derwe is a female. Had Derwe been a male, the order would have been SS. Derwe and Hia.

The name is certainly Irish, and the association with S. Hia indicates that Derwe was Irish.

Derwe is probably the same as Dér-chartain, of Oughterard, in Kildare. The name signifies "Daughter of the Rowan-tree," which was used to drive away witches. When S. Senan was born his mother laid hold of a rowan branch. If the identification of S. Illogan with Illodhan, son of Cormac, King of Leinster, be allowed, then she and S. Ethnia (Stithiana) were his sisters.

On the hill of Oughterard are the ruins of her church and of a round tower. This is in the same barony of Salt as the church of her brother at Castle Dillon. Her day in the *Martyrology of Donegal* is March 8; her date of death about 560. Nothing is known of her history.

There is good reason for believing that S. Stithiana of Stythians is her sister Etaine or Ethnia, as the feast at Stythians is on old S. Etaine's Day. Moreover Camborne Fair is on March 7, the eve of S. Derchartain. They were aunts of S. Credan, disciple of S. Petrock and founder of Sancreed.



¹ Dr. Borlase, MS. *Par. Mem.*, p. 16.

S. DEWI, see S. DAVID

S. DIER, see S. DIHEUFYR

S. DIGAIN, King, Confessor

DIGAIN was brother of S. Erbin, and son of Cystennin Gorneu.¹ In a late sixteenth century list of parishes he is called Digain Frenin.² He lived early in the fifth century, and is said to have founded Llangernyw, "the Church of the Cornishman," in Denbighshire, which is situated not far from Llangystennin, founded by his father. They are in the same Deanery. Sometimes his brother Erbin is coupled with him in the dedication. In the parish is a wood called Coed Digain.

He is also supposed to have founded the now extinct church of Llangernyw, in the Valley Dore, in the district of Erging, Herefordshire. It occurs in the *Book of Llan Dâu* as Lann Cerniu,³ also called Cenubia (= Cernubia), and identical with Cum Barruc.⁴ In Erging is also the church of Lann Custenhin Garth Benni, now Welsh Bicknor.

His Festival, which is found in a good number of the early Welsh Calendars, is on November 21.⁵

S. DIHEUFYR or DEIFER, Hermit, Confessor

THIS Saint's name is spelt in a variety of forms, Diheufyr, Diefer, Deifer, Dihaer, Dier, and Diar. According to the older genealogies he was the son of Hawystl or Awystl Gloff (the Lame) by Tywanwedd, daughter of Amlawdd Wledig, and the brother of Tyfrydog, Teyrnog, Tudur and Marchell.⁶ The late *Iolo MS.* documents state that they were Saints of Bangor Iscoed, and afterwards of Bardsey.

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 423, 425; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 137. At the last reference he is given another brother, Yscwn, but probably by mistake for Ysgin, son of Erbin, *Myv. Arch.*, p. 431.

² Dr. J. G. Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 914.

³ There is a church called Coed Cernyw, dedicated to All Saints, between Newport and Cardiff.

⁴ Owen, *Pembrokeshire*, ii, p. 273. It does not seem that it occupied the site of Abbey Dore.

⁵ The Rural Dean, in his Report for 1749, states that it was customary to hold the five annual fairs of the parish in the churchyard, one of which fell on November 18 (O.S.).

⁶ *Pentarth MS.* 16 (as Dyeuer), cf. *MS.* 45 and *Mostyn MS.* 114; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 424, 431 (as Diheyuyr); *Hanesyn Hên (Cardiff MS. 25)*, pp. 35, 118, and

Deifer was the original patron of Bodfari (now S. Stephen), in Flintshire, where he had his cell, and lived as a recluse. Teyrnog or Tynnog founded Llandyrnog, and his sister Marchell founded Llanfarchell, now Eglwys Wen or Whitchurch, the old parish church of Denbigh, the parishes of which adjoin that of Bodfari. No other church is known to have been dedicated to him.

Nearly all that is known of Deifer is to be found in the Legend of S. Winefred, by Robert of Shrewsbury, written in the twelfth century. He is not mentioned in the Life of the Virgin Martyr in the *Cotton MS.* Claudius A. v., of the twelfth century, by, as it would appear, a monk of Basingwerk. The Life by Robert of Shrewsbury is printed by the Bollandists, *Acta SS.*, November 3, I, pp. 57-59. A translation was made by one J. F., a Jesuit, 1635, and published *s.l.* It was reproduced by Dr. Wm. Fleetwood, Bishop of S. Asaph, London, 1713, with annotations.

According to this story, after her miraculous restoration to life, S. Winefred was divinely directed to go to the cell of Deifer, eight miles distant from Holywell, *i.e.*, to Bodfari, pleasantly situated in a gap of the Clwydian range.

Deifer informed her that God had revealed nothing to him concerning her, but advised her to tarry there till he had learned what the Divine Will was concerning her. Deifer spent the night in prayer, and towards morning heard a voice saying to him: "Tell my dear child, the Virgin Winefred, that she repair to the village of Henthlant (Henllan), where the venerable Saturnus (Sadwrn) will fully instruct her as to the place of her abode during life." Deifer next day acquainted her with his commission, and assured her that his neighbour would be able to tell her where she was to reside, and pointed out the route to her.

The Life relates that Deifer caused a fountain to spring out of the ground at Bodfari, whose waters cured many persons who bathed in it. One posthumous miracle the hagiographer thought worthy of

Myv. Arch., pp. 423, 431 (as Dier); Robert of Shrewsbury's Life of S. Winefred (as Deiferus). In *Hafod MS.* 16 the name is difficult to read; it looks like Diueuyr, possibly Diheuyr. The older genealogies give his pedigree simply as the son of Hawystl or Awystl Gloff, but the later ones (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 431, *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 124, 142) make it Arwystl Gloff ab Seithenin Frenin of Maes Gwyddno (see i, pp. 175-6). *Hanesyn Hên*, p. 118 (cf. *Iolo MSS.*, p. 124), however, gives Hawystl's children as those of "Menwyd m. Ywain danwyn m. Einion yrth ap Kuneda Wledig . . . a brodur unfam ag wynt yw Gwynn ap Nudd a Chyradog vreichvras a Gwaul ap Lyininawg" (Lleenog). Dafydd ab Gwilym in one of his poems exclaims "myn Deifr!" (Works, ed. 1789, p. 441). But Deifr is also the Welsh form for Deira. There is, or was, a Ffynnon Dyfr in the parish of Abergele.

special record, as testifying to the Saint's merits. A gang of thieves stole a couple of horses out of the cemetery at Bodfari, where the Saint was buried. Their owners, on finding their loss, entered the church and placed candles upon the altar, which the Saint "suddenly lighted in their presence." Whilst they were making their petitions the thieves had lost their way in the dark, and found themselves twice with the horses back at the churchyard gate. When the owners came out of church at daybreak, they found the men at the gate, dismounted and stupefied, "holding their horses by their bridles."

Deifer is mentioned by Nicolas Roscarrock, who calls him an eremite, and refers to the Legend of S. Winefred for information about him.

The Saint's Holy Well, Ffynnon Ddier, as it was called, had a great reputation in the Middle Ages, and later. Edward Lhuyd, in his *Itinerary*, 1699, after stating that the *Gwyl Mabsant*, or Wake, was observed on S. Stephen's Day, goes on to say of the well: "It is a Custom for y^e poorest person in the parish to offer Chickens after going [with them] nine times round y^e well. A Cockrell for a boy, & a Pullet for a girl. The child is dipt up to his neck at three of y^e corners of y^e Well. This is to prevent their crying in y^e night." Bishop Maddox (1736-43), in MS. Z, in the Episcopal Library at S. Asaph, says: "About 300 yards from it (the church) there is Diers or Deifers Well, to w^{ch} they go in procession on Acs(ension) Day and read the Litany, 10 Com., Ep'le, and Gospel." The well no longer exists; it has been drained to supply the village with water. Much the same ritual was observed at S. Tegla's Well at Llandegla, which is not far distant from Bodfari. In the Bodfari terrier, dated 1685, a three-acre field, called "Cae'r Sanct" (the Saint's Field), is entered as part of the glebe.

The Calendar in *Allwydd Paradwys*, 1670, and some eighteenth century Welsh Almanacks, give the 8th of March as his festival; Rees,¹ on the authority of Cressy, the 7th.

S. DILWAR

BEYOND the mere entry of her name in the Welsh Calendars nothing seems to be known of this Saint. Her festival is given as February 4 in a number of Calendars of the fifteenth century and later. In one

¹ *Welsh Saints*, p. 321.

sixteenth century Calendar, that in *Llanstephan MS.* 117, she is entered on the 3rd, no doubt by mistake. The Calendar in *Peniarth MS.* 172 is, apparently, our only clue to the Saint's sex, where she is designated *Santes*.

S. DINGAD AB BRYCHAN, Confessor

THERE were two Saints named Dingad, and they have, as usual, been confounded the one with the other.

Dingad ab Brychan is found in the *Cognatio* and the late Brychan lists.¹ The Domitian version enters him as patron of Llandovery, *i.e.*, Llandingat,² in Carmarthenshire, and father of Pasgen, whom, however, the Vespasian version makes son of Brychan. In *Jesus College MS.* 20 we have Dingad as father of Pasgen and Cyblider, but Cyflifer was, according to the two *Cognatio* versions, son of Brychan.

The late authorities state that he was "Lord of Gwent uwch Coed, where his Church is" (Dingestow), and "Lord of Bryn Buga" (Usk), and that he "lies buried in Gwent is Coed." In *Peniarth MS.* 178 (sixteenth century) it is said that he "is a Saint in Gwent is Coed." See, however, below.

Hugh Thomas (died 1714), the Breconshire herald, says that he was buried "in all likelihood" at Llandovery, and that his feast was kept November 1.³ Browne Willis⁴ also gives the same day.

The following among the "Sayings of the Wise"⁵ is attributed to one of the Dingads—

Hast thou heard the saying of Dingad
When reproving the son of a wicked father?
"The duckling will soon learn to swim."
(Moch ddysg nofiaw mab hwyad.)

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 119, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419, 423. The name Dingad occurs under the form *Dunocati* on the sixth century inscribed stone in Glan Usk Park, Breconshire. Two distinct persons of the name are entered in the early genealogies in *Harleian MS.* 3859 (Dinacat), and *Jesus MS.* 20. It seems to mean "a fortress-warrior." In the Life of S. Paul de Léon Dincat is explained as *Receptaculum Pugnæ* (*Revue Celtique*, v, p. 418).

² The parish-name is Llandingat (for Llanddingad). Llandovery, the town-name, would appear to have been originally an *alias* for it, being derived from the little stream there called Dyfrig.

³ *Harleian MS.* 4181, fo. 72b.

⁴ *Parochiale Anglicanum*, 1733, p. 189.

⁵ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 253.

S. DINGAD AB NUDD HAEL, Confessor

THE early Bonedds in *Peniarth MSS.* 16, 45 (thirteenth century) and 12 (fourteenth century) and *Hafod MS.* 16 (*circa* 1400) make Dingad ab Nudd Hael, of the race of Maxen Wledig, to be the husband of Tenoï, daughter of Lleuddun Luyddog, and father of Lleuddad, Baglan, Eleri, Tegwy (Tegwyn), and Tyfriog (Tyfrydog). In the Welsh Life of his son Lleuddad or Llawddog, in the sixteenth century *Llanstephan MS.* 34, he is represented as king of Bryn Buga, and the husband of Tenoï, daughter of Lleuddun, by whom he had twelve children, "who every one served God." The *Myvyrian* genealogies¹ agree with the Bonedds. In the *Iolo MSS.*,² however, the children are entered as those of Nudd, and not of Dingad, and to them are added Llidnerth, Gwytherin, and Ilar. They are also said to have been Saints of Llancarfan, and to have afterwards gone with Dyfrig to Bardsey. Dingad is also designated "King of Bryn Buga," and said to be patron of Llandingad in Gwent.

It is difficult to say with certainty to which Dingad the church of Dingestow (now SS. Dingad and Mary), in Gwent or Monmouthshire, is dedicated. It was formerly called in Welsh Llanddingad and Llaningad,³ and occurs in the *Book of Llan Dâw*⁴ as Merthir Dincat, Ecclesia Dincat and Landinegat. There is no evidence that either Saint suffered martyrdom. Probably this church is dedicated to the son of Nudd Hael, as the *Cognatio* ascribes only Llandovery to the son of Brychan. The parish church of New Tredegar, Monmouthshire, formed out of the parishes of Tredegar and Bedwellty in 1900, is dedicated to S. Dingad.

S. DIRDAN, Confessor

THE name of Dirdan or Durdan, though he is accounted a Saint, does not occur as such in the saintly genealogies, but he is mentioned⁵ as "a nobleman of Italy," and husband of S. Banadllwen, daughter of Cynyr of Caer Gawch, the sister of SS. Non and Gwen and other Saints. He was the father of S. Ailfyw or Ailbe, Bishop of Emly.

¹ *Mvv. Arch.*, pp. 423, 427.

² Pp. 104, 113, 139.

³ "Eccl. de Landenegath" in the Norwich *Taxatio*, 1254.

⁴ On p. 154 a brook, Nant Dincat, is mentioned in the boundary of Lann Guruaet, *i.e.*, Llandeilo'r Vân, Breconshire. A Dincat signed as clerical witness (p. 203) a grant to the Church of Llandaff during the episcopate of Trichan.

⁵ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 141; *Mvv. Arch.*, p. 418.

Rees ¹ says Durdan was one of the companions of S. Cadfan, and having settled in Bardsey, had been considered one of the presiding Saints of the island. This statement, however, is not confirmed by the ordinary sources of Welsh hagiology. But it has been supposed that the old mansion house of Bodwrda, in the parish of Aberdaron, in the promontory of Lleyn, takes its name from him, and there is a well, Ffynnon Ddurdan, close by.

Dirdan occurs in an Ode to King Henry VII² among the names of upwards of a hundred Welsh Saints, to whose guardianship the bard commits the King.

S. DIRINIG or DIRYNIG, Martyr

THIS Saint's name occurs in seven lists of the children of Caw in the *Iolo MSS.*³ The name is clearly the Dirmyg or Dirmig of the lists in the tale of *Culhwch and Olwen*⁴ and *Peniarth MS.* 75 (sixteenth century).

He is said to be the patron of a church in Caer Efrog, or York, where he was slain by the pagan Saxons.

Among the "Sayings of the Wise" occurs the following⁵ :—

Hast thou heard the saying of Dirynig.
The wise, distinguished warrior?
"God will provide good for the lonely."
(Digawn Duw da i unig.)

S. DOCHDWY, Confessor

IN *Peniarth MS.* 16, *Hafod MS.* 16, *Hanesyn Hên (Cardiff MS.* 25), and some of the later genealogies,⁶ this Saint's name occurs as Dochdwy; in *Peniarth MS.* 45 and elsewhere⁷ it is Dochwy; whilst in the *Iolo MSS.* he is given several times as Docheu, and confounded

¹ *Welsh Saints*, p. 224.

² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314.

³ Pp. 109, 117, 137, 142-3.

⁴ *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 107.

⁵ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 256; cf. *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 129, 843. The proverb is quoted as an example of alliteration in Welsh by Giraldus in his *Description of Wales*, i, c. 12.

⁶ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 423; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 112; cf. p. 314, where a S. Dochwyn is mentioned, as well as Dochdwy. The Dochwyn of *Harleian MS.* 4181 (*Cambro-British SS.*, p. 269) is Dochdwy.

⁷ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 134.

with Docheu = Cyngar.¹ He was one of the Saints who came over with Cadfan from Brittany.

He is mentioned in the following passages in the late *Iolo MS.* documents. He was one of "the Saints and learned men that were, with Cadfan, brought to this island by Garmon. They were Saints at Llantwit and Llancarfan; and they all went with Cadfan as Saints to Bardsey, except Docheu, whom Teilo appointed Bishop of Llandaff in his own stead."² "He came with Cadfan to this island, was in Bardsey, and afterwards was a Bishop in the Church of Teilo in Llandaff whilst Teilo was in Bardsey, with the Saints there, presiding over the *Côr*, after the death of Cadfan."³ He and others were "natives of Llydaw, and kinsmen of Cadfan, with whom they came to Gwynedd to oppose the unbelievers."⁴

The statement that he succeeded Teilo as Bishop of Llandaff is due to a confusion with Oudoceus, in Welsh Euddogwy, who is the patron of Llandogo, on the Wye.

The *Iolo MSS.* are equally confused as to whom he came over here with. They mention, besides Cadfan, Dyfan, Ffagan, and Garmon.⁵

No churches are known to be dedicated to him. He is not the patron of the two churches of Llandochoau or Llandough in Glamorganshire, as Rees supposed.⁶ These are dedicated to Docheu = Cyngar.

His festival does not occur in any of the Welsh Calendars. Nicolas Roscarrock gives Dagdeus on August 18, by whom Dochdwy may be intended.

S. DOCHEU or DOCWIN, see S. CYNGAR

S. DOEWAN, Martyr

THIS Saint's name occurs in the genealogies as Doewan, Dogwan, and Dogfan, and elsewhere also as Doewon, Doefon, Dwywan, Dwywon. In the later genealogies he is given as a son of Brychan Brycheiniog,⁷ but his name does not occur in either of the *Cognatio* versions. "He was slain by the pagan Saxons at Merthyr Dogwan,

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 151; cf. pp. 114, 116.

² P. 103.

³ P. 112.

⁴ P. 134.

⁵ Pp. 101, 220; cf. Leland, *Itin.* iv, 69.

⁶ *Welsh Saints*, pp. 220, 337.

⁷ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 119, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419, 423. In the Calendars his name is always given as Doewan. He is not to be confounded, as is sometimes done, with Dyfan, of Lucius fame.

in Dyfed, where his church is," but its situation is not known, nor is it easy to understand how the Saxons had got into South-west Wales at that time.

He is the patron of Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant, Denbighshire, which adjoins Llangynog, dedicated to his half-brother, Cynog, whose mother Banadlined or Banhadlwedd was probably a native of Llanrhaiadr. Local tradition points out a place called Buarth yr Hendre, in the parish, as the site of an old church, the site and graveyard of which are still visible. From the fact of its being in Cwm Doefon, and Ffynnon Ddoefon being in the same dell, it has been reasonably conjectured to have been the site of the original oratory founded by Doewan.¹ The parish church name simply means "The Church near the waterfall in Mochnant" (the commote).

His festival is entered against July 13 in a good number of Calendars of the fifteenth century and later. The Prymer of 1546 gives the 12th, no doubt in mistake. A great fair was held at Llanrhaiadr on his day (Old Style), and is still held on the 23rd and 24th.

The cloud-berries (*Rubus Chamæmorus*), growing on the more alpine parts of the Berwyn, in this parish, are popularly called Mwyar Doewan, his berries. They are also known as Mwyar Berwyn. They are mentioned in Camden's *Britannia* among the "rare plants growing in Wales," "*Chamæmorus Cambro-britannica sive Lancastrense Vaccinium nubis*."² There is a tradition that whoever brought a quart of them ripe to the parson on the morning of the day of the Saint's festival, had his ecclesiastical payments remitted for the year.³

S. DOGED, King, Martyr

ACCORDING to one account, Doged Frenin (the King) was son of Cedig ab Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig,⁴ but according to another the son of Ceredig.⁵ If, as most probably, the son of Cedig, he was the brother of S. Afan Buellt, whose mother was S. Tegfedd or Tegwedd, the daughter of Tegid Foel, Lord of Penllyn.

Doged Frenin is mentioned in the Arthurian romance of *Culhwch*

¹ Thomas, *Hist. of the Diocese of S. Asaph*, 1st ed., p. 523. "Llan ddoywan" occurs in *Jesus College MS.* 15, p. 125.

² Ed. Gibson, 1722, coll. 835-6.

³ *Montgomeryshire Collections*, 1872, p. 304.

Myv. Arch., p. 424.

⁵ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 125.

and *Olwen*.¹ When Goleuddydd, daughter of Amlawdd Wledig, lay a-dying after giving birth to Culhwch, she said to her husband Cilydd, son of Celyddon Wledig, "Of this sickness I shall die, and thou wilt take another wife. I charge thee that thou take not a wife until thou see a double briar upon my grave." This he promised her.

After seven years "the king one day went to hunt, and he rode to the place of burial to see the grave, and to know if it were time that he should take a wife; and the king saw the briar. And when he saw it, the king took counsel where he should find a wife. Said one of his counsellors, 'I know a wife that will suit thee well, the wife of Doged Frenin.' And they resolved to go to seek her; and they slew the king, and brought away his wife and one daughter that she had along with her. And they conquered the king's lands."

We are not told what district he ruled over, but the commote of Uwch Dulas, in West Denbighshire, in which Llanddoget, the only church dedicated to him, is situated, may have been it, or have formed part of it, and the church was probably erected as a martyrium. At any rate, the copies of a poem written in his honour by Iefan Llwyd Brydydd (fifteenth century), preserved in *Peniarth MS.* 225 and *Jesus College MS.* 140, have the following as heading:—"An Ode to S. Doged Frenin, King and Martyr, as I saw written in the *White Book of Rhydderch*"² (*Peniarth MSS.* 4 and 5, fourteenth century).

In this poem the bard exhorts all sick folk to repair to Doged Frenin and his holy well (Ffynnon Ddoged). He was going to him to have his eye cured. "His horse had thrown him on to a thorn-brake, causing his eye to come out on his cheek, and no surgeon was able to relieve him, but God and the Saint made him perfectly whole, though so bruised and wounded." He makes Doged to have been son of Cedig and grandson of Ceredig. There was a statue of the Saint in Llanddoget Church, to which much people resorted.

Edward Lluyd, in his *Itinerary*, 1699, says under Llanddoget—"According to tradition Lh. Dhoeg³ from Doeg ye 3d son of Maelgwn Gwynedd. Their Feast Dygwyl Dhoget 9 days before May and 9 days before August." His festival does not occur in any of the Calendars. Another account states that the two wakes were observed, the first on the 24th day before May 1, to S. Doged, or accord-

¹ *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, pp. 100-1.

² The statement about the *White Book* is inaccurate; the poem, composed in the second half of the fifteenth century, is not there. We are indebted to Mr. Richard Ellis, M.A., for a photograph of the *Jesus MS.* copy.

³ In Llanrwst Church is a brass (1719), with a Latin inscription, to a rector of Llanddoget, wherein he is mentioned as "Doegensis."

ing to others, to the above Doeg; and the other, 24 days before August 1, to S. Mary Magdalene. That there may have been some connexion between the two claimants to the original foundation seems to be implied by one of the earliest records (1256) in the *Red Book of S. Asaph*, where one Cedig is represented as having struck with a drinking-horn a son of King Maelgwn Gwynedd, and as flying for sanctuary to Kentigern at Llanelwy, whither he is also pursued by Maelgwn.¹

S. DOGFAEL or DOGWEL, Confessor

THIS Saint was son of Ithel ab Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig.² His name also occurs as Dochfael,³ and his father, in the later genealogies, is given as Ithel Hael ab Cedig ab Ceredig. The late accounts make him a Saint or monk of Llancarfan.

His life in Wales seems to have been spent almost entirely in Pembrokeshire, for all the churches except one dedicated to him are situated in that county. They are Llandydoch⁴ (Llandudoch) or S. Dogmael's (S. Dogmell's), near Cardigan; S. Dogwell's,⁵ near Fishguard; Mynachlog Ddu, and Meline. Capel Degwel, situated in Cwm Degwel, in the parish of S. Dogmael's, was a "capella olim peregrinationis causa erecta" on the festival day.⁶ Llanddogwel, or Capel Dygwel, in Anglesey, was formerly a separate parish, but is now attached to Llanfechell,⁷ and its chapel has entirely disappeared. Near its site are Llanddygwel Groes and Hir.

¹ Thomas, *Hist. of Diocese of S. Asaph*, 1st ed., p. 546. The Festival of S. Mary Magdalene, however, is July 22, which agrees better with Lhuyd's date.

² *Peniarth MSS.*, 16 and 12; *Progenies Keredic in Cott. Vesp. A.* xiv; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 265; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 423; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 107, 110, 124. The earliest occurring form of the name is *Docmail* (*Harleian MS.* 3859). He is not to be confounded with Dogfael, the eighth son of Cunedda, who, on the partition of Wales, was granted the principality (called after him) of Dogfeiling or Dogfeilyn, represented later by the cantred of Dyffryn Clwyd.

³ *Peniarth MS.* 45; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 423.

⁴ Dogfael's name assumes in Llan *Dydoch* a Goidelic form, for Dog-fael would have to become in Irish *Doch-mhāl*, which, cut down to *Doch*, with the honorific prefix *to*, has yielded *Ty-doch* (Sir J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, p. 163).

⁵ Fenton, *Pembrokeshire*, ed. 1903, p. 186, says the Welsh name of this parish was Llan Ty Dewi. It would appear that it is also the Hunlle Dewi of the old parish-lists.

⁶ Owen, *Pembrokeshire*, i, p. 509.

⁷ "Capell" de Llan Dogwell" is entered under both Llanfechell and Llanrhuddlad in the *Valor* of 1535 (iv, p. 429). There are remains of the cemetery wall.

In S. Dogmael's or Dogmell's we have the "fossil" form of the modern Dogfael, which becomes colloquially Dogwael or Dogwel. The abbey here belonged to the Tironian Order of Reformed Benedictines.

From the legend of S. Tydecho as versified by Dafydd Llwyd ab Llywelyn ab Gruffydd, in the fifteenth century, it would appear that SS. Tydecho and Tegfan were for some time with Dogfael at Llandudoch.

October 31 as the festival of S. Dogfael occurs in a good many of the Welsh Calendars.¹ Rees,² on the authority of Cressy, gives Dogfael or Tegwel (which latter cannot be identified with our Saint's name) on June 14; but Cressy is worthless as an authority.

Though so little is known of Dogfael, he must have been a person of considerable importance in his day.

According to F. Peckham there was formerly a chapel dedicated to him near Liskeard, in Cornwall.

But he did not confine himself, apparently, to Britain. He passed into Armorica. He is the reputed patron of S. Domineuc in Ille et Vilaine, where he has replaced Domnec. He has chapels at Rospez (Côtes du Nord) and Pommerit-Jaudy in the same department. Albert le Grand gives us a series of Bishops of Lexovia, an apocryphal see that preceded Tréguier, and was supposed to have been founded by Drennalus, disciple of Joseph of Arimathea. He even gives the date of the arrival of this Drennalus as taking place in 72, and that of his death 92. The fifty-eighth Bishop of this see, that did not exist except in Cloudland, is set down as S. Docmael, consecrated in 482, who died in 498.

The entire series is pure invention. There was no see at Tréguier till it was founded by Nominoe in 846, but there was an abbey there over which S. Tudwal presided from the middle of the sixth century to his death. Before him there was nothing at all.

Albert le Grand, or whoever invented the series of Bishops of Lexovia, derived Dogmael from a disciple of that name who was with S. Columbanus at the real Lexovia, Luxeuil, if we may trust the local legends there. Miss M. Stokes, in her *Six Months in the Apennines*, mentions a charter seen at Bobbio by Ughelli, of S. Columbanus, in 599, witnessed by Dogfael and other Celtic monks, Eogain, Cummian, Eunan, etc.

¹ Browne Willis, *Bangor*, 1721, p. 280, gives October 31 for the Anglesey Church, but Nicolas Owen, *Hist. of Anglesey*, 1775, p. 59, November 30.

² *Welsh Saints*, pp. 211, 318. Tegwel, on June 14, occurs in Welsh Almanacks of the eighteenth century. There is a Cwm Tecwel in Ffestiniog.

There were traditions in the Diocese of Tréguier of a Dogfael or Dogmael, who had a cult there. Nothing certain was known of him, and when the fabricators of the list of the bishops of Lexovia sought for names, they appropriated this and inserted it, partly because a Dogfael had been at the real Lexovia, and partly because he was culted in Tréguier.

The fable of his having been a bishop has had its effect, and a seventeenth century statue of S. Dogfael at Rospez represents him mitred and with crozier.

The Dogfael who was with S. Columbanus cannot have been the Dogfael son of Ithel ab Ceredig, for he lived a century later. Not far from Annegrai, at Ste. Marie-en-Chanois, is the cave of S. Columbanus, and near it the well he caused to spring up to satisfy the thirst of his visitor S. Dogfael. It is also related that when Columbanus was driven away by Theodoric, Dogfael accompanied him, and on their entering Besançon together, the chains fell off the arms and legs of the prisoners.

In Brittany Dogfael is invoked to help children to walk. His name is popularly corrupted to Toël, but at Rospez he is known as Saint Dogméel.

S. DOGFAN, see S. DOEWAN

SS. DOLGAN and DOLGAR

IN the *Myvyrian Archaiology* and *Iolo MSS.*¹ occur the three forms Dolgan, Dolgar and Dolgain, which are given as the names of a son and a daughter or daughters of Gildas. Dolgan and his brothers are stated in the *Iolo MSS.* to have been "Saints" of Llantwit and Llancarfan, and his church to be in Gwynedd. The two other forms may be taken to represent one and the same person. Nothing is known of these Saints, and they are in all probability apocryphal.

S. DOMINICA, Virgin, Martyr

INDRACT, son of an Irish Prince, with his sister Dominica, and

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 424, 426; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 117, 140.

seven others, of noble birth, visited Britain, intending eventually to proceed on a pilgrimage to Rome.¹

They came to the Tamar and settled there for a while. Indract founded Landrake, but he had also a chapel and holy well near the river edge. Of the former a wall remains, and the well is in perfect condition.

Whilst staying there an unpleasantness arose, which shall be mentioned when we come to speak of S. Indract, and the party left and visited Rome. On their return journey they halted at Shapwith, near Glastonbury, where they were murdered by an official of the Saxon king.

King Ina in 710 refounded Glastonbury, and, at a later date, a successor removed to it the relics of the Saints.

It is by no means certain that Dominica accompanied her brother to Rome, and was killed at Shapwith.

The church of S. Dominick, in Cornwall, is dedicated to her, and marks the site of her religious foundation. It is probable that she there had a congregation of pious women under her. The church was re-dedicated on May 18, 1263, by Bishop Bronescombe, to Sancta Dominica. The same dedication is given in Bytton's Register, 1310, and in that of Bishop Stapeldon.

The festival of SS. Dominica and Indract is on May 8. Whytford, on this day, says: "The feest of Saynt Indrake a kynge of Yrelond y^t forsoke all his royalty and went to rome w^t his syster saynt Dominyke wth dyuerse other y^t al togyder lyved a private lyf full of scтите (sanctite) and myracles and at the last martyred for Chrystes fayth."

The feast at S. Dominick is on the first Thursday after May 12. Add eleven days to May 8 and we have May 19, near about when the Feast is held. As usual the people insist on Old Style reckoning.

May 8 is the day given in the Salisbury Martyrology, and also in the Altemps Martyrology of the thirteenth century, and a Norwich Martyrology of the fifteenth. Nicolas Roscarrock, also.

The date of the death of S. Dominica cannot be fixed with any confidence. Colgan considered it must have taken place in 678, but, as shall be shown under S. Indract, the true date is 854.

In art S. Dominica should be represented habited as an Irish nun, and with a crown at her feet.

Her name and that of her brother are Irish. Hers is composed in the same manner as was *Domnach*, a church, and *Domnall* and *Domnan*, names for men.

¹ For authorities see further on, under S. INDRACT.

S. DOMNECH, Confessor

DOMNECH was a disciple of S. Machu or Malo, probably one who had accompanied him from Britain.

He occupied a cell on the Limon, a confluent of the Rance. One day the chieftain of that portion of Domnonia which comprised the district round Aleth, passing that way, found him, and asked him what possessions he had. Domnech replied that he had none save his cell. Meliau, the chieftain, said to him, "Take two untamed oxen, yoke them, and as much land as you can enclose with a furrow between the rising and the setting of the sun shall be yours."¹

One day when Machu was on his wanderings, he found a poor swineherd hiding in a ditch. He asked him why he skulked there, and the man replied that he had kept the swine of the hermit Domnech, and that he had lost one of them, and fearing how he would be treated by Domnech, he had been in hiding for three days.

Machu bade him get up and search, and with the aid of Machu he found the pig, a sow that had littered eight piglings.

Then Machu led the poor serf to his master, and Domnech was rejoiced to recover all his pigs, together with the brood. Machu stayed the night with him, and then Domnech agreed to surrender all the territory granted him by Meliau, that it might become part of the patrimony of Machu's great monastery at Aleth.²

The site of the cell of Domnech is now S. Domneuc. It is in the commune of Tintinac in Ille et Vilaine. It now claims S. Dogfael as its patron. In the Life of S. Machu it is called Landonnec.

S. DOMNOC or MODOMNOC, Abbot, Confessor

DOMNOC, or, with the common Irish prefix of affectionate regard, Modomnoc, was a disciple of S. David. Almost all that we know of him is from the very late Life of this latter Saint. Such notices as still exist relative to him have been collected by Colgan in his *Acta SS. Hibern.* for February 13.

Domnoc was son of Saran, son of Tighernach, descended from Niall of the Nine Hostages. His grandfather was, in fact, brother of Murtagh mac Erca, who was king of Ireland 513-533. Tighernach's half-brother was grandfather of S. Columba of Hy.

¹ *Vita Sti. Maclovii*, ed. Dom Plaine, *Bulletin de la Soc. Arch. d'Ille et Vilaine*, 1883, pp. 197-8.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 198-9.

How it was that Domnoc was committed to S. David to be educated we do not know. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his Life of that Saint, has given his name as Mandabnaucus.

Domnoc was engaged one day in the oversight of the labourers employed on the road "on the steep near the confines of the city"—one of the ways of descent into the Alun Valley—when he reproached a workman who was lazy. The man had a tool in his hand, and in a fury menaced Domnoc with it. Happily, S. David was not far off, and the fellow, thinking better of it, did not strike.¹ After Domnoc had been a good many years with S. David, he resolved on returning to Ireland. "Entering the ship, a large swarm of bees followed him, and settled on the prow of the vessel where he sat." But, not liking to appear to steal the bees, he returned to S. David, whereupon the swarm again followed him. David bade him go and take the bees with him, and this time again the swarm went after him to the boat, and he carried it over with him to Ireland.² Giraldus says that from that time bees did not thrive in Mynyw, and became extinct there.³ They certainly flourish there at the present day.

Modomnoc settled at Lan Beachaire, "the Church of the Bee-Keeper," now Bremore, near Balbuggan, in the county of Dublin. There are ruins of an early church there in a cemetery surrounded by a hawthorn fence.

But his principal church was Tiprad-Fachna, or Tibrach, in the county of Kilkenny, on the Suire. It is in the barony of Iverk, and ancient ecclesiastical ruins remain on the spot, which is commanded by a circular camp.

Whether Domnoc actually carried over bees, or whether under the figure of bees a swarm of busy monks is signified, we cannot tell.

Domnoc or Modomnoc is commemorated on February 13, in the *Félire of Oengus*, the Calendar of Cashel, the Martyrology of Tallaght, those of Donegal and O'Gorman, and the Drummond Calendar.

S. DONA, Confessor

DONA or Dwina was the son of Selyf ab Cynan Garwyn ab Brochwel

¹ *Vita S. David* in *Cambo-British Saints*, p. 133. Domnoc's name occurs in the *Vita* in Nero E. i, as Modunnauc.

² *Ibid.*, p. 134. Solinus, B.C. 80, says that in his day bees were unknown in Ireland, and states that bees would even desert a hive if Irish earth were brought near it.

³ Girald. Camb., *Opera*, ed. Brewer, 1863, iii, pp. 396-7.

Ysgythrog.¹ He is the patron of Llanddona in Anglesey. In the genealogies he is said to be a Saint in Crafgoed, Cathgoed, or Garthgoed, in Anglesey, the first form of which is still preserved in Mynydd y Crafgoed, within the parish, where is also a hill called Bryn Dona. His father, otherwise known as Selyf Sarffgadau (the Serpent of Battles), was king of Powys, who fell in 613 at the Battle of Chester.

According to the *Iolo MSS.* Dona was a Saint of Bangor Deiniol, whence he moved into Anglesey, and erected his cell on the sea-shore. Above his church, in the rock, is his chair, Cadair Dona.

His festival does not occur in any of the Calendars,² but the Llanddona wake, according to Nicolas Owen and Angharad Llwyd,³ fell on All Saints' Day.

About a mile from the town of Knighton, in Radnorshire, is Craig Dona. Hither the young people of Knighton were wont formerly to resort on Sunday evenings to drink the water of the spring there, sweetened with sugar. The chasm in the rock is said to have been Dona's bed⁴; but probably this was a different person.

The sons of Selyf are mentioned in the Life of S. Beuno. They caused great offence to the Saint by demanding of him food, when they were hunting in his neighbourhood at Gwyddelwern, and by remarks made by them on the meat when he did kill a bullock for them. In a paroxysm of rage, he cursed them that they should neither have an heir to succeed in the principality of Powys, nor find admittance into Heaven.⁵ If Dona and Mael Myngan were the sons, and we know of none others, then the curse failed in the case of the latter, who left direct issue that occupied the throne of Powys for many generations, and we may conclude that his imprecation was as ineffectual against Dona, who is numbered among the Saints.

It is possible that he may have been in Brittany, and may be the Saint who is traditionally said to have laboured in the district between S. Brieuc and Quintin, in Côtes du Nord. He is thought to have lived at Plou Fragan; but nothing is known of him there save through vague tradition. Saint Donan is the parish that adjoins,

¹ *Peniarth MSS.* 45 (thirteenth century), 75 and 177 (sixteenth century) *Hafod MS.* 16 (circa 1400); *Hanesyn Hên* (Cardiff *MS.* 25), pp. 38, 121; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 270; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 423; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 102, 130. The name occurs in the *Book of Llan Dâu* as Dunna. Lewis Morris mistook the Saint's sex, calling him Dona Santes (*Celtic Remains*, p. 140).

² *Hist. of Anglesey*, 1775, p. 58.

³ *Hist. of Anglesey*, 1833, p. 222.

⁴ *Arch. Camb.*, 1858, p. 490.

⁵ *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 15-6; *Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi*, Oxford, 1894, p. 121. In the Life the sons of Selyf are called nephews, not grandsons, of Cynan; but this is a mistake.

Plou Fragan. His great uncle, Tyssilio or Suliau, certainly had foundations in this portion of Domnonia, and it is not at all improbable that after the death of Tyssilio, some of his kinsmen came over to take the supervision there of his houses.

Tresvaux, in his additions to Lobineau, gives as his day September 24, and is followed by Garaby. Kerviler gives the same day, but also April 14.

He is patron as well of Esquibion near Pont Croix in Finistère, but it may be doubted if this is the same Saint.

Traditionally, Donan is said to have been a disciple of S. Brioc, but there is no reason for this except the fact that Saint Donan is near S. Brieuc. Tresvaux conjectures that Donan may have been an Irish Saint, perhaps the nephew of S. Senan. And the Pont Croix district is distinctly one colonized from Ireland.

S. Donan is represented at the church bearing his name, near S. Brieuc, in rochet and cassock, preaching. The statue is of the eighteenth century.

SS. DREDENAU, Princes, Martyrs

BESIDE the Blavet, in the parish of S. Geran (Geraint) in Morbihan is a flamboyant chapel, erected in honour of two princes, brothers, who, according to tradition, were slain by an ambitious uncle, who flung their bodies into a marsh, where they were guarded by a white sow, till devout people came and buried them.

No record exists for determining who they were; locally they are called Les Saints Dredenau.

It is possible, we cannot say more, that these princes were the sons of Modred, who were murdered in or about 538, by Constantine of Cornwall, and that Gildas may have set up this chapel as a *martyrium* in their honour, as Gildas extended his influence up the Blavet, from Castennec, and indeed has a chapel in a neighbouring parish.

Gildas speaks in his *Increpatio* of the murder by Constantine: "In this year, after a dreadful form of oath, by which he bound himself that he would use no deceit against his subjects, making his oath first to God, and secondly to the choirs of saints and those who follow them, in reliance upon the mother (the Church), he nevertheless, in the garb of a holy abbot, cruelly tore the tender sides of two royal children, while in the bosoms of two revered

mothers—viz., the Church and the mother after the flesh—together with their two guardians. And their arms stretched forth in no way to armour, which no man was in the habit of using more bravely than they at this time, but towards God and His altar, will hang in the Day of Judgment at Thy gates, O Christ, as revered trophies of their patience and faith. He did this among the holy altars, as I said, with accursed sword and spear instead of teeth, so that the cloaks, red as if with clotted blood, touched the place of the heavenly sacrifice.”¹

What Gildas means by “this year” is not intelligible. He can hardly mean the year in which he wrote, which was just before 540, when his book was published. The “General Denunciation,” which precedes the *Increpatio*, contains no date. But the date of the butchery must have been somewhere about 538.

Geoffrey of Monmouth gives a detailed account of the slaughter, but he is so untrustworthy that no reliance can be placed on his narrative. He says: “Constantine . . . took the two sons of Modred; and one of them, who had fled to the Church of S. Amphibalus in Winchester, he murdered before the altar. The other had hidden himself in a convent of friars (in quorundam fratrum Coenobio absconditum) in London, but at last was found by him, brought before the altar, and there put to death.”² That Constantine could have gone to London and there executed the crime is, of course, absurd.

All we can gather from Gildas is that Constantine of Cornwall did murder the princes in a church near the altar, he having disguised himself in monastic habit to obtain access to them.

Geraint, if any trust can be placed in the Welsh pedigrees, was the ancestor alike of Constantine and of Gildas, and the murdered kinsmen of both were, according to Geoffrey, mixed up in the revolt of Modred against Constantine. “Upon Constantine’s advancement to the throne, the Saxons, with the two sons of Modred, made insurrection against him, though without success; for after many battles they fled, one to London, the other to Winchester, and possessed themselves of those places.”³

If the martyred princes be the same as those commemorated as the Dredenau or Dredenaux at S. Geran, then the story has there been localised, for the marsh is shown where the bodies were found.

That Gildas, who felt strongly the murder of the princes, may

¹ Gildas, ed. Prof. Hugh Williams, p. 68.

² *Hist. Regum*, xi, c. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, xi, c. 3.

have raised a chapel in commemoration of them on what we conjecture to have been the royal *dominium* of the British princes in Armorica is conceivable enough ; and that local tradition should have supposed the slaughter to have taken place on the spot, and not in Britain, is intelligible as well.



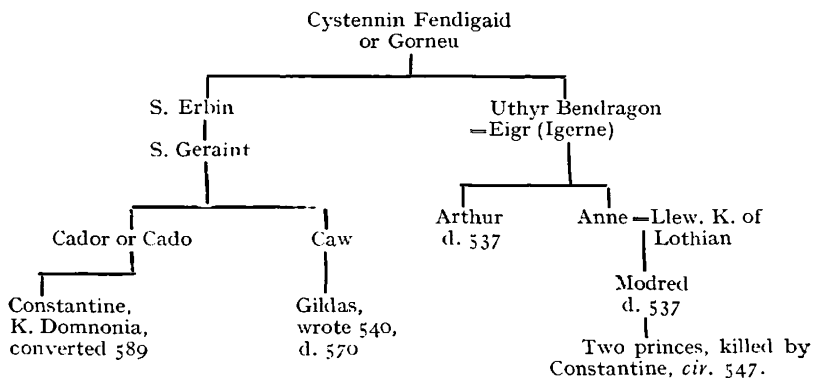
SS. DREDENAU.

Statues in their Chapel at S. Geran.

In the chapel of the SS. Dredenau are their statues rudely executed ; and in the marsh is their Holy Well, also with statues of the brothers carved in granite upon it, and in excellent preservation. In the chapel each statue represents the saint as a boy ; Gildas speaks of those murdered by Constantine as "royal children." They have bloody gashes on their heads, and by the side of each is a bell. On the books they hold is the inscription in Latin and in French :—
 "Ce Saint a combatu jusque à la mort pour la loi de Dieu et n'a pas craint les menaces des infidèles parceque sa foi était fondée sur la pierre."

The Pardon at this chapel is on the fourth Sunday after Easter,

The pedigree of the princes would be this :—



S. DUBRICIUS (DYFRIG), Bishop, Confessor

THE authorities for the Life of S. Dubricius are :—

1. A Life in the *Book of Llan Dâv*. This book was compiled about 1150. The *Vita* is in the edition of Evans and Rhys, 1893, pp. 78–86. A somewhat imperfect transcript of the *Vita*, of the early thirteenth century, is in *Cotton MS. Vesp. A. xiv*. The variations are given in the Appendix to Evans and Rhys, pp. 359–60.

2. An account of him in Geoffrey of Monmouth's fabulous *Historia Regum Britannicæ*, published 1147; lib. viii, c. 12; ix, cc. 1, 4, 12, 13, 15.

Geoffrey converted Dubricius into an archbishop of Caerleon, and gave him a prominent position and leading part in the affairs of Britain, for which there was no justification. His Dubricius is wholly fabulous.

3. A Life by Benedict of Gloucester, written some time after 1120, but after he had seen the first edition of Geoffrey's *History*. He had before him the *Vita 1^{ma}* as contained in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, and he pieced into it the romance of Geoffrey where it concerned Dubricius. This, too, occurs in *Cotton MS. Vesp. A. xiv*.

It begins: "Igitur quidam regulus Ertici regionis Pepiau vocatus, Britannice vero Clavorauc cognominatus, quod Latine reumaticus sive spumosos interpretatur." The *Vita 1^{ma}* has: "Quidam rex fuit Ercychi regionis Pepiau nomine Clavorauc vocatus Britannice Latine vero spumosos."

It is printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii, pp. 654-61, and consists of eleven chapters. 1 and 2 are from *Vita 1^{ma}*. 3 relates the arrival of SS. Germanus and Lupus in Britain, from Geoffrey of Monmouth. 4 records the elevation of Dubricius to be Archbishop of Caerleon by Aurelius Ambrosius. 5 narrates the poisoning of Aurelius and the raising of Arthur to the throne through the influence of Dubricius, all from Geoffrey. 6. Dubricius visits S. Illtyd and consecrates S. Samson. This is taken from *Vita 1^{ma}* and the Life of S. Samson. 7. Cure of the daughter of Guidgentivai, from *Vita 1^{ma}*. 8. The deeds of King Arthur, from Geoffrey. 9. Dubricius retires to the eremitical life and is succeeded in the archbishopric by S. David, taken from Geoffrey. 10. The embassy of Lucius Cæsar to Britain, from Geoffrey; and 11. The death of Dubricius in Enlli, in the year 612, from the *Vita 1^{ma}*. Thus this Life is a mere patchwork of no value.

4. A condensation of the Life by Benedict of Gloucester was made by John of Tynemouth. The original MS. is in *Cotton MS. Tiberius, E. i.* It was printed in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, ed. Horstmann, pp. 267-71.

5. As we have seen, 2, 3, and 4 are worthless. It is other with the charters or grants made to Dubricius and his disciples found in the *Book of Llan Dâv*. These grants do not come to us in their original form; they were manipulated by the redactor of the *Book of Llan Dâv* in the twelfth century.

Originally, the gifts made to Dubricius and his disciples were recorded on the margins of a Book of the Gospels, in the same manner as the entries in the *Book of S. Chad*, so-called, but a Book of the Four Gospels that belonged originally to the Church of Llandaff. These recorded the names of the grantor and grantee, and those of the clerical and lay witnesses to the transfer—little more.

When the compiler of the *Book of Llan Dâv* took these in hand, he filled them out, and gave them an academic form. In some instances he added the traditional circumstances which caused the grantor to make the gift; and in almost all cases he added the boundaries from his own knowledge. He did more, he coloured the account to accommodate it to certain claims advanced by the Church of Llandaff to possession of all the lands that had been given to Dubricius and to his disciples. An example may be taken from the earliest grant in the book, that by Erb, king of Gwent and Erging, to Dubricius, of the land of Cilhal, supposed to be Pencoyd, in Herefordshire. It records how that Erb made over land, named Cilhal, from his own heritage, "Dubritio [archiepiscopo archimonasterii Landaviæ

et suis successoribus].” Here all within brackets is an addition by the compiler. Dubricius was not archbishop, and Llandaff had not been founded when Erb was king. “Rex prædictus misit manum super quatuor Evangelia, tenente beato Dubricio, cum prædicta tellure. [Finis illius a Palude Magno usque ad Arganhell. Benedicens posteris suis qui servaverint istam donationem; qui autem violaverint, et ab ecclesia Landaviæ separaverint, maledicentur, et in ignem æternum mittentur.] De clericis testes sunt [archie]piscopus Dubricius, Elhearn, Iudner, Guordocui, Guernabui. De laicis vero rex Erb, Pepiau, Gurtauan, Mabon, Condiuill.”¹ So, again, with another grant: “Sciendum est nobis quod Peipiau rex filius Erb largitus est Mainaur Garth Benni usque ad paludem nigrum inter silvam et campum et aquam et jaculum Constantini regis socii sui trans Guy amnem Deo et Dubricio [archie]piscopo [sedis Landaviæ] et Iunapeio consobrino suo . . . sine ullo sensu terreno et principatu parvo et modico nisi Deo et Sancto Dubricio [servientibus ecclesiæ Landaviæ] in perpetuo . . . ut domus orationis et penitentiae . . . et in testimonio relictis ibi tribus discipulis suis ecclesiam illam consecravit.”² The title of archbishop may have stood in the original grant, but this is most improbable, and, if it did, it had a totally different significance from that attributed to it later. All reference to Llandaff is a deliberate insertion of a late period.

Another instance of the handiwork of the compiler may be adduced. In the grant made by Britcon of Lann Bocha to S. Dubricius it is stated that Britcon and Iliuc made over “Lannmocha pro animabus suis . . . Deo et Sancto Petro Apostolo et archiepiscopo Dubricio archimonasterii Landaviæ . . . verbo et consensu Mourici regis.”³ Now Lann-mocha or Lann-bocha is the Church of S. Machu or Malo, now S. Maughan’s.⁴ Machu was son of Madrun, daughter of Vortimer or Gwrthefyr, who died in 457, and Machu cannot have founded this church till the middle of the sixth century. He was born about 527. Consequently it is hardly credible that in the time of Meurig and Dubricius there can have been a church bearing Machu’s name.

Moreover, no churches among the British were dedicated to S. Peter or any Apostle. It was in 1120, when Bishop Urban rebuilt the Cathedral of Llandaff, that he dedicated it to S. Peter in conjunction with SS. Dubricius, Teilo, and Oudoceus.

The association of S. Dubricius with Llandaff in the charters was due to a misapprehension, which it will be well here to consider. Dubricius received several concessions of land, mainly in Erging,

¹ *Book of Llan Dâu*, p. 75.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

² *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

as did also his disciples; some, however, settled in Gower, and some in Gwent.

In 577 occurred the disastrous battle of Deorham, and the burning of Gloucester, Bath, and probably also Caerwent. This led to the settlement of the Hwiccas along the lower Severn, and to raids over the Wye into Erging, as we may conjecture.

The monasteries of Dyfrig and his disciples in Ewyas and Ērging were utterly wasted, and the monks escaped, carrying their relics and books with them. "Be it known," says a charter of the time of Bishop Berthguin, "that great tribulations and devastations took place in the time of Telpald and Ithail, kings of Britain, and this was due to the heathen Saxon race, and it was mainly on the confines of Britain and Anglia [towards Hereford], and it was so extensive that the whole borderland of Britain was almost destroyed, and much beyond the confines on both sides of Anglia and Britain, and mainly about the river Wye, on account of wars and frequent daily and nightly incursions, on one side and on the other. After a while, peace having been established, the land was restored by force and vigour (to its rightful owners); but it was swept bare and unoccupied, with men few and far between."¹

That some of the disciples of Dyfrig took refuge with S. Teilo at Llandaff we know, for their names occur as clerics at that place.²

In the time of Berthguin, who succeeded S. Oudoceus, the disciple and successor of Teilo, as the monasteries in Erging lay desolate, the flourishing Church of Llandaff, that enjoyed the favour of Ithail, son of Morcant, king of Morganwg and Glywysing, took possession of these abandoned sites, and re-occupied them. Thenceforth the Church of Llandaff assumed to be the legitimate inheritor of all the possessions of Dubricius and his disciples. It had harboured the refugees; it preserved their Books of the Gospels with the marginal records of grants; and now it reoccupied their deserted seats.

When, in the twelfth century, the compiler of the *Book of Llan Dâv* took these simple records in hand, partly in ignorance, partly with purpose, he adapted them, made Dubricius actually founder of Llandaff, and head over all the Churches of South Wales.

After this long preamble we come to the Life of Dubricius.

We will take the *Vita 1^{ma}* as our basis, supplementing it from the charters. But one observation we must make on this Life. Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans conjectures that the *Book of Llan Dâv* was drawn up by Geoffrey of Monmouth himself. But this is scarcely

¹ *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 192. "Hereford" is a late addition.

² *Ibid.*, p. 131, cf. p. 80.

credible. We can hardly believe that if he took in hand to re-write the Life of S. Dubricius, he could have resisted the temptation of making it agree with the story of Dubricius as excogitated by himself in his *History of the Kings of Britain*. Instead of harmonizing with this latter, it contradicts it at every point.

Pepiau, or Peipiau,¹ king of Erging or Archenfield, in Herefordshire, son of Erb, King of Gwent and Erging, had a daughter named Efrddyl.² On his return from a warfaring expedition he asked her to wash his head; and whilst she was thus engaged, he perceived that she was in the family-way. He was angry, and ordered her to be put in a skin bag and thrown into the river. She was, however, washed ashore, and then he sentenced her to be burnt alive.

Next morning he sent to inquire about her ashes, and the messengers found her sitting on the pyre, nursing her new-born son. Pepiau ordered mother and child to be brought to him, and he took the infant in his arms.

Now Pepiau was afflicted with a drivelling mouth, and two servants attended continually to wipe away the saliva with napkins.³ It fell out that when the child on his lap stroked his cheeks, he was completely healed of his infirmity. Pepiau then granted to the child the place where it had been born, which was called Matle. Eventually, a stone was set up on the spot in commemoration of the marvellous birth there of the child Dyfrig.⁴

¹ The name would to-day be Peibio, as in Garth Beibio, a parish in Montgomeryshire, and Ynys Beibio, near Holyhead. According to the tale of *Culhwch and Olwen (Mabinogion)*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 121) there were two kings, named Nynnio and Peibio, who were metamorphosed into horned oxen (*tychen bannog*) on account of their sins. They appear as insane kings, that were brothers, in the tale of Rhita Gawr (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 193). In the genealogies in *Jesus College MS.* 20 (15th century) Pepiau is called Peibiawn Glawrawc, and made to be the son of Arbeth and father of Tewdwr. Pepiau's Welsh epithet, Clafrog or Clafrog, correctly means scabby or leprous. Glyfoer or glafoer, "drivel," would more accurately express his affliction. He was succeeded by his son Cinuin (Cynfyn).

² Elrdil, Evrdil, Eurdil or Eurdila.

³ "Spumam enim ab ore incessanter emittebat, quam duo clientes sine aliquius horæ intervallo vix extergere poterant manutergiis." *Ibid.*, p. 79. Lewis, in his *History of Great Britain*, describes his monument. "In Herefordshire in a parish (probably he means Madley) is the picture of a king, with a man on each side of him, with napkins wiping the rheum and drivel from his mouth; that humour so abounding in him that he could get no cure for it, which king the country people call King Driveller, the Britons Pebiau Glawrawc." (Quoted in Supplementary Notes to the *Liber Landavensis*, p. 8, appended to *Cambro-British Saints*.)

⁴ "Tenentem filium in gremio quem pepererat ad saxum quod ibidem positum est in testimonium miræ nativitatæ pueri." *Ibid.*, p. 79.

The story, however, looks much like a bit of folklore, of a piece with that associated with S. Cenydd and S. Cyndeyrn, and may have become attached to Dyfrig from his name being a derivative of *dwfr* (water).

According to the late Welsh genealogies Dyfrig was the son of Brychan¹; but the *Cognatio* does not recognize him.

The *Iolo MSS.* say that Dyfrig's mother was Eurbrawst, daughter of Meurig ab Tewdrig, king of Glamorgan, and that Brychan was his father.² But Eurbrawst, by whom is intended Onbrawst, was daughter of Gurcant Maur, and wife of Meurig ab Tewdrig, king of Morganwg, and consequently mother of Anna, who bore S. Samson.³

"The sons of Brychan were saints at Llancarfan and Llantwit; afterwards they formed a college (*côr*) with Bishop Dyfrig at the Wig on the Wye" (Hentland), which is designated "the religious foundation of Brychan."⁴

"The religious foundation of the family of Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig was the *Côr* of Dyfrig, Saint and Archbishop, at the Wig on the banks of the Wye, which was destroyed by the pagan Saxons."⁵ *Côr* Dyfrig, over which Dyfrig presided as principal (*penrhaith*), was composed of several minor *côrs*, embracing in all two thousand saints.⁶ "Dyfrig ab Brychan is a Saint in Ceredigion,"⁷ confusing him very probably with the patron Saint of Llandyfriog. According to *Peniarth MS.* 75 (sixteenth century), he was a saint "in Brycheiniog." It must be remembered that all these notices are several centuries later than the twelfth century *Vita*, and should therefore be taken simply for what they are worth.

A more serious difficulty is presented by the charter already quoted of the grant of Cilhal to Dyfrig. This represents the grantor as Erb the father of Pepiau, and the clerical witnesses to the grant are all disciples of Dyfrig. That saint can hardly have been under thirty years old when given Cilhal, if he had clerical pupils. But it is inconceivable that he should have received a grant from his great-grandfather at that time. Yet one cannot reject the donation as a fiction, for if it had been a fabrication, the compiler of the *Book of*

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 119, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 419. The mistake seems to be due to a confusion of names. Brychan had a son Papai (in the later lists Pabiali), and he has very probably been assumed to be Pepiau.

² P. 119. Another entry on p. 147 substitutes Rhybrawst for Eurbrawst, and states that she was his cousin and first wife.

³ *Book of Llan Dâw*, pp. 132, 140.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 120, 121.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁷ *Peniarth MS.* 178 (sixteenth century); *Myv. Arch.*, p. 424.

Llan Dâu would not have stultified himself by making a king give land to his middle-aged great-grandson.

We may suspect that Efrddyl was sister, and not daughter of Pepiau.

Matle,¹ the birthplace of S. Dubricius, is Madley, in Herefordshire, seven miles from Hereford. The church is nearly two miles from the Wye. The Watling Street, a Roman road, crosses the Wye and runs through the parish, aiming at Abergavenny. Beyond the river rises a wooded hill, 720 ft. high, commanding the ford, and crowned with strong earthworks. We may suppose that here Pepiau had his residence.

The name Dyfrig seems to mean "Waterling," and had originally the same significance as Dyfrwr. There is a small affluent of the Severn close to Worcester that was called Doferic (*i.e.*) Dyfric. A form Dyfrog also occurs in Dowrog Common and Dowrogpool, north-east of S. David's.²

We are not informed as to who was the instructor of S. Dyfrig, for we are obliged to reject as worthless the assertions of Benedict of Gloucester concerning his association with SS. Germanus and Lupus. The narrative in the *Vita 1^{ma}* hurries on to the time when he was an abbot and master of Saints. We may suppose that in his early life he was much at Madley.

The first important settlement made by Dyfrig was at Henllan, now Hentland on the Wye, about four and a half miles north-west from Ross, in low ground, a combe that descends to the river. Here he collected about him a great number of disciples, as many, it is said, as two thousand, probably at Llanfrother, in the parish, near the river. He remained there, however, for seven years only,³ and then removed to Mochros, now Moccas, nearer his native place, from which it is distant five miles.

It speaks well for the honesty of the compiler of the *Book of Llan Dâu* that he gives no grant of either Henllan or Mochros to Dubricius. The record of these donations was lost, and he did not fabricate false charters. The claim of the Church of Llandaff to Mochros was based on a grant of the devastated site to Berthguin by Ithail.⁴

¹ "Bonus locus; eo quod in eo natus fuisset beatus homo." *Book of Llan Dâu*, p. 79.

² Owen, *Pembrokeshire*, i, p. 207, note. A Dubric, as clerical witness, attested three grants to Llandaff in the time of Bp. Catguaret (*Book of Llan Dâu*), pp. 209-11.

³ Mille clericos per septem annos continuos in podo Hennlann super ripam Gui in studio litterarum . . . retenuit." *Book of Llan Dâu*, p. 80.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

"There existed," says Mr. Newell, "a great monastic organization, of which Henllan or Mochros was regarded as the 'archmonastery'";¹ and it was because Dubricius was head of this archmonastery that some colour was given to the conception of him as archbishop. "In later times the term archbishop was misunderstood, and was regarded as involving a primacy over other diocesan bishops, whereas it meant only the primacy of the episcopal abbot of the archmonastery over the episcopal abbots of subordinate monasteries. The claims both of the bishops of S. David's, and of the bishops of Llandaff to the title of archbishop were justifiable (for S. David's also was an archmonastery), but only so long as they retained their daughter monasteries in subordination. When the episcopates became diocesan, the reason for the title expired, and in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis, or of the compiler of the *Book of Llan Dâv*, it was an anachronism."

The choice of a site for his new monastery at Mochros was determined characteristically. Dyfrig had possession of the land north-west of Madley, which belonged to his mother, and was called Inis Ebrdil.² It was not an island, but at Mochros the Wye made a great loop infolding a wooded tongue of land. The whole tract was also called Mais Mail Lochou, the Field of Mail Lochou or Malochu.³

As Dyfrig was searching in the tangled brake for a suitable spot on which to settle, he roused a white sow with her piglings, and at once accepted this as a good omen. There he planted his monastery Moch-ros,⁴ the Swine-moor. Compare the similar legends in the Lives of SS. Kentigern, Cadoc and Brynach.

About him swarmed students from all parts of Britain, and the names of the most important are given. The list begins with Teilo, but it is doubtful if he were ever under Dubricius. In the Life of S. Teilo nothing is said of this discipleship. Teilo was under Paulinus at Ty Gwyn, according to the narrative, but the compiler of the *Book of Llan Dâv* prefixed an introduction to the Life in which he pretends that Teilo had been a pupil of Dubricius.⁵

The second named is Samson, who was not a disciple of Dyfrig but of Illtyd. He was, however, ordained deacon and priest, and afterwards consecrated bishop by Dyfrig. Then come Ubeluius, Merch-

¹ Newell (E. J.), *Llandaff*, S.P.C.K., pp. 17-8.

² "Et per aliud spatium in nativitatî suæ solio, hoc est Inis Ebrdil, eligens locum unum in angulo illius insulæ opportunum silva et piscibus super ripam Gui," etc. *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 80.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁴ There is a Mochras near Pwllheli, and another south of Harlech.

⁵ "Sanctus Dubricius, qui huc usque fuerat suus præceptor." *Ibid.* p. 98. This was written for a purpose, to link Dubricius with Teilo and Llandaff.

guinus, Elguoredus, Gunuinus, Congual, Arthbodu, Congur, Arguistil, Junabui, Conbran, Guoruan, Elheharn, Judnou, Guordocui, Guernabui, Louan, Aidan and Cinuarch.

Most of these can be traced, but unhappily of none of them are Lives extant. Ufelwy or Ufelwyw (Ubeluius) is almost certainly the son of Cenydd, and grandson of Gildas. He must have been young when with Dyfrig; he became a bishop and founded a church, Llancillo, in Herefordshire. He does not sign as witness otherwise than cleric in the lifetime of S. Dubricius, but was a bishop in the time of Meurig ab Tewdrig.¹

Merchguin and Elguored became clerics at Llandaff, with S. Teilo, and are spoken of as electing S. Oudoceus, after the death of Teilo, to be his successor.² Gunuin was eventually a "magister" at Llandaff.³ These three men probably retreated thither when Mochros was devastated by the Saxons. Arguistil became a bishop, and had a church at Llangoed, possibly Llangoed in Brecknockshire.⁴ Junabui, Junapeius or Lunapeius was also a bishop. He was a cousin, "consobrinus," of S. Dubricius, and had churches at Lanludy and Ballingham.⁵ Guoruan or Gwrfan was a bishop as well, and settled near Llangors Lake in Brecknockshire.⁶ Elheharn, Elhaiarn or Aelhaiarn was abbot of Garway.⁷ Judnou was abbot of Bolgros in Madley.⁸ Gwrddogwy was abbot of Dewchurch in Herefordshire.⁹ Aidan was a bishop in the Golden Valley, on the Dore.¹⁰ Cynfarch was patron of Llangynfarch, now S. Kinemark's, in Monmouthshire, the boundaries of which include the site of the present town of Chepstow.¹¹ Congual,¹² Congur¹³ and Arthbodu¹⁴ were abbots and founders in Gower. Gwernabwy was *princeps* of Garth Benni, or Welsh Bicknor.¹⁵ The compiler of the *Book of Llan Dâu* has prefixed to the charters a tract "De primo statu Landavensis Ecclesiæ," from his own pen, and he says that Dubricius, having obtained large concessions of land, separated his disciples, and sent them about to the churches given to him, and founded other churches and ordained bishops throughout Deheubarth as suffragans to himself.¹⁶ The

¹ *Book of Llan Dâu*, pp. 72, 76, 77, 80, 160-2.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 131.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 131.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 166.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 80, 163-4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 167-8.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 164, 166.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 164.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 164, 166.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 162-3.

¹¹ *Bye-Gones*, 1889-90, p. 534.

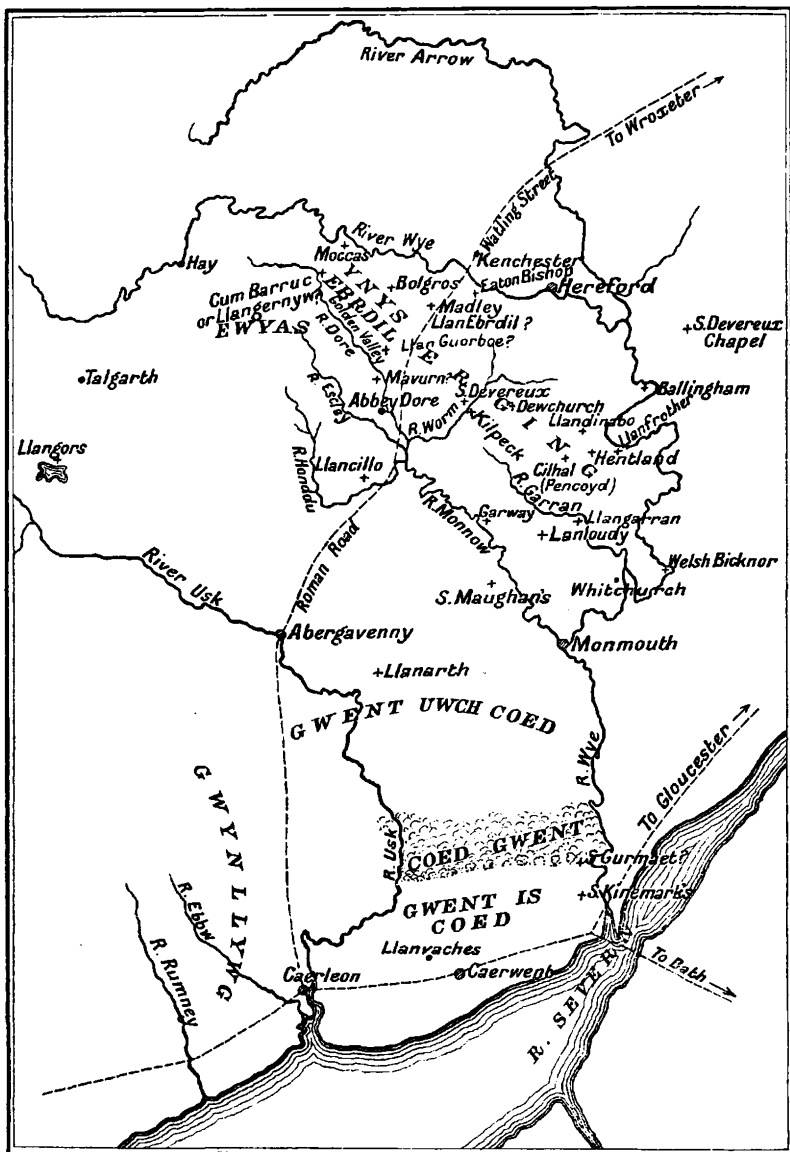
¹² *Book of Llan Dâu*, pp. 80, 239.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 144-5, 239.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 144.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 77, 80, 164, 166.

¹⁶ "Partitus est discipulos; mittens quosdam discipulorum suorum per ecclesias sibi datas, et quibusdam fundavit ecclesias et episcopos per dextralem Britanniam coadunatores sibi ordinatis parochiis suis consecravit." *Ibid.*, p. 71.



SETTLEMENTS OF S. DUBRICIUS AND HIS DISCIPLES.

same tract asserts that Dubricius was created "summum doctorem" by King Meurig, and was consecrated archbishop by Germanus and Lupus, and that his archiepiscopal seat was placed at Llandaff. This is, of course, wholly false. It was what the compiler wished and imagined might have taken place, but which never did happen.

When the compiler set to work arranging and amplifying the notices of grants made, not in the least understanding the conditions of ecclesiastical affairs in the Celtic Church, and finding a number of bishops among the disciples of S. Dubricius, he assumed that they must have been Bishops of Llandaff, and he accordingly arranged them, as such, in an arbitrary succession after Oudoceus, and by dexterously manipulating the deeds of grants, he made it appear as if all these concessions had been made to the Church of Llandaff.

The number of churches founded by S. Dubricius, as far as can be ascertained, and settled by his disciples, was about four-and-twenty; and the sites of the majority of these can be determined with some approach to certainty.

The tract of land from Madley to the line of hills that encloses the Dore Valley juts into the river Wye. Between that range and the Wye was Ynys Efrddyl. Ynys did not necessarily mean an island; the word was employed for a tongue of land, and even sometimes for a monastic possession shut off, insulated from the world. Here, perhaps at Madley, was Llan Efrddyl, and near it the Abbey of Bolgros. At its extreme limit to the north was also Mochros.

The Valley of the Dore bore the name of Cornubium. The name also occurs as Cerniu. But it may be questioned whether this is not a misconception for Coenobium. There seems to be no reason why a valley should be called after a "horn," and it does appear to have been given up to monastic establishments. Here was Cum Barruc, otherwise known as Lann Cerniu, and also Mavurn, the exact position of which is not known.

Another foundation of Dyfrig was Henllan, now Hentland, already mentioned, but the original situation was near the river.

Lann Custenhin Garth Benni was Welsh Bicknor, folded about by the Wye. Lann Junabui is now Llandinabo, and not, as the editors of the *Book of Llan Dâv* supposed, Bredwardine.

Lann Bocha or Mocha is now S. Maughan's. Tir Conloc is thought to be Eaton Bishop. Cilhal is probably Pencoyd. Lann Garth, now Llanarth, in Monmouthshire; Lann Sulbiu, now Llancillo; Lann Guorboe was in Ynys Efrddyl. Lann Loudeu is now Lanludry in Herefordshire; Lann Coit perhaps Llangoed in Brecknockshire.

Lann Garan was in the valley of the Garan. And in Gower were Lann Mergualt, Lann Arthbodu and Porth Tulon. In Brecknockshire was a church on Llangors lake. At the mouth of the Wye, Lann Cinnmarch or Chepstow; and Penally, near Tenby, in Pembrokeshire.

If we look at the grants made to Dubricius, we see what actually was the extent of his jurisdiction.

He received Lann Custenhin Garth Benni or Welsh Bicknor, in Erging, and this he had from Pepiau, whose wife was a daughter of Cystennin Gorneu,¹ and who may have wished the Church of Constantine, his father-in-law, to remain in the hands of one of the family. Welsh Bicknor is almost surrounded by the Wye, and formed a detached portion of Monmouthshire, although on the Herefordshire side of the river. Pepiau also gave to Dubricius Lann Cerniu, which has been supposed to be where afterwards stood Abbey Dore. Another grant was of Lann Junabui, now Llandinabo, over which at one time Junapeius presided. Cum Barruc, granted by the sons of Pepiau, was in the Vale of Dore. Lann Mocha, another grant, now S. Maughan's, is in Gwent Uwch Coed, Monmouthshire. What was its original name we do not know; the compiler has given us that which was known to him. Cilhal, or Pencoyd, close to Hentland, has been already spoken of as a perplexing grant, because represented as made by the great-grandfather of Dyfrig. Tir Conloc, a grant made by Pepiau, is supposed to be Eaton Bishop in Herefordshire. Porth Tulon was a concession of Merchguin, son of Gliuis, and was in Gower; and finally Penn Alun is Penally near Tenby. Llanarth was in Gwent Uwch Coed.

Thus the vast majority of the holdings of Dubricius were in Erging, but by some means he secured Penally in Pembrokeshire. The explanation of his getting this is probably as follows:—Dubricius, following the usual custom of Celtic Saints, sought out an island to which he might retreat in Lent, and as such as were near his settlements were already occupied, he went afield and secured Caldey Isle. To this we know, from the Life of S. Samson, that he was wont to retire for the forty days of Lent. There he seems to have founded a monastery over which he placed Piro, but, as we judge from the Life of S. Samson, he retained supreme rule in his own hands, displacing a cellarer, investigating charges made against the monks, and on the death of Piro nominating a successor. An early inscribed stone, in Ogam and Latin, has been discovered on the island. The now imperfect Ogam inscription reads, MAGL DUBR, which seems to mean “the (tonsured) servant of Dubricius.”

¹ *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 72.

As founder and Abbot of Caldey, he would obtain influence in the neighbourhood, and so acquire a grant of land over against Caldey, at Penally. The grant of Penally, in the *Book of Llan Dâv*,¹ to him by Noe ab Arthur, King of Dyfed in the early eighth century, is, of course, an anachronism.

Now it so happened that Penally was the birthplace of S. Teilo, and it is by no means impossible that Dyfrig may have noticed the clever, pious child, and have directed his early education at Caldey, till he was ready to be sent to Paulinus at Ty Gwyn.

It is not so easy to understand how Dubricius got a foothold in Gower, but that he did so is clear, for not only did he receive a concession there, but three of his disciples became abbots and founders there. Possibly it may have been through the influence of S. Cenydd of Gower, whose son Ufelwy was his pupil; and he may have taken up Cenydd's work there when that Saint moved to Brittany.

On his way to Caldey and back, Dubricius visited Llancarfan and Llantwit. He exercised no jurisdiction there. They were independent monasteries; but he was welcomed and invited to exercise episcopal functions in Llantwit, where there was probably at the time no bishop to ordain and consecrate candidates.

Tradition associates him loosely with Llancarfan. He had a station, it is said, near it, at Garn Llwyd, where is his holy well. Indeed, he is credited with having had a large hand in the founding of the Choir of Cadoc at Llancarfan, and is said to have been its principal before Cadoc. It is further stated that he was confessor (*periglor*) to S. Germanus there²; but he is not mentioned once in the Life of S. Cadoc. He it was, however, who had confirmed Gwynllyw, the father of Cadoc, in his resolve to lead the eremitical life in his old age,³ and who ministered to him at his departure from this world.⁴

His association with S. Illtyd was more intimate. When Illtyd was converted, he went at once to Dubricius, "who enjoined penance on him for his past misdeeds; he shaved his beard, he cut his hair, he consecrated his crown." And it was Dubricius who "fixed the bounds of the burial-place" at Llantwit.⁵ Dubricius it was who consecrated Deiniol to Bangor.⁶ He was present at the Synod of

¹ *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 77, 133.

² *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 113, 119, 131. At the first reference there is a list of thirteen Saints of Cadoc's *Côr*, who are said to have gone with Dyfrig to Bardsey; but no reliance can be placed on these documents.

³ *Vita S. Gundlei in Cambro-British Saints*, p. 148.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁵ *Vita S. Illuti in ibid.*, p. 163.

⁶ *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 71.

Llanddewi Brefi ; and it was he and Deiniol who induced David to attend it.¹

We do not, unfortunately, know the date of the gathering of this Council, but it was some years before the Synod of Victory, which took place, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, in 569. We do not learn that Dubricius attended this latter. We have shown, under S. Cadoc, that the date of the Council of Llanddewi Brefi was about 545-6.

Dyfrig was ailing some time after Samson had quitted Wales, and he had resolved on giving up his archmonastery, and retiring to die in Enlli, with his eyes on the setting sun sinking into the mysterious Western Sea.

Whilst he was thus minded, Samson visited him, and Dyfrig committed to him a favourite deacon, named Morinus, of whom he had a high opinion. Samson did not relish the charge. There was something in the man's restless eye that made him distrust Morinus ; but he submitted rather than offend the venerable man who had ordained him. Subsequent events showed that his prejudice was not unfounded.²

How long Dubricius lived after his resignation we do not know, but probably not many months.

The *Annales Cambriæ* and the *Vita 1^{ma}* say that he died in 612, but this is inadmissible. A footnote in the *Iolo MSS.*³ says that he died in 560, aged 85, but this is a guess.

S. Samson, whom Dyfrig had ordained deacon and priest and consecrated bishop, died about 560, and Dyfrig belonged to an earlier generation. He must have died about 550 at the latest, probably before the outbreak of the Yellow Plague, as there is no mention of it in his Life. We should suppose that he died about 546.

To determine the dates of the various events in the Life of S. Dubricius is not possible ; all that we can do is to ascertain the period at which he lived. Whatsoever is told of association with S. Germanus must be dismissed as fiction.

Dyfrig assisted in the conversion of S. Illtyd, then in full vigour of manhood. Illtyd died before S. Samson crossed into Brittany and settled at Dol. The probable date of his death is *circa* 527-537.

Dyfrig ministered to Gwynllyw, father of Cadoc, on his death-bed, and Cadoc died in or about 577. He ordained and consecrated S. Samson, who subscribed the decrees of the Council of Paris in 557, and who had crossed the channel and settled in Brittany about 540.

¹ *Vita S. David in Cambro-British Saints*, p. 137.

² See Life of S. Samson.

³ P. 519.

Teilo, who is represented doubtfully as a pupil of Dyfrig, but who was certainly contemporary with the disciples of that Saint, fled from Wales at the outbreak of the Yellow Plague in 547, and returned about 556. When he abandoned his charge in Wales he went to Brittany "adducens secum quosdam suffraganos episcopos suos."¹ The bishops who accompanied him were not his suffragans, but, as we judge, some of those who had been under Dyfrig; for we find the names of some half a dozen of the disciples of the latter among the witnesses to grants made to Teilo.

Probably the Yellow Plague had committed such ravages that on the return of the refugee monks and bishops to Gwent they were not able to re-occupy all their churches; and this may have been the first stage in the incorporation of the Dubricius churches in the see of Llandaff. The disciples of Dyfrig who attached themselves to Teilo, and who we may conjecture had accompanied him to Brittany, and found their churches desolate on their return, were Arguistil, Elguoret, Conguarui, Conbran, Judnou, Guordocui, Merchguin and Gunuin. But of all these only Arguistil or Arwystl was a bishop; some of the others were abbots.²

When we come to consider Dubricius in connexion with the princes of Erging, Gwent and Morganwg we do not obtain much help for fixing his date.

The perplexing charter of Cilhal³ makes him contemporary with Erb, father of Pepiau, and his reputed great-grandfather. From Pepiau he received several grants, and some from the sons of Pepiau. He was certainly the contemporary of Meurig ab Tewdrig, king of Morganwg, who made him a grant,⁴ and who was the grandfather of Samson, whom Dyfrig ordained deacon and priest and consecrated bishop. Meurig is represented in the Life of S. Oudoceus as having lived on till Oudoceus was elected bishop in the room of Teilo,⁵ and this is confirmed by grants made by him and his sons to Oudoceus.⁶ Now Oudoceus was born in or about 546, and can hardly have become abbot-bishop of Llandaff before 580. This gives to Meurig a very lengthy reign. His grandson Morgan Mwynfawr died in 665.⁷ It is difficult to suppose that Meurig can have outlived his grandson Samson, and been lusty enough in his old age to have committed a murder, for which he was excommunicated by Oudoceus,⁸ and al-

¹ *Vita S. Teliui* in *Book of Llan Dŵv*, p. 108.

² See Index to *Book of Llan Dŵv* for each name.

³ *Book of Llan Dŵv*, p. 75.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁵ *Vita S. Oudocei*, *ibid.*, pp. 131-2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-5, 147-9.

⁷ *Annales Cambriæ*, ed. Phillimore in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 159.

⁸ *Book of Llan Dŵv*, pp. 147-8.

though the record is precise, one is inclined to suspect that there were two of the name, princes in Morganwg and Gwent, and that the compiler of the *Book of Llan Dâu* has confounded them.¹

From what we have seen it is difficult to hold that Dubricius can have lived after 540 or 546 at the latest.

That he had anything to do with Llandaff cannot be allowed.

We venture to suggest the following sequence of events connected with Dubricius and his churches.

Dyfrig born at Madley	about the year	450
He founds Henllan		470
Removes after seven years to Mochros		477
Ordains S. Samson bishop at Llantwit		530
Retires to Enlli and dies		546
The outbreak of the Yellow Plague and flight of Teilo and abandonment of several of the Dubricius Churches . . .		547
Return of Teilo		556
Some of the disciples of Dubricius remain with Teilo, who secures certain of the Dubricius sites. ²		
Devastation of Erging by the Hwiccas after the battle of Deorham		577
Death of Teilo and election of Oudoceus to Llandaff		580
Oudoceus sets to work to reoccupy the desolate sites in Gower ³ and Erging, and obtains the grant of Mochros ⁴		
Oudoceus dies and Berthguin succeeds		620
Berthguin obtains a concession of the rest of the Dubricius sites in Erging and reoccupies them. ⁵		
The estates of Llandaff are further increased by grants made by Morcant, grandson of Mouric, to Berthguin.		
Morcant, K. of Gwent and Glywysing, dies		665

¹ That this is so appears from a grant made to Oudoceus by Meurig the king, and Judic, son of Nud, which is witnessed by Morgan the king. This Meurig can hardly be the grandfather of Morgan Mwynfawr. *Book of Llan Dâu*, p. 150.

² "Sancta ecclesia quæ multo tempore fuerat dispersa, interveniente Teliavo . . . fuit exaltata." *Ibid.*, p. 115.

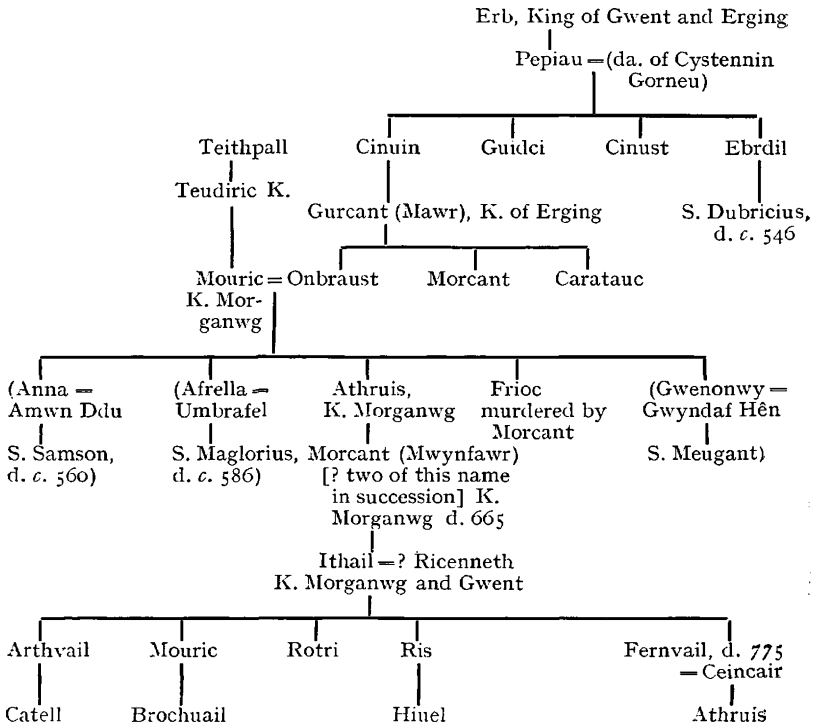
³ "Agrum quidam Sancti Dubricii in patria Guhyr, quem Sanctus Oudoceus a tempore mortalitatis, id est y dylt melen, perdiderat usque ad tempus Athruis filii Mourici. Post vero contentionem magnam inter Oudocum episcopum et abbatem Ilduti Biwon qui dicebat suum esse agrum; in fine vero iudicio iudicatus est ager predictus Oudoceo episcopo et altari Landaviæ in perpetua hereditate." *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁴ "Locus Mocrosi super Guy quem priori tempore beatus vir Dubricius prius inhabitaverat, dono et concessione Mourici regis et principum datus est ecclesiæ Landaviæ." *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁵ "Sciendum est quod evenerunt magnæ tribulationes et vastationes in tempore Telpaldi et Ithaili regum Britanniae et a Saxonica gente infidelissima, et maxime in confinibus Britanniae et Angliæ versus Herfordiam; in tantum quod Britanniae totum confinium fere deletum est . . . et circa flumen Guy maxime, propter bella et sæpe facta diurna et nocturna inter utrasque. Post tempus, sedata pace, restituta est vi sua et fortitudine terra sua quamvis deleta et inhabitata, raro homine et rara peste cuique Britanno in illis partibus perpetrato federe Et rex Judhail omnibus superstitibus reddidit patrimonia . . . et Berthguino episcopo sua loca reddidit per omnia, et Sanctis." *Ibid.*, p. 192. The list follows of Dubricius' churches given over to Llandaff.

Ithail, son of Morcant, continues to enrich Llandaff. So does Fernvail, son of Ithail.

The pedigree of the princes of Gwent and of Erging, as far as can be deduced from the *Book of Llan Dâv*, is as follows. The names in brackets are not taken from the *Book of Llan Dâv*.



There was a Judhail, king of Gwent, who, according to the *Annales Cambriae*, was killed by the men of Brycheiniog in 848, but this was long subsequent to the Judhail or Ithail, son of Morcant; and it is to Judhail ap Morcant that is due a grant of Dubricius sites to Berthguin¹:—Cenubia, the Golden Vale of the Dore, and the district between the Dore and the Escley, Mavurn, Garway on the Monnow, Llandinabo, Dewchurch, Mochros, Madley, Bolgros, Lanludy, Llangaran, all in Ewyas and Erging, and which had belonged to Dubricius. But the Church of Llandaff obtained only these sites, not jurisdiction over the whole land, and only these because they had been laid waste and abandoned.

When the abbacy was swallowed up in episcopacy, and the diocese

¹ *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 192.

was formed, then, on the plea of holding all these lands in Erging, the bishops of Llandaff asserted their authority as bishops over all this division of Herefordshire; and Bishop Urban spent his time of rule over the diocese in fighting to secure this right. He was ably assisted by the compiler of the Llandaff Cartulary. Then it was that the fable that Dubricius had been archbishop of Llandaff took its final shape.

We must now give a glance at the fictitious Dubricius, as Archbishop of Caerleon, as excogitated by Geoffrey of Monmouth.¹ And for this we will have recourse to Benedict of Gloucester, who laboured to fit the false with the true Dubricius into a consistent whole.

Benedict tells the story of the birth of Dubricius from the *Vita 1^{ma}*, and carries on the tale to the founding of Mochros from the same. But then he branches forth.

When Germanus and Lupus came to Britain to oppose the Pelagian heresy (429) they raised Aurelius Ambrosius to be king of all Britain in the place of Vortigern (*circa* 500), and they consecrated Samson to the See of York and Dubricius to that of Caerleon, each with the title of Archbishop.

Aurelius having been poisoned, his brother Uthyr succeeded for a few years, and on his death his son Arthur was chosen king at the instigation of Dubricius.

Then we are given an account of Arthur's wars against the Saxons, and of the battle of Mount Badon, during which Dubricius was engaged in prayer and exhortation to the Britons, as a second Moses on a mountain-top above the contending hosts (520).

Then, very clumsily, we have the ordination of S. Samson by Dubricius, Benedict having forgotten that he had already made him Archbishop of York. To this follows the story of Samson as cellarer at Inis Pyr, taken originally from the Life of S. Samson into the *Vita 1^{ma}* of S. Dubricius. After that our author returns to the original text and tells a worthless story of the cure of a possessed girl by the saint. And according to this author Dubricius died in 612—and he had been consecrated Archbishop by Germanus and Lupus in 429, a hundred and eighty-three years before!

The first mention of Dubricius as bishop of Llandaff is by the scribe

¹ The only connexion of Dubricius with Caerleon would seem to have been the possession by him of the Church of SS. Aaron and Julius there, *if true*. Gulfert, Hegoi and Arguistil, sons of Beli, composed a quarrel with Bishop Nud of Llandaff, *circa* 900, by surrendering to him "totum territorium sanctorum Martyrum Julii et Aaron quod prius fuerat Sancti Dubricii in priori tempore." *Book of Llan Ddu*, p. 225. It is suspicious not hearing of this connexion with Caerleon till something like four hundred years after his time.

who records the translation of his body to Llandaff, and he styles him "Landavensis ecclesiæ episcopus."¹

In the *Life of S. Teilo* he is spoken of as Teilo's predecessor in the Church of Llandaff; but it speaks well for the honesty of the compiler that he did not fabricate a charter containing a grant of the land of Llandaff to Dyfrig. The Cathedral site seems to be the Lann Menechi granted to S. Oudoceus by Brochmail, son of Guidgentivai.²

In another document Dubricius is mentioned as "Dextralis partis Britanniae archiepiscopus."³ The designation of Deheubarth as applied to South Wales was much posterior to his date.

Next, we have the fiction of Dubricius ceding his Metropolitan jurisdiction to S. David. What with Geoffrey's invention of him as Archbishop of Caerleon, and the claim of Llandaff that he was Archbishop there, some puzzlement arose; and finally the fabricators shifted the burden on to the shoulders of David, and the Church of Menevia was but too happy to accept it. But that Church was also in uncertainty whether to base its claim to Metropolitan jurisdiction on the cession of Dubricius or on the plea that Samson had transferred his pall thither from York.

For long Menevia contested the supremacy with Llandaff. For at least half a century before the death of Geoffrey of Monmouth (1154) the see of Menevia had been aspiring to be Metropolitan, as is shown by Rhygyfarch's *Life of S. David*. Geoffrey had said, "Menevia pallio Urbis Legionum induetur."⁴ Giraldus Cambrensis accepted this fiction and made use of it. "The Archbishop Dubricius," he says, "ceded his honours to David of Menevia, the metropolitan see being translated from Caerleon to Menevia, according to the prophecy of Merlin Ambrosius, 'Menevia shall be invested with the pall of the City of Legions.'"⁵

In the early (A.) MS. of the *Annales Cambriæ* (circa 980) there is an entry under the year 601, "Sinodus Urbis Legion. David episcopus Moni Iudeorum (obiit)."

In a later copy (C.) this is swelled (circa 1288) to "Sinodus Urbis Legionum ordinata a S. Davide Menevensi archiepiscopo. David Menevensis archiepiscopus in Domino quievit."

We may sum up the position as follows:—

Dyfrig had a monastery at Hentland, which for some reason unmentioned he quitted, and made his headquarters at Moccas (Mochros)

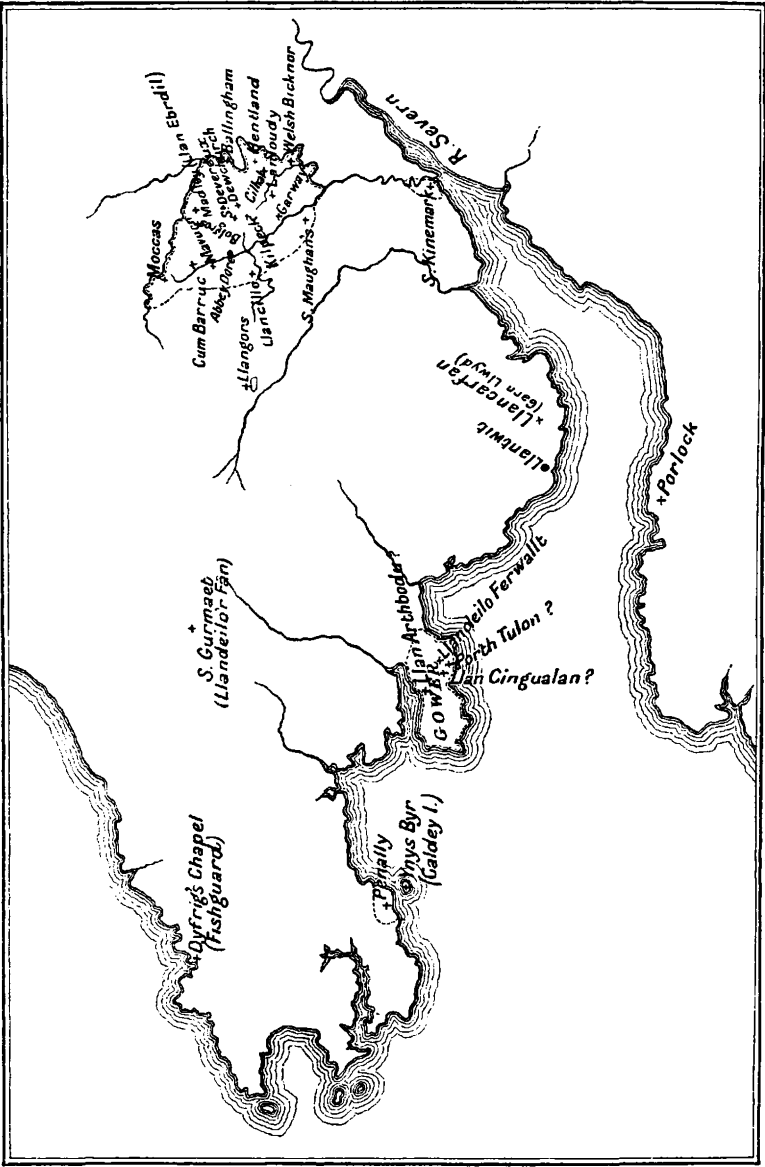
¹ *Book of Llan Dâu*, p. 84. He is not mentioned in the *Book of S. Chad*, which was placed on the altar of Teilo.

² *Ibid.*, p. 159.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-71.

⁴ *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, vii, c. 3.

⁵ *Itin. Camb.*, i, c. 5.



FOUNDATIONS OF S. DUBRICIUS AND HIS DISCIPLES.

on his mother's land, Ynys Efrddyl. He had a branch establishment at Welsh Bicknor (Llan Gystennin Garth Benni), another in Golden Valley, perhaps at Abbey Dore, a second in Golden Valley at Cum Barruc, the position of which is not now defined. Another, where is now S. Maughans, which, after it was abandoned in consequence of the Yellow Plague, was settled by S. Machu, who refounded it and gave it his name. Another at Cilhal or Pencoyd, and another at Eaton Bishop (Tir Conloc). All these in Erging. In addition he had one in Gower (Porth Tulon), and Penally in Pembrokeshire, and the island of Caldey in face of it. These were all. But his disciples, owing him a loose allegiance, had other settlements in Erging; his



BARDSEY ISLAND.

cousin Junapeius at Ballingham and Lanludwy. They had also one in Brecknockshire, and several in Gower. That was all.

He had nothing whatever to do with Caerleon, nothing with Llandaff, which may not have been founded till after his death.

S. Dyfrig died in Bardsey on November 14, on which day his name occurs in the Calendars in *Cotton MS.* Vesp. A. xiv, and *Peniarth MS.* 219, in Whytford's Martyrology, and in that of Wilson, and in Nicolas Roscarrock. The *Vita 1^{ma}* gives May 7 as the day on which his relics were removed from Bardsey, and May 23 as that on which they were received into Llandaff Cathedral. *Allwydd Paradwys* (1670), gives his Translation on May 19.

He is patron, along with S. Peter and SS. Teilo and Oudoceus, of

Llandaff Cathedral, as Bishop Urban translated his body in 1120 from Bardsey to his newly-built Cathedral.¹

He is patron also of the parish Church of S. Dyfrig, Cardiff, the parish of which was formed out of that of S. Mary the Virgin in 1895. He is generally regarded as the present patron of Llanvaches, in Monmouthshire; also of Gwenddwr, in Breconshire. He is patron likewise of Hentland, Ballingham, Whitchurch, and S. Devereux, and was so formerly of Moccas and the extinct Llanfrother, all in Herefordshire.

There was formerly a chapel of the Saint in the parish of Hope Wolnyth or Woolhope (S. George) on the east or English side of the Wye.² The chapel has disappeared, but has left its name to Devereux Park and Devereux Pool, about a mile north-east of Woolhope Church. It is not far from Ballingham.

Porlock, near Minehead, Somersetshire, has the Church dedicated to S. Dubricius, and this looks much as though he had made a settlement there.

As already said, his holy well, Ffynnon Ddyfrig, is at Garn Llwyd, opposite Llanfeithin, about a mile from Llancarfan.

There is a "Holy Well" near Moccas at Blakemere. When the church of Moccas was undergoing restoration, at some depth was found a stone rudely carved with interlaced work.

At Fishguard, on the banks of the Gwaun, is a place called Pwll Dyfrig, but now known as Glyn-y-Mel. Fenton, referring to the cell of Dyfrig here, says that in his day it was in a secluded spot, and richly clothed in ivy, and "to which such veneration continued to be attached, that within the memory of man there were games celebrated annually on the plain below it, and a sort of vanity fair was held on the day dedicated to the Saint in the Romish Calendar. The sanctity of the place was hereditary, for long after Dubricius' time, yet at a very early period, there was a chapel built on this spot . . . whose site is still commemorated by the name of Hên Vynwent." When, some years ago, excavations were made near Hên Vynwent for the foundations of a Methodist Chapel, early Christian

¹ There was formerly a Chapel of S. Dubricius in the Cathedral, for in his will, dated November 1, 1541, John ab Iefan, Treasurer of Llandaff, desires to be buried therein (Bishop Ollivant, *Llandaff Cathedral*, 1860, p. 29). It appears to have been the present Mathew Chapel. "S. Dubrice hedde of silver & an arme of the seyde Seynte of silver" were in the Cathedral in the time of Henry VIII, when they were taken away, circa 1558. *Arch. Camb.*, 1887, p. 299; *Cardiff Records*, 1898, i, p. 376. The Prebend of S. Dubricius in the Cathedral is at least as early as the thirteenth century.

² Ecton, *Thesaurus*, 2nd ed. by Browne Willis, 1754, and *Valor Eccl.*, iii, 27-8.



S. DUBRICIUS.

[From Ancient Roll, copied in one of the Dugdale MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

graves were found, and also what appeared to be the lines of ancient walls. It was then supposed that this was the site of Dyfrig's school.¹ The Dyfrig of Fishguard is often given the epithet "Peneurog," or Golden-headed.

The tomb and effigy of Dubricius are in Llandaff Cathedral. His relics were originally buried in the presbytery, and it does not appear that his bones were put into a feretory. The tomb, now supposed to be his, is a sepulchral recess in the north aisle wall. The effigy, a conventional one carved in Dundry freestone, was probably executed about 1220. He is in episcopal habits, with a plain mitre.

There is a figure of him in one of the Dugdale MSS. (G. 2, No. 14, fol. 15) in the Bodleian Library, written in 1636, but the original copy of the roll containing it was of about the beginning of the reign of Henry VII.²

S. DUNAWD, Abbot, Confessor

DUNAWD or Dunod Fwr was son of Pabo, of the line of Coel Godebrog, and brother of Cerwydd, Sawyl Benuchel, and Arddun Benasgell.³ He was a chieftain in North Britain, and gained some distinction in

¹ *Cambrian Register*, 1799, ii, pp. 210-1; Fenton, *Pembrokeshire*, ed. 1903, p. 320; *Pembroke County Guardian*, Dec. 15, 1900, *Yn Amsang ein Tadau*, Solva, p. 67.

² It has been illustrated in *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* for Sept., 1894, edited by Revs. F. W. Weaver and C. H. Mayo, who have kindly allowed us to reproduce it.

³ Old-Welsh genealogies in *Harleian MS.* 3859, *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd, Iolo MSS.*, pp. 105, 122, 126-7, etc. There was a Dunawd, fourth son of Cunedda, who gave name to the cantref of Dunoding or Dunodyn; and a Dunawd, son of Maxen Wledig. Others are mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth. The name occurs in *Bod Dunod*, near Amlwch, and *Caer Ddunod*, on the borders of Cerrig y Drudion and Gyffylliog. Dunawd (=Donata) was the name of the daughter of Boia, the pagan Pict or Scot in the Life of S. David. It is the Latin Donatus or Donata; but the name of the celebrated fourth century Roman grammarian, borrowed through the English *donet*, occurs as *dawad* or *dawed*, with the meaning of "grammar." Dunawd's epithet in the earlier documents occurs as *Fwr* (*Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45, Geoffrey's *Welsh Brut*, etc.), and *W'r* (*Triads* in *Red Book of Hergest*, and *Myr. Arch.*, p. 396), but in the later ones as *Fawr* (*Llanstephan MS.* 81, *Iolo MSS.*, p. 126, etc.). In its original form it seems to have been *mur*, of the same meaning as the modern Welsh *mawr*, "great, large"—an instance of a Goidelic word in Brythonic. We have it in *Machu mur* (Malo the Great) in the *Book of Llan Dâw*, and also in *Frut mur* (the great stream), *Tnou mur* (the great hollow), and *Ocmur* (the Ogmor), in the same book, where also occurs a *Bledgur Burr*, with possibly the same epithet. See Sir John Rhys in the *Book of Common Prayer in Manx Gaelic*, ed. Moore and Rhys, London, 1895, p. 42, and *Arch. Camb.*, 1895, p. 288. In the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (ed. Evans, p. 56) Dunawd is called *Dunawd Deinwin*.

arms. He is spoken of in a Triad as one of "the three Battle-Pillars of Prydyn" (Pictland),¹ but, unlike his father, who contended against the Picts to his old age, when he retired, to end his days in Anglesey in the profession of religion, Dunawd turned his arms against his own countrymen, the sons of Urien Rheged.² The Picts took advantage of this disunion among the Britons, and drove Dunawd from his territory. He fled to Wales and placed himself, like his father, under the protection of Cyngen, son of Cadell Deyrnllwg, Prince of Powys, and embraced the religious life along with his sons Deiniol, Cynwyl and Gwarthan, and Cyngen granted them a site on the banks of the Dee in Flintshire, where they together founded the great monastery of Bangor Iscoed (so-called from the forest it once adjoined), otherwise known as Bangor the Great in Maelor, Bangor Dunawd and Bangor Monachorum. Its first abbot was Dunawd.

This monastic establishment became very famous, and, according to Bede, such was the number of its monks that, when they were divided into seven classes, under their respective superintendents, none of these classes contained less than three hundred persons, all of whom supported themselves by the labour of their hands.³

Dunawd was abbot at the time of the second conference of the Welsh Bishops with Augustine. The first took place at Augustine's Oak, *circa* 602. Where this was has been hotly disputed, and several places have laid claim to the honour. "Everyone would wish to know, if it were possible, just where it was that the tall, gaunt, self-satisfied man from Italy met the thick-set, self-satisfied men from Wales. . . . Augustine began by brotherly admonition to urge the Britons to make Catholic peace with him. The Britons held their own firmly. The disputation lasted long. The British firmness produced its natural effect upon men like Augustine. They began by praying the Britons to take their view; they went on to exhorting them; they ended by scolding them. And not to any of these

¹ *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 304; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 389, 397, 407.

² See the elegy on Urien by the pseudo-Llywarch Hên (*Skene*, ii, pp. 267-73), where he is referred to thus—

"Dunawd, the leading horseman, would drive onward,
Intent upon making a corpse . . .
Dunawd, the chief of the age, would drive onward,
Intent upon making battle."

He was one of those who formed the "horse-load" that went "to view the funeral pile of the host of Gwenddoleu at Arderydd" (*Mabinogion*, p. 301; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 396, 414), the famous battle fought in 573 between the armies of Gwenddoleu and Rhydderch Hael. Geoffrey (*Bruts*, p. 200) mentions him among those who were summoned by King Arthur to Caerleon to be present at his coronation. His bard was Cywryd ab Crydon.

³ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 2.

methods and tempers did the British give any heed. To the last they preferred their own traditions to all that they were told of the agreement of all the Churches in the world. Considering the state of some of those other Churches, they were probably told something a little beyond facts."¹

The points of controversy were the mode of administering Baptism and the proper day for the observance of Easter, but above all, the subjection of the venerable Church in the Island of Britain to this newly-arrived missionary from Rome.

As no arrangement could be come to at this conference, a second was appointed to be held. At this second conference, Bede tells us, seven British Bishops came, along with many learned men from Bangor Iscoed, and Bede calls Dunawd Dinoot.² The story of this second gathering is too well known for repetition here. Disgusted at the supercilious tone adopted by Augustine, and his lack of common courtesy, they told him bluntly "they would have none of the things he proposed. They would not accept him as Archbishop over them."

Thereupon Augustine is said to have threatened them by a prophecy that the English would destroy them. In an explosion of wounded vanity, he very likely did utter a wish that those who rejected his claims should be rooted out hip-and-thigh.³

Spelman published the "Answer" alleged to have been made by Dunawd to Augustine.⁴ It was accepted as genuine by Leland, Stillingfleet, and Lappenberg, but it is now generally discarded as a forgery of the period of the Reformation, probably suggested by Bede's account. The celebrated document occurs in the *Cotton MSS.* Claudius A. viii, and Cleopatra E. i, both of the seventeenth century, but the Welsh cannot be much older than the MSS. themselves. The gist of it is a repudiation of papal authority, and an assertion of the supremacy of "the bishop of Caerleon upon Usk" over the British Church. Had Giraldus known of it he would most certainly have made use of it.

Bede says the number of monks at Bangor was 2,100, and a passage in the *Iolo MSS.*⁵ gives the same number. "There were seven chancels in Bangor Iscoed, and 300 devout monks, men of learning, in each chancel, praising God day and night without ceasing." The *Triads*⁶ state 2,400, and that they took their turn, 100 each hour,

¹ Browne (Bishop of Bristol), *Augustine and his Companions*, 1897, pp. 97 *et seq.*

² Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 2.

³ See more on these conferences under S. UFFELWY.

⁴ *Concilia*, pp. 103-9. It is also given in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., i, p. 122.

⁵ P. 143.

⁶ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 393; see i, p. 24.

to perform divine service day and night without intermission. Dunawd's brothers and sons, his grandson Deiniolen, and the sons of Seithenin, are said to have been "saints" of Bangor.

Dunawd's wife, Dwywai, daughter of Lleenog, has been classed with the Saints, but no churches now bear her name.

The identification of Bangor Iscoed with the Bovium of Antonine's *Second Iter* is questionable; and the connexion of the heresiarch Pelagius with the monastery certainly cannot be maintained, as he had left Britain long before it was founded.

The monastic settlement, in spite of its importance in history, lasted but for a very short period. It was founded by Dunawd towards the close of his life, for his early life had been spent in earning for himself distinction as "Pillar of Battle," and he was dead in 607.¹ Cyngen, who sheltered Pabo, and subsequently endowed the monastery with lands, appears to have reigned in the middle of the sixth century. From this we conclude that the monastery was not founded until the second half of the sixth century; but it was destroyed in 607, or, at the latest, in 613. Mr. A. Neobard Palmer very truly remarks²: "The brethren lived, it is pretty certain, not in a simple building or group of buildings, but apart from one another in wattled huts, or dwellings of rude stone, which were scattered over the flat river-valley that had been chosen for their retreat. It is probable that in the whole valley there was not a single building of wrought stone, and that the very church was built of wattle and daub. The cross and the few figured stones dug up at Bangor are of mediaeval date, nor has the soil there, so far as can be ascertained, yielded anything to the digger that could be referred to an earlier time.

"It is quite certain that the stories as to the extent and magnificence of the monastic buildings are gross inventions. William of Malmesbury does indeed speak of 'the half-destroyed walls of churches,' and of 'the masses of ruins' at Bangor, but he spoke from hearsay only, and later observers could not find such ruins as he described."

The so-called prediction of Augustine of the vengeance of death upon the Welsh if they did not join in evangelizing the English is assumed to have fallen upon this particular monastery. In 607, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, or in 613, according to the *Annales Cambriæ* and the *Annals of Tighernach*, Ethelfrid, the pagan

¹ The *Annales Cambriæ* place his death as early as 595, "Dunaut rex moritur." His son Deiniol is therein stated to have died in 584.

² *Notes on the early History of Bangor Is y Coed* in *Y Cymmrodor*, x, pp. 12-28.

king of Northumbria, massacred a great company of monks, chiefly from Bangor, who, after a three days' fast, had come to pray for the success of their countrymen. He defeated the Welsh at the Battle of Chester, and afterwards laid waste the monastery.

The festival of Dunawd is given as September 7 by Browne Willis,¹ but it does not occur in any of the early Welsh Calendars. The only church dedicated to him is Bangor Iscoed. Willis adds Worthenbury, formerly a parochial chapel belonging to Bangor; but it is generally regarded as dedicated to his son, S. Deiniol.

The seventeenth century fresco on the south wall of Bangor Church, removed thither from the chancel, was believed to be a representation of Dunawd. It has now disappeared, but the painting on canvas there is said to be a reproduction of it.

S. DUNWYD, Confessor

It would seem that there was a Welsh saint of this name, Dunwyd or Dynwyd, but the saintly genealogies know nothing of him. He is the patron of two Glamorganshire churches, Llanddunwyd (San Dunwyd) or S. Donat's, near Llantwit Major, and Llanddunwyd, or Welsh S. Donat's, near Cowbridge. The former was at one time known as Llanweirydd,² from a S. Gwerydd ab Cadwn, said to be descended from the mythical Brân the Blessed. But a S. Catwardd, of Côr Iltyd, of whom we are told nothing else, is also credited with having founded it.³ Both appear to be apocryphal.

One, if not both, of the churches, is called in Latin documents *Ecclesia de Sancto Donato*, or *Ecclesia Sancti Donati*, whence S. Donat's, but strictly speaking this form would be represented in Welsh by Dunawd (later Dunod), not Dunwyd. But it may be an irregular modification of the name.⁴

There is a tradition in the neighbourhood of Welsh S. Donat's that Dunwyd was contemporary with SS. Cadoc and Tathan. Having been assisted by these two in the foundation of his own church, the trio set about founding another church, that of the adjoining Pendoylan

¹ *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, p. 359.

² *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 35, 100, 135; also called Abergwerydwyr on p. 7. Cf. Llanweirydd, now Caerau, from Gweirydd ab Brochfael, on p. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁴ *Parochiale Anglicanum*, 1733, p. 200. For the celebrated miraculous Cross of S. Donat's, found in the trunk of an ash-tree, see *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, xvii, A.D. 1561, and *Arch. Camb.*, 1865, pp. 33-48.

(dedicated to S. Cadoc), and they were led to the precise spot by the yoke of oxen they took with them to draw the building materials. They had agreed that wherever the oxen stopped of their own accord that that should be the spot. The oxen stopped on an elevated spot between two groves : hence *Pen y ddau lwyn*.

Browne Willis gives August 7 as the festival at Welsh S. Donat's, but this is the festival of S. Donatus, Bishop and Martyr, at Arezzo in Tuscany, in the fourth century, and also of S. Donatus, Bishop of Besançon, in France, in the seventh century. Owen, in his *Sanctorale Catholicum*, gives the festival of S. Donat, Confessor, as February 13, a blunder for February 12, when Donatus of Italy, Martyr, receives commemoration.

S. DURDAN, see S. DIRDAN

S. DWNA, see S. DONA

S. DWYFAEL, Confessor

DWYFAEL, Dwywael, or Dwywel, was son of Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw.¹ He and his brothers, Derfel and Arthfael, were cousins of Cadfan, and, according to the late accounts, were at first saints of Llantwit, and afterwards went with Cadfan to Bardsey.

There was another S. Dwyfael, the son of Pryder ab Dolor (Deifyr), of Deira and Bernicia.² His father is mentioned in the "Triads of Arthur and his Warriors"³ as one of the "Three Strong-limbed Ones (*Gwrddŷaglog*) of the Isle of Britain." We have him probably in the *Gododin* expression "Lliaws Pryder" (Pryder's Host).

S. DWYN or DWYNWEN, Virgin

DWYN or Dwynwen is the Welsh patroness of true lovers. She was the daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog, and settled, with her

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 102, 133; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 424.

² *Hafod MS.* 16; *Peniarth MS.* 75; *Hanesyn Hên (Cardiff MS. 25)*, pp. 37, 120; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 424.

³ Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, p. 458; cf. *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 389, 498.

sister Cain or Ceinwen as near neighbour, in Anglesey.¹ She selected for her foundation a spur to the south of the island, a prolongation of a ridge of rock that rises above an extensive tract of blown sand. *Cardiff MS.* 26 (circa 1714) states, "Some say that she was martyred" here.

Her name in the oldest list of Brychan's children (the Vespasian *Cognatio*) is given as Dwyn, which is retained in Llanddwyn and Porthddwyn, her "church" and "port" in Anglesey. The form Dwynwen should, more correctly, be written Dwein Wen, meaning the "Blessed Dwein," and so the name Ceinwen, the Cein or Cain of the *Cognatio*. With the names compare Mair Wen, for the Blessed Virgin, Deiniol Wyn, and others. Her name is Latinized into Donwenna, and there was formerly a figure of her, with that name, in one of the windows in the Choir of Bangor Cathedral.²

The legend as to how she became the patroness of lovers is given in the *Iolo MSS.*³—

"Maelon Dafodri and Dwynwen, the daughter of S. Brychan, mutually loved each other. Maelon sought her in unappropriated union, but was rejected, for which he left her in hatred, and aspersed her, which caused her extreme sorrow and anguish. Being one night alone in a wood, she prayed that God would cure her of her love, and He, appearing to her while she was asleep, gave her a delicious liquor, which entirely cured her; and she saw the same draught administered to Maelon, who thereupon became frozen into a lump of ice.

"The Almighty also granted her three requests. She first desired that Maelon should be unfrozen; next, that her supplications should always be granted in favour of all true-hearted lovers, so that they should either obtain the objects of their affection, or be cured of their love-passion; and, thirdly, that thenceforth she should never wish to be married: and the three requests were conceded to her, whereupon she took the veil, and became a Saint. Every faithful lover who subsequently invoked her was either relieved from his passion, or obtained the object of his affection."

Dafydd ab Gwilym, the contemporary of Chaucer, wrote a *cywydd*, addressed to Dwynwen, in which he beseeches her to be his *llatai*,

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419, 423; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 120 (where she is said to have a Church also in Ceredigion), 140. In *Jesus College MS.* 20 her name is written Gwen. Gwenddwyn was the name of one of Cyndrwyn's daughters (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 91).

² Browne Willis, *Bangor*, pp. 17-8. It was put in by Dean Kyffin, rector of Llanddwyn.

³ P. 84.

or love-messenger, to procure assignations with Morfydd, his lady-love.¹ The poem is a playful satire upon the invocation of Saints generally, but especially of Dwyenwen. The first verse is to this effect :—

“Tear-bedewed Dwyenwen, essence of beauty,
Thou Saint of the brightly-lit Choir,
Thy golden image cures of ailments
The tortured and miserable ones all.

“He who keeps watch, with guileless intent,
At thine altar, thou refulgent one,
Never therefrom shall he depart
Afflicted with sickness or anguish.”

In the last verse he implores her to grant him his request, “for the soul of Brychan Yrth, with the mighty arms.”

There is a *cywydd* written in honour of Dwyenwen, “the holy maid of Brycheiniog,” “mother of all goodness,” by Sir Dafydd Trefor, in the late fifteenth century. Copies of it are preserved in *Peniarth MS.* 112 and *Cardiff MS.* 7. He describes her church at Llanddwyen, her statue, her sanctuary, and the miracles that were wrought at her holy wells, and states that young men and maidens, and sick folk generally, flocked thither in great numbers “from diverse countries,” bearing candles and large offerings, to be cured of their various afflictions.

Ffynnon Fair at Llanddwyen continued in great repute for many centuries. It was inhabited by a sacred fish or eel, whose movements indicated the fortunes of the love-sick people who resorted to it, and afterwards offered into Dwyenwen’s *cyff*, or chest.

The following is an account of the ceremony, from a MS. of William Williams of Llandegai, written about 1800: “There was a spring of clear water, now choked up by the sand, at which an old woman from Newborough always attended, and prognosticated the lovers’ success from the movements of some small eels which waved out of the sides of the well, on spreading the lover’s handkerchief on the surface of the water. I remember an old woman saying that when she was a girl, she consulted the woman at this well about her destiny with respect to her husband; on spreading her handkerchief, out popped an eel from the north side of the well, and soon after another crawled from the south side, and they both met on the bottom of the well; then the woman told her that her husband would be a stranger from the south part of Carnarvonshire. Soon after, it happened that three brothers came from that part and

¹ His published works, eds. 1789 and 1873, poem No. lxxix. In another poem, No. cxi, he couples her with S. Rhystud. Though obscurely, he seems to refer to a genuine tradition of a “love affair.”

settled in the neighbourhood where the young woman was, one of whom made his addresses to her, and in a little time married her. So much of the prophecy I remember. This couple was my father and mother."

S. Dwynwen was not only invoked in lovers' troubles, but also for the curing of divers aches in the bones, stitches, pleurisy, etc. "There is a spot on the top of a rock called Gwely Esyth (? Esmwyth, easy), where people under such pains (aches) lay down and slept; and, after waking and cutting their names in the sod, they fancied they were cured."¹

She was also consulted as the patroness of the farmers' beasts. Williams writes further:—"I remember hearing of an instance which happened, I believe, about 150 years ago (*i.e.*, *circa* 1650). The ploughing oxen at Bodeon, on April 25, taking a fright when at work, ran over a steep rock and perished in the sea. This being S. Mark the Evangelist's anniversary day, it was considered that doing work on that day was a transgression of a divine ordinance, and to prevent such accidents for the future, the proprietor of the farm ordered that the festival of S. Mark should be for the future invariably kept a holy day; and that two wax candles should be annually on that day burned in the church porch of Llanddwyn, which was the only part of the building that was covered in, as an offering and memorial of this transgression and accident, and as a token that S. Dwynwen's aid and protection was solicited to prevent such a catastrophe any more. This was discontinued about 80 years ago, I think" (*i.e.*, *circa* 1720). The south porch "was kept in repair by the proprietor of Bodeon, and of almost all this parish, for the purpose of placing the candles therein."

In the Middle Ages Llanddwyn became an abbey of the Benedictine Order. In the time of Edward III there were no more than eight small houses on the island; but Leland wrote of it, "This Isle is veri fertile of cunnies," which is still true. In the time of Henry VIII, and before, Llanddwyn was one of the richest prebends in the Principality, its wealth arising principally from the offerings of the numerous votaries who flocked to the shrine, and to consult their future destiny, by *ichthyomanteia*, at the Holy Well. At the shrine wax lights were kept constantly burning, and here

"A thousand bleeding hearts her power invoked."

¹ See also *Arch. Camb.*, 1898, pp. 371-2, where is an extract from one of Fenton's volumes of notes in the Cardiff Library, which agrees almost verbatim with Williams' account. Fenton most probably derived his information from him.

That the well itself had been long covered over with sand did not prevent young people in later times from wading thither through the sand; they sought their cure from "the water next the well."¹

At present hardly a vestige of the Abbey remains. What is left of the Island is included in the parish of Newborough, but during the prevalence of strong westerly gales the sands are drifted over a considerable portion of that parish also. Here is a small wishing-well, called Crochan Llanddwyn (its Cauldron), which is still frequented by love-sick lads and lasses. They believe that if its waters boil or bubble whilst they perform their ceremonies it is a sign that their love is reciprocated.

In 1903 a Celtic Cross, about 14 feet high, was erected on the island by the Hon. F. G. Wynn, to commemorate the Saint.

Dwynwen had a cult also in Glamorganshire. In the Tresillian dingle, between Llantwit Major and S. Donat's, there is an immense cavern fronting the sea, called the Cave of Dwynwen. Hither many, until recent years, used to flock to decide their future by means of her Bow of Destiny. This Bow is a natural archway, about 8 or 10 feet below the roof of the cave. At high water it is possible for a boat to pass over the arch. Persons of all conditions in life used to try their chances by throwing a pebble over the arch or bow, which was considered a feat. A little preliminary practice was allowable. The number of fruitless efforts made before the arch was surmounted was supposed to denote the period of years that must intervene before the person, if single, be married; or, if married, be released by death from existing ties, for another choice.² Marriages, it is said, were formerly celebrated in this cave.

Among the "Sayings of the Wise" occurs the following³ :—

Hast thou heard the saying of S. Dwynwen,
The fair daughter of Brychan the Aged?
"There is none so lovable as the cheerful."
(Nid caruaidd ond llawen.)

It is probable that Advent Church, near Camelford in Cornwall, had her as patroness. She perhaps also has a cult in Brittany, as Ste. Douine or Twine, who has a chapel at Plouha in Goëlo, Côtes

¹ Ceiriog Hughes, *Oriau Eraill*, p. 116, has a pretty sonnet to the well. He, however, concludes—

"Does un feddyginiaeth, na dyfais, na dawn,
Eill wella hen glefyd y galon yn iawn."

² Taliesin Williams, *The Doom of Colyn Dolphyn*, London, 1837, pp. 153-4.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 253.

du Nord. She is there credited with the power to cure all fevers; Luzel has recorded a popular legend concerning her. She has been supplanted of late years by S. Eugenia, who has a place in the Roman Martyrology. But the Pardon is held not on the day of any Eugenia, but on May 16.

The day of S. Dwynwen in Wales is January 25, which occurs in Calendars of the fifteenth century and later. Nicolas Roscarrock gives as her day July 13, and adds that S. Dwin is the same as Dwinwen. However, in his Calendar he gives January 25, as Dwinwent or Damwent. *Llanstephan MS.* 117 also gives July 13, possibly through misreading Dwynwen for Doewan.¹

S. DWYWAI, Confessor

THIS saint, of whom, unhappily, nothing is known, was a son of Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw.² See under S. DWYFAEL above. He is the patron saint of Llanddwye, a chapel under Llanenddwyn, Merionethshire. Nicolas Roscarrock gives him as Doewan, and his day as July 13. In this he was mistaken. He says he was son of Howel, son of Aymericus Armoricus, and brother of Derfel Gadarn. Like the female saint below, his name went through the forms Dwywei, Dwywai, and Dwywe.

Browne Willis³ gives Llanddwye as dedicated in the name of the Holy Cross, September 24, wrongly for the 14th, its Exaltation.

S. DWYWAI, Matron

DWYWEI, Dwywai, or Dwywe, was, according to the older genealo-

¹ However, in *Breuddwyd y Mab o gywaeth Arwysl* in *Peniarth MS.* 205 (fifteenth century) her festival is mentioned as being in the summer—"nossywyl ddwynnwenn yn yr haf."

² Lewis Morris (*Celtic Remains*, p. 145) mistook the Saint's sex, giving him the title *Santes*. Owen, in his *Sauctorale Catholicum*, 1880, wrongly identifies him with Damianus, or Dyfan, the companion of S. Ffagan, assigning him as festival May 14 (p. 233), and conjointly with Ffagan on the 26th (p. 259).

³ *Survey of Bangor*, p. 277. In *Myv. Arch.*, p. 424, is a note from Edward Lhuyd which states that the wake at Tremeirchion, Flintshire, is kept on the first Sunday after "dygwyl Ddywa," elsewhere quoted as "dygwyl Ddwywa." Lhuyd's actual reading is "dig wyl Dhyw," i.e. Dygwyl Dduw, literally, the Festival of God (the French *Fête Dieu*), the Welsh for the Feast of Corpus Christi, which is the titular dedication of the Church of Tremeirchion. The Festival instituted to celebrate the doctrine of Transubstantiation dates from the thirteenth century.

gies, the daughter of Lleenog, of the race of Coel Godebog, but according to the later ones, daughter of Gwallog ab Lleenog,¹ and not sister. She was the wife of S. Dunawd, and the mother of S. Deiniol.

No churches are mentioned as dedicated to her.

S. DWYWG, Confessor

Dwywc or Dwywg, the son of Llywarch Hên, is reckoned in one document² among the Welsh saints, and his church is said to be in Euas or Ewyas, an ancient district now mainly included in Herefordshire. His saintship, however, rests on too doubtful an authority. From Dwywg was descended Rhodri Mawr, King of All Wales, killed in 877.

SS. DYDDGEN and DYDDGU

IN the adjoining parishes of Llangyndeyrn and Llanelly, in Carmarthenshire, were formerly two chapels, Capel Dyddgen or Dyddgan in the former, and Capel Dyddgu³ in the latter, embodying the names of two Welsh saints, of whom we now know nothing.

In the inventory of Church goods taken by the Commissioners in 1552-3 the Llangyndeyrn chapel is mentioned as "Saynt Dethgen is chaple."⁴ The chapelry in the old parish list in *Peniarth MS.* 147 (*circa* 1566) is called Llanllyddgen, but in the *Myvyrian* list Llan Hyddgen. Its ruins, including the square tower, still remain, situated on high ground, and have been used as a cow-house.

In the same inventory the Llanelly chapel occurs as "the chaple of Saynt Diddgye."⁵ It stood in Hengoed manor or hamlet, near Sylen farm.

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 423; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 127. By a copyist's blunder she is in *Peniarth MS.* 12 (fourteenth century) made to be the mother of Cadwaladr Fendigaid.

² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 128. The name is not common. Cynddelw (twelfth century) has an elegy on the sons of "Dwywc uab Ioruerth" (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 183).

³ Dyddgen is, apparently, Dyddgain. Dyddgu as a woman's name is well-known through Dafydd ab Gwilym; but there are several instances of it as a man's name. It is also the name for the bird-cherry (*prunus padus*).

⁴ Daniel-Tyssen and Evans, *Carmarthen Charters*, 1878, p. 31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

S. DYFAN, Bishop, Confessor

THE original authority for this saint would appear to be Geoffrey of Monmouth,¹ and the little he says about him has been considerably amplified by the compilers of the hagiological documents printed especially in the *Iolo MSS.* His whole history, from beginning to end, is a pure fabrication, and the church of Merthyr Dyfan has been made to serve as a peg to hang it on. The earlier Boneddys know nothing of him. In the Latin text of Geoffrey his name is given as Du-vianus, and in the Welsh, Dwywan, neither of which could possibly have yielded the form Dyfan at any time.² He is usually associated with Ffagan, and both sometimes with Elfan and Medwy. They figure in the Lucius legend.

We give the substance of what the *Iolo MSS.*³ have to say of him. He was the son of Alcwn Aflerw ab Yspwyth ab Manawyddan ab Llyr Llediaith, than which there could never have been a more mythical origin. "He was made Bishop in Rome," and was sent with Ffagan, by Pope Eleutherius, in the time of Lleurwg (Lucius), "King of Britain," "to administer Baptism to the nation of the Cynry; for, previously, no Cymro had ever been baptized." "He was killed by the pagans at Merthyr Dyfan, where he was bishop." The church of Merthyr Dovan is in Glamorganshire, within a few miles of Cardiff. He is also said to be the patron of the church of "Caer Dyf," that is, Cardiff. Further, he founded Côr Dyfan, which "was in Llandaff, and Dyfrig its principal."

There are churches dedicated to three out of the four saints of the Lucius legend in the neighbourhood of Llandaff, and there only. That persons bearing those names must have lived at some early period is about all that can be said of them.

"The Sayings of the Wise" contain the following⁴ :—

Hast thou heard the saying of Dyfan
The Martyr, in the day of slaughter?
"God is superior to ill foreboding."
(Trech Duw na drwg ddarogan).

His festival does not occur in the Welsh calendars, but Rees, on the

¹ *Hist.*, iv, c. 19.

² The following are some of the forms his name assumes in Latin writers—Damianus, Dimanus, Dimianus, Diuuanus, Divianus, Divinianus, Diwanus, Dumanus, Dumianus, Deruvianus, Deruvianus, Dervanus, and Duvanus. Owen, in his *Sanctorale Catholicum*, pp. 233, 259, is wrong in identifying him, as Damianus, with S. Dwywai of Llanddwywe. For the Llangwarren (Pemb.) stone, with the name inscribed *Dobagni* and *Dovagni*, apparently the Welsh Dyfan, see *Arch. Camb.*, 1897, p. 324. Geoffrey says a Dywan was appointed bishop of Winchester by King Arthur (*Bruts*, p. 204).

³ Pp. 100, 115, 118, 135, 151, 220.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

authority of Cressy, gives Dyfan on April 8, and Dyfan and Ffagan on May 24.¹ Ffagan occurs also on August 8.

Dyfan, as Deruvianus, appears in the *Glastonbury Chronicle*,² where he and Faganus are called the first bishops of Congresbury, A.D. 167. Matthew of Westminster³ relates that in A.D. 186 the two "beati antis-tites" returned to Rome and obtained papal confirmation for all their proceedings, after which they resumed their mission with numerous assistants, causing Britain soon to shine bright with the Christian faith.

S. DYFANOG, Confessor

GEORGE OWEN, in his *Description of Pembrokeshire*, 1603, says that upon the isle of Ramsey or Lymen were two chapels, one dedicated to S. David, and the other to St. Devanok, whom he incorrectly equates with Dyfan or Devan (Deruvianus) the companion of S. Ffagan, "sent by Bushop Eleutherius to the Bryttaines to preach the word of life 186 yeares after the ascention of our Saviour Jesus Christ, Lucius then beinge Kinge of Brittainne."⁴

From him the island was called in Welsh Ynys Tyfanog, or Dyfanog. Mr. Egerton Phillimore suggests that "possibly Devynock or Defynog in Brecknockshire (which cannot possibly be derived from S. Dyfnog, as some have supposed) embodies the name of the Ramsey island saint. The church there is dedicated to S. Cynog."⁵ The old name of the parish, however, was Y Ddyfynog.⁶

Who this Dyfanog or Tyfanog was it is impossible to say.

On Ramsey are in two places traces of ecclesiastical relics. On the north of Road Isaf as of a chapel; at another place to the south of the same little port, an indication of an early Christian cemetery, as graves and bones have been there uncarthed, similar to the arrangement at Ty Gwyn. These were the two chapels formerly known as Capel Dyfanog and Capel Stinan. Edward Lhuyd and Fenton quote a Welsh distich alluding to the neighbourhood of Stinan and Dyfanog in Ramsey. "Stinan a Devanog, Dau anwyl gymmydog," "Justinian and Dyfanog, two dear neighbours." Fenton adds that the

¹ *Welsh Saints*, pp. 86, 316. Browne Willis (*Parochiale Anglicanum*, 1733, p. 199) in giving July 13 as his day, has confounded him with Doewan.

² Quoted by Wharton, *Angl. Sac.*, i, p. 553.

³ *Flor. Hist.*, ed. 1570, i, p. 112.

⁴ Ed. by Dr. Henry Owen, 1892; i, pp. 112-3. ⁵ *Ibid.*, i, p. 112, note 5.

⁶ *E.g.*, the parish list in *Peniarth MS.* 147 (circa 1566).

spot shown him as the site of Dyfanog's chapel is in a little hollow, having a little ripple of water passing near it.¹

In an Ode to King Henry VII is invoked "the protection of Dyfaenog," whose name follows immediately that of "Dewi of Mynyw."²

See also under S. TYFANOG.

S. DYFNAN, Confessor

DYFNAN is reputed to have been a son of Brychan Brycheiniog,³ but his name is not found in either version of the *Cognatio*. He is the patron of Llanddyfnan, in Anglesey, where he is buried, according to tradition.

His festival occurs in April. It is given as the 21st by Nicolas Roscarrock; the 22nd in the Prymer of 1633, *Allwydd Paradwys*, 1670, Browne Willis⁴ and eighteenth century Welsh Almanacks; the 23rd by Nicolas Owen⁵ and Rees; and the 24th in the calendars in *Additional MS.* 14,882 (1591) and *Peniarth MS.* 219 (circa 1615).

S. DYFNIG, Confessor

ALL that we know about this saint is contained in the following entry in the alphabetical Bonedd, so-called, in the *Myvyrian Archaeology*⁶: "Ust and Dyfnig, the saints at Llanwrin, in Cyfeiliog, who came to this Island with Cadfan." The church of Llanwrin, which is in Montgomeryshire, was re-dedicated to S. Gwrin, son of Cynddilig ab Nwython, who lived in the next century, the seventh. Dyfnig is mentioned in the Ode to King Henry VII among the saints to whose guardianship the bard commits that King.⁷

The names Dyfnig and Ust are assimilations of the Latin Dominicus and Justus.

¹ *Pembrokeshire*, ed. 1903, p. 69; cf. Browne Willis, *S. Davids*, 1717, p. 59.

² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 140; *Myr. Arch.*, pp. 419, 424. Angharad Llwyd, *Hist. of Anglesey*, p. 226, confuses him with Dyfan.

⁴ *Bangor*, 1721, p. 282.

⁵ *Hist. of Anglesey*, 1775, p. 57.

⁶ P. 431.

⁷ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314.

S. DYFNOG, Confessor

DYFNOG was, according to some of the genealogies, the son of Medrod ab Cawrdaf ab Caradog Freichfras,¹ but, according to others (under the form Defnog), the son of S. Cawrdaf.² He is the patron of the Vale of Clwyd church, formerly occasionally called Llanddyfnog,³ but now generally Llanrhaiadr in Cinmerch, *i.e.*, "the church near the cataract, or rushing stream, in the commote of Cinmerch,"⁴ which bursts forth from the strong spring, Ffynnon Ddyfnog, hard by.

There is a *cywydd* written in his honour by an anonymous bard, a copy of which is preserved in *Llanstephan MS.* 167 (of the end of the seventeenth century). He says that there was an image of the Saint in Llanrhaiadr Church. He eulogizes his *pistyll* and *ffynnon* for the miraculous cures they wrought upon those afflicted with diverse complaints that came in great numbers, from far and near, to bathe therein. The water owed its healing virtues to the saint, who, renouncing the world, had led an austere life here, doing penance by standing under the volume of cold water as it issued from the spout. He wore a thick garment of horse-hair, girded with an iron girdle, and his meat was bread and water.

Leland⁵ refers to the well as "a mighty Spring that maketh a Brok renning scant a mile"; and Edward Lhuyd, in his so-called *Itinerary*, 1699, says that it was "a Bath much frequented; the water heals scabs, itch etc. Some say 'twould cure y^e pox." Browne Willis mentions it as the "famous Well of S. Dyfnog, much resorted to, and on that account provided with all conveniences of rooms, etc., for bathing, built about it."⁶ Pennant, who visited the place in the latter part of the eighteenth century, says that "the fountain was inclosed in an angular wall, decorated with small human figures, and before the well for the use of the pious bathers."⁷ Only the remains, however, of the oblong bath, of wrought stones, are now to be seen.

The water rises with great force out of the limestone formation in the dingle above the church, and was long thought to be a remarkably copious spring; but it has since been ascertained to be a stream which

¹ *Peniarth MS.* 45 (thirteenth century); *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 270; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 424; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 102, 123.

² *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 268. *Cardiff MS.* 5 (1527) makes him, as "Dyvynoc," son of Caradog Freichfras. The name Dyfnog is to be equated with Dumnacus of Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.*, viii, 26.

³ *E.g.*, the old parish lists in *Peniarth MS.* 147 (*circa* 1566), and *Myv. Arch.*, p. 742.

⁴ There is a parish called Quimerch, north of Chateaulin, in Finistère.

⁵ *Itin.*, v, 62.

⁶ *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, p. 327.

⁷ *Tours in Wales*, ed. 1883, ii, p. 180.

risers in the neighbouring hilly parish of Prion. The two branches of the stream, after flowing for nearly half a mile, sink into the rock, and pursue a subterraneous course for two miles, emerging at this spot.

In the east end of the church is a fine Jesse window, bearing date 1533. It is traditionally said to have come originally from Basingwerk Abbey. According to one account it was brought hither at its dissolution; but according to another it was purchased at that time with the offerings of the pilgrims to the well. It was taken out and secretly buried, inside the old oak parish-chest, in the neighbouring wood, during the troublous times of Charles I, and put back in 1661.

The Festival of S. Dyfnog is February 13, which occurs in a good number of calendars from the fifteenth century down. It is somewhat curious that the Irish-born S. Domnoc or Modomnoc, the pupil of S. David,¹ should be commemorated on the same day.

The church of Defynog or Devynock (anciently Y Ddyfynog), in Breconshire, has been guessed to be dedicated to S. Dyfnog, but there is an insurmountable philological difficulty; besides, that church is known to be dedicated to S. Cynog. Llech Ddyfnog, or Llwyth Dyfnog, is a commote name in Elfael, Radnorshire; and there is a Cil Dyfnog, near Machynlleth. That part of the shore to the east of Greigddu, in the parish of Treflys, Carnarvonshire, is known as Porth S. Dyfnog.²

S. DYFNWAL HËN

IN one document in the *Iolo MSS.*³ Dyfnwal Hên, the son of Ednyfed ab Maxen Wledig, is accounted a saint, and mentioned as King of Gwent. There is no authority whatever for either statement. In *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd* in *Peniarth MS.* 45 (thirteenth century) and other early and authentic documents, he simply occurs as ancestor of various Kings of Northern Britain.

S. DYFRIG, see S. DUBRICIUS

SS. DYFRWYR, Confessors

ALTHOUGH these seven saints, whose names are now lost to us, have no day specially devoted to them in the Welsh Calendars, there are

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 133-4. See p. 353.

² Alltud Eifion, *Gestiana*, 1892, p. 46. A Cwm Dyfnog is given in the genealogy of S. Cwyfan in the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 123.

³ P. 138.

churches dedicated to them in Wales, wherein they have received in the past annual commemoration. The authority for their legend is the *Book of Llan Dâw*, from a twelfth century MS., edited by Evans and Rhys (Oxford, 1893), pp. 127-9.

There was a man named Cynwayw, of Deugleddyf, in Pembrokeshire, of noble family, but poor, and his wife was so prolific that she gave him a son every year in succession. However, this succession came to an abrupt termination, and seven years elapsed without Cynwayw having more children, and he confidently hoped that his anxieties were at an end, when his wife was delivered of seven at a birth, thus at one stroke making up leeway.¹ The unhappy father became desperate, and he resolved to drown them like kittens.

"As by chance S. Teilo was passing on his way, he found their father at Rytsinetic, on the river Tâf, by the instigation of the devil plunging his sons one by one in the river, on account of his indigence and poverty. S. Teilo, beholding such cruel work, received them all, half alive, and, with the giving of thanks, baptized them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Having taken away the seven sons from the unfortunate father, the very pious man brought them up, sent them to study literature, and placed them on his estate of Llandeilo (now Llanddowror, in Carmarthenshire), so that the place received from some persons the name of Llanddyfrwyr,² because, on account of their religious life, they had no other food than aquatic fishes, which, according to their number, seven, were sent by God to them daily, on a certain stone in the river Tâf, called in consequence Llech Meneich, that is, the Monks' Stone; and, again, they were called Dyfrwyr³ because they were found in the water, escaped from the water, and were maintained by the fishes of the water. Dyfrwyr signifying, in the British tongue, Men of the Water.

¹ For the identity of the number of sons with the number of years' separation compare the Cornish legend of Brychan, i, pp. 318-9.

² The full form under which Llanddowror appears in the *Book of Llan Dâw* is Llanntelieu Lanndibrguir (p. 254), which would regularly become in modern Welsh Llandeilo Llanddyfrwyr. The present-day Llanddowror is a plaining down of the second name. With the name compare Lanninitir Lannicruc (*ibid.*, p. 277), now Kenderchurch, in Herefordshire. It also occurs as Lanndyfrguir (*ibid.*, pp. 128, 133), and Ecclesia Aquilensium (*ibid.*, p. 77). A church of the same name (Landubrguir, Landauer Guir), situated in the comote of Edelygion, Monmouthshire, is mentioned in the Lives of SS. Cadoc and Cybi (*Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 50, 184).

³ *Dyfrwr* was the well-known epithet of S. David—Dewi Ddyfrwr, rendered by Rhygyfarch "David Aquilentus" and "David aquaticæ vitæ" (*ibid.*, pp. 118, 133), and by Giraldus "vir aquaticus" (*Opera*, iii, p. 379). S. Dyfrig's name, Latinized Dubricius, seems to be also a derivative of *dwfr*. The Aquarius is called in Welsh Y Dyfrwr.

" At a certain time, S. Teilo, who had frequently visited them along with his disciples, came that he might enjoy their conversation ; and one of the brothers, according to their custom, went to the water for the fishes, and found on the aforesaid stone seven, according to the number of the brothers, and also an eighth, of larger size than the seven, all of which he brought home. And the brothers were thereat amazed, as it is said, ' The Lord is wonderful among His saints,' because they well knew that on account of their patron and master, S. Teilo, becoming their guest, the Creator of all things had increased the number of the fishes.

" And after they had resided there a long time, living religiously, and passed much of their time in the society of S. Dubricius, he sent them to another place of his, in Pebydiog (now Dewisland, the rural deanery in which is the city of S. Davids), called Mathru, and there they were named ' the Seven Saints of Mathru.' And after they remained there for another space of time, they came to Cenarth Mawr, where they continued to the end of their lives."

The story is introduced into the *Book of Llan Dâw*, to account for the see of S. Teilo claiming to possess lands in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, and in the diocese of S. Davids.

The memory of these seven brethren is attached to three churches---those of Llanddowror and Cenarth, in Carmarthenshire, and Mathry, in Pembrokeshire. These churches are now esteemed to be dedicated to S. Teilo, S. Llawddog, and the Holy Martyrs, respectively.

H. Goff, in a letter dated S. Davids, December 2, 1720, to Browne Willis, says :¹ " At Mathry the corpses of the martyrs have been interred in coffins of stones, to be seen in several places near the churchyard." The dedication to " the Holy Martyrs," with festival on September 28² (on which day two groups of martyrs are given by the Bollandists as receiving commemoration), is founded entirely on the supposition that the seven saints were martyred ; but the legend simply says that they migrated from Mathry to Cenarth, " where they continued to the end of their lives." The old Mathry Fair was held on Michaelmas Day.

It is not difficult to perceive that in the legend is an element of truth. That the seven brethren were born at a birth is, of course, a mythical embellishment. They were probably the seven sons of Cynwayw born

¹ Fenton, *Pembrokeshire*, ed. 1903, p. 17.

² Willis, *Parochiale Anglicanum*, 1733, p. 177. The name is taken as representing *merthyri*, martyrs. In the *Book of Llan Dâw* it is spelt Mathru and Marthru. The former form might mean " the field of woe " ; and the latter might well be regarded as being derived from the Goidelic *martra*, relics, from the Latin *martyria* ; but there is no tradition that the church was at any time celebrated for its relics (Sir J. Rhys in *Arch. Camb.*, 1893, p. 22).

before his wife ceased to have more children. The association with S. Dubricius is more than doubtful, he belonged to an age before that of S. Teilo, and the Water Men were of the next generation to Teilo.

The grant of Llanddowror, with Penally and Llandeilo Fawr, to Dubricius by Nouy or Noë ab Arthur ¹ is clearly a forgery, as the latter lived at a much later period. Noë was the father of Sannan, the mother of Elisse, King of Powys *circa* 725-50, to whose memory the Valle Crucis pillar was set up.

The number seven was once much affected in the Celtic Church.

"The *Martyrology of Donegal* mentions six groups of seven bishops. The *Litany of Oengus the Culdee*, however, mentions no less than one hundred and forty-one of such groups. It is by no means clear what these groups were; it appears that the members of the groups were usually related, brothers or cousins; no satisfactory account of them has as yet been given. Allusion to the mystical number seven, or to the Apocalypse, does not give any real help; all that can be said is that it was one of the peculiar institutions of the Celtic Church." ²

There were:—The seven brothers led by S. Gibrian to Rheims; the seven sons of Maighire, commemorated on May 22; the seven Bishops of Tigh-na-Conimairce, commemorated on May 28; the seven daughters of Fergus, of Inis-Celtra, commemorated on May 24; the seven brothers, Bishops of Tamnach Buadha, commemorated on July 21; the seven Bishops, brothers of Cluan Cua, or Clonkeen, commemorated on October 3; and the seven Bishops of Drumreilly, commemorated on January 15.

At Tascoffin, in Kilkenny, are shown the tombs of seven holy brothers, Bishops, born at a single birth, and all of diminutive size; and at Killeen Cormac, in Kildare, are buried seven brothers, Bishops, of the Hy Failghe.

The *Iolo MSS.* state that "Illyd, knight and saint, founded seven churches and llans, and appointed seven companies for each llan, and seven cells and cōrs of each company, and seven clergy in each cell." ³ Another instance is found in Bede's account of Bangor Iscoed, "In septem portiones esset cum præpositis sibi rectoribus monasterium divisum nulla harum portio minus quam trecentos homines haberet." ⁴

There were the "Seven Cousin-Saints" of Wales.⁵ Beuno raised

¹ *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 77, 133. See the Old Welsh genealogies in *Harleian MS.* 3859.

² Willis Bund, *Celtic Church of Wales*, p. 237.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 150.

⁴ *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 2.

⁵ For their names see *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 271; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 423.

six persons to life; some day he will raise a seventh! There were "Seven Bishop-Houses in Dyfed"; and seven score "Croziars" were assembled at Whitland for the revision of the Welsh Laws.

In Brittany there are seven, SS. Brioc, Corentin, Malo, Padarn, Paul of Léon, Samson and Tudwal, who had chapels at Brest and Coet-maloën, now destroyed, and at Erguy, Pledran, Plouaret, and Yffiniac. They were also formerly venerated at Maroué and at Bulat, at which latter is a holy well with seven niches, from which the statues have been removed.

At Plouaret is a chapel built over a dolmen that serves as crypt. This dolmen is composed of five slabs, perhaps six or seven, but five only are now visible. Three form the supporters, and there are two huge covering stones. The place of one on the north side is built up, and the east end has been so disguised by late structures to form altar and recess, that the original construction cannot be made out. Till the eighteenth century the seven saints there venerated were those above mentioned, but since then for them have been substituted the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. This dolmen or cromlech, converted into a subterranean chapel, is of great interest. At the east end, on a sort of re-table, stand the seven statues, very small.¹

At La Croix des Sept Chemins, where seven roads meet, it is said that seven brothers, SS. Gonery, Merhé, Connec, Dardanaou, Quidec, Geran and Joret embraced and started to preach the Gospel in distant parts. Each founded a chapel in the direction he took; but S. Gonlay is a substitution perhaps for S. Elouan, and S. Joret has been displaced for S. Laurence. All seven brothers were reared by a doe. On the eve of the Pardon, in the chapel of S. Merhé, in the parish of Kergrist-Neuillac (diocese of Vannes), fresh straw is strewn in the porch, and the doe, which brought them up, is supposed to couch there during the night. These seven brothers were sons of one mother.²

This is a version of the story so widely spread of the mother of seven holy sons that appears first in Paulus Diaconus.³ The same story is found at Tiverton in Devon, where seven crosses marked the spot where the Countess of Devon met a tailor laden with a large covered basket. She asked him what he was carrying. "Only seven puppies, that I be going to drown," was the reply. "I want a dog," said the

etc. For the heptade see also *Marvnat y Vil Veib* in the *Book of Taliessin*. Others, of a secular character, might be mentioned.

¹ *Revue Mensuelle de l'École d'Anthropologie*, Paris, 1897.

² Oheix (R.), *Les Saints inconnus* in *Association Bretonne*, 1880.

³ *Historia Langobardorum*, i, 15.

Countess, and bade him open the basket, when she found that it contained seven babes, borne by his wife at a single birth. The Countess bade him take back the babes to his wife, and charged herself with their education. They were all boys, and she had them educated at Buckfast Abbey. Four of them became rectors of the four quarters of Tiverton, and three became their curates, and they all lived saintly lives. As the seven hung together in life, in death they were not parted. All died in one day, and were buried on the spot where the Countess of Devon saved their lives, and there, above their heads, seven crosses were raised, but not one of these remains to the present day. They were destroyed by the Puritans at the Rebellion.

The same story precisely is told of Chulmleigh, in North Devon, where seven canonries were founded for the seven sons found in a basket on their way to be drowned.¹

Howell, in his *Familiar Letters*, writing from Trèves says²: "The wonder of Nature is a church-monument, wher an earl and a lady are engraven with 364 children about them, which were all delivered at one birth; they were half male, half female; the bason hangs in the church which carried them to be christened, and the Bishop's name who did it; and the story of the miracle, with the year and the day of the month mentioned, which is not yet 200 years ago, and the story is this: The Countesse, walking about her door after dinner, ther came a beggar-woman with two children upon her back to beg alms, the Countesse asking whether those children wer her own, she answered, she had them both at one birth, and by one father, who was her husband; the Countesse would not onely give her any alms, but reviled her bitterly, saying it was impossible for one man to get two children at once: The beggar-woman being thus provok'd with ill words and without alms fell to imprecations, that it should please God to show his judgment upon her, and that she might bear at one birth as many children as ther be days in the year, which she did before the same year's end, having never borne child before." The letter is dated April 10, 1622. In this story the number of children is greatly multiplied, and they do not turn out to be saints.

Erasmus tells the same story of a monument at Delft, and gives the name of the Countess, Margaret of Holland, sister of Count William, who was elected King of the Germans, and he says the date was either 1276 or 1313, and she was delivered on Good Friday, but that all the 365 children, as well as their mother, died soon after.

The number of children varies from seven to twelve and 365. All

¹ In S. David's Cathedral is also "The Golden Prebend of Mathry."

² *Epistolæ Hoelianaæ*, London, 1678, p. 76.

these stories are derived, apparently, from one pagan origin, and the first trace of it appears in the Indian *Mahabharata*, where Canatu encounters Ganga, a water spirit, marries her, and she becomes the mother of eight children, seven of whom she flings into the Ganges, and the eighth, whom she saves, is Bhisma. The version in Paulus Diaconus already referred to is to this effect. In the days of the Lombard King Agelmund, a woman bore seven sons at once, and to hide the disgrace threw them into a pond. The King rode by soon after, and saw the seven children drowning. He held out his spear, and one of the infants laid hold of it, and he drew it forth, and this child thus saved became Lamissio, King of the Lombards after the death of Agelmund.

But the legend of the Seven is given as that of the origin of the Guelfs. Warin, Count of Altorf and Ravensburg, in Swabia, had a son called Isenbart, whose wife was Irmentrud. It chanced that a woman in the neighbourhood had three children at a birth, and Irmentrud declared that she must be an adulteress, and deserved to be put in a sack and drowned. Next year the Countess gave birth at once to twelve sons, and full of shame, ordered the maid to drown eleven of them. The Count was on his way back from hunting, when he met the woman with a hamper, and inquired what she had. "Young whelps to be drowned," she replied. He insisted on seeing the whelps, and when he found they were children, forced the bearer to tell the truth. He gave the eleven children to a miller to be brought up, and bade the woman keep silence as to the children having been saved. When they were all six years old, Count Isenbart gave a great feast at his castle, and during the banquet had the eleven boys introduced, all clothed in red, and with rich adornments. They were all alike, and all so closely resembled his own son, whom the Countess had on her lap, that none could doubt that they were brothers. The Count stood up, told the whole story, and asked the guests what should be the punishment of the woman who had sent eleven of her and his sons to be drowned. Irmentrud threw herself at his feet and implored forgiveness, and at the intercession of the guests she was forgiven. But the Count ordered that thenceforth his family should be known in Germany and throughout the world as Guelfs (whelps).¹ Very similar stories are told of other families in Germany, as of a Countess Jutta von Querfurt, and a Countess of Sieboldsdorf.²

It has been suggested that the stories refer to the Mother of the Year,

¹ Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, Berlin, 1866, ii, pp. 209-11. The authorities are cited.

² Sepp, *Alt-bayerisches Sagenbuch*, München, 1876, pp. 548-9.

who has either twelve months, or 365 days. But the origin of the legend that gives seven sons refers more probably to the Pleiades. Indeed, in German myths, a mother with six daughters once fed Christ with bread, when He wandered over the earth, and was hungry, whereupon He translated them to Heaven, and set them there as the Seven Stars.¹

Under S. SAMSON will be mentioned how Alanus de Insulis adopts the story of seven at a birth, and applies it to some of the famous saints of Brittany and Wales. It is to be regretted that they have been displaced at Plouaret to make way for the purely apocryphal Seven Sleepers, who, however, have their commemoration in the Roman Martyrology.

S. DYGWY, see S. TEGWYN

EDELTRUDA, Widow

THE mother of S. Brioc. For all that is known about her see the Life of S. Brioc.² She is culted at Tréfléz, in Finistère, where there is a holy well bearing her name, and a ruined chapel to which a procession is made on the day of the Pardon.

She is locally called S. Wentroc or Guentroc.

S. EDERN, Confessor

THIS Saint is, in the older genealogies, said to have been a son of Beli ab Rhun ab Maelgwn Gwynedd,³ but in the later ones, a son of Nudd ab Beli⁴—grandson instead of son of Beli. His name is the Latin Æternus, but it is commonly written in later Welsh Edeyrn, which is really a different name. Beli was king of Gwynedd, and was succeeded by his son Iago, who died in 613, according to the *Annales Cambrie*.

¹ Nork, *Mythologie d. Volkssagen*, Stuttgart, 1848, p. 931.

² 1, pp. 290, 295.

³ *Peniarth MSS.* 12, 16 and 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Haucsyn Hen*, p. 113; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 424; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 265; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 110, 124.

⁴ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 271; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 107, 145; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 424.

Edern is the patron of Llanedern or Edern, in the promontory of Lleyn, Carnarvonshire, and of Bodedern, in Anglesey. His festival, which does not occur in the Welsh Calendars (as Edern), is given as January 6 at Bodedern, and December 2 at Edern.¹ The *Gŵyl Mabsant* at Bodedern, however, was held in Whitsun Week, occupying the whole of it, and used to attract great numbers of people.² A fair is still held there on the Tuesday. In the parish are Mynydd and Bryn Edern.

There is an inscribed stone in the parish of Llannor, not far from Edern, which bears the following inscription—"Iovenali Fili Eterni Hic Iacit."

He is sometimes said to have been a bard, but there is no evidence for it.

In romance, as Edern ab Nudd, he assumes a wholly military garb, and is represented as a knight of King Arthur's court. He figures in three of the *Mabinogion* tales,³ but most prominently in that of *Geraint ab Erbin*. Nudd is there the father of Edern, Gwyn, and Owain. In the *Dream of Rhonabwy* Edern is prince of "a jet-black army," composed of the men of Denmark, and is one of Arthur's counsellors. In *Geraint ab Erbin* we have the story of an encounter between Geraint and him.

There was set up yearly in a meadow, near "the town which is now called Cardiff," a silver rod between two forked sticks, and on this a sparrow-hawk, and for it knights jousted. Edern won it two years in succession. Had he won it the third year, it would have been his for ever, and he would have been styled the "Knight of the Sparrow-hawk," but Geraint contested the prize with him, and won it, wounding him severely. The attendant on Edern was a dwarf, who had struck one of Queen Gwenhwyfar's soldiers across the face with a whip. When Geraint had defeated Edern he sent him to Arthur's court to apologize for the insult offered.

He also occurs in the romance of *Durmart le Galois* as Ydier li fiz Nu. Queen Ginover (Gwenhwyfar) went out in his company one day to look at the chase, when Brun de Moroïs (the Du Moroedd of the Welsh Triads) came up and carried away the queen in spite of him, he being unarmed.⁴

Geoffrey of Monmouth,⁵ as might be expected, introduces him,

¹ Willis, *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, pp. 275, 279; Nicolas Owen, *Hist. of Anglesey*, 1775, p. 58; *Cambrian Register*, iii, p. 225.

² *Y Traethodydd*, 1856, p. 407.

³ *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, pp. 106, 151, 248-65.

⁴ Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 68-9.

⁵ *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 216; *Hist. Brit.*, x, c. 4.

and states that in the celebrated expedition to the Continent by King Arthur against the Roman emperor, he went with 5,000 men to the aid of Gwalchmai (Walgan). His name is given in the Welsh text as Hydeir uab Mut.

S. EDEYRN, Abbot, Confessor

THE late documents printed in the *Iolo MSS.* make Edeyrn a son of Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu, or Vortigern.¹ He is there said to have been a Saint of the congregation of S. Cadoc, and to have founded a *côr* or religious community that comprised three hundred members at a place in Glamorganshire, called Llanedeyrn or Llanedarn, on the banks of the river Rumney, near Cardiff.

In other passages ² he is called, by mistake, Aurdeyrn and Eurdeyrn ; and it is stated that he was son of Gwrtheyrn by his own daughter, that he lies buried at Llanedeyrn, and that his *côr* there " was demolished by the Saxons in the time of Cadwaladr Fendigaid."

Much difficulty exists relative to him.

Nennius says that Vortigern " had three sons, to wit, Guorthemir (Vortimer), who fought against the Saxons ; Catigern and Pascent, to whom Ambrosius, king of Britain, gave Buelt and Guorthigerniaun, after the death of their father ; also S. Faustus, his son by his own daughter, and whom Germanus baptized, fostered, and instructed, and for whom he built a city on the banks of the river Renis." ³ It has been assumed that Faustus and Edeyrn are identical, Faustus being the Latin name, and Edeyrn the British ; and that the river Renis is the Rumney.

But it is impossible to fit in what is known of Faustus, Bishop of Riez, with Edeyrn, disciple of Cadoc.

The Welsh genealogists give to Gwrtheyrn other sons than those named by Nennius, who seems to have thought that Riez was a river, which he calls Renis.

The story as told by Nennius is as follows :—" Vortigern, as if desirous of adding to the evils he had originally occasioned, married

¹ Pp. 106, 220. The name is probably the Old-Welsh *Outegirn*, later *Eutigern*, and should be distinguished from Edern.

² Pp. 109, 129, 151. At the last reference his community is said to have been at " Llaneurdeyrn, in Glamorgan, where Eurdeyrn was principal, with a thousand saints."

³ Nennius, Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Chron. Min.*, iii, p. 192.

his own daughter, by whom he had a son. When this was made known to S. Germanus, he came, with all the British clergy, to reprove him ; and whilst a numerous assembly of the clerics and laity were in consultation, the feeble king ordered his daughter to appear before them, and to place her son in the lap of Germanus, and to assert that he (Germanus) was the father of the boy. And the woman did as instructed. Germanus received him benignantlly and said : ' I will be a father to you ; nor will I dismiss you till a razor, scissors and comb are given to me, and it is allowed you to deliver them to your carnal father.' The boy obeyed, and going to his father Vortigern, said to him, ' Thou art my father, shave and cut the hair of my head.' But he was silent, and made no reply to the lad, but rose up and was very angry, and fled from the presence of S. Germanus ; and he was cursed and damned by S. Germanus and by the whole council of the Britons." ¹

From what Nennius says, it is clear that the boy was born after the invitation of the Jutes by Vortigern, and their settlement in Thanet.

Gwrtheyrn invited the Jutes over in 449. He was then Gwledig or Over-king, and we can hardly suppose that at the time he was a young man.

Faustus of Riez was elected abbot of Lerins in 434. He could not have been younger than thirty-four at the time, and was probably some years older. He was born, at least, as early as 400.

Now, if Gwrtheyrn were the father of Faustus by incest with his own daughter, Gwrtheyrn cannot have been under the age of thirty-eight or forty in the year 400 when, approximately, Faustus was born. This would make his age eighty-seven or eighty-nine when he invited over the Jutes.

According to the story in Nennius, the child of incest was a mere child when put in the arms of Germanus.

If this Germanus were, as is generally assumed, the Bishop of Auxerre, then the incident took place in 447, on his second visit to Britain ; that is to say, thirteen years after Faustus had become abbot of Lerins.

If we set the event as taking place on the occasion of the first mission in 429, we are not much better off, for that would not allow of Faustus being old enough to be abbot in 434.

But, as we hope to show when dealing with Germanus, the Saint of that name who entered into contest with Gwrtheyrn was not the Bishop of Auxerre, who died in 448, but Germanus the Armorican,

¹ Nennius, *ut supra*, pp. 180-1.

who died Bishop of Man in 474. As near as can be determined, the contest of this Germanus with Gwrtheyrn took place in 462-3. And that would be some sixty-three years after Faustus of Riez was born. We may admit that Edeyrn was son of Gwrtheyrn, born of incest, and that he was taken up by Germanus, and given a clerical education, and that he founded a church on the Rumney and died about 522. That he was with Cadoc is not possible.

Moreover, Edeyrn is regarded as a Saint who settled in Brittany. He is there supposed to have landed at Douarnenez, and to have



S. EDEYRN.

From Fifteenth Century Glass at Plegounee, Finistère

pushed inland to a place since called Edern, by Briec ; and thence to have retreated farther into the central forest, and to have founded Lannedern, half way between Châteaulin and Huelgoat, where he died, and was buried. He had, however, as well, a *plou* near Landerneau at Plouedern. He is culted also at Plouescat on the north coast of Léon. At Plouedern is a statue of him representing him as a monk, head and feet bare, and with his hands joined. But he is usually figured as riding on a stag. He is so seen at Lannedern,

and in a fine fifteenth century window at Plogonnec, near Douarnenez, where he came to land.

In Brittany he is never represented as a bishop, and that goes far to show that he was not identified with Faustus of Riez.

Before the French Revolution, a Life of the Saint in MS. was preserved at Plouedern, but it has perished.

Lobineau conjectured that Edeyrn was Eternus, Bishop of Domnachmor in Ireland, a contemporary of S. Patrick, but the conjecture was based on the similarity of the name, and on nothing else.

According to Garaby, the day of S. Edern is August 30. The Pardon at Plouedern is on the last Sunday in August, but at Edern on the third Sunday after Easter.

His festival occurs as November 11 in a few of the Welsh Calendars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Nicolas Roscarrock also gives him on November 11, but he calls him a son of Caw, and says that his church is in Anglesey. He means Bodedern, which was a foundation of Edern ab Beli. There was no son of Caw called by that name. Browne Willis gives his festival at Llanedeyrn as November 23.¹

"Eutegyrn lector" occurs as a witness in the cartulary of Llan-carfan²; and "Eutigirn" was an abbot of Docunni (Llandough) in the time of Bishop Oudoceus.³

S. EDI, Confessor

THE church of Llanedi, or Llanedy, in Carmarthenshire, is usually supposed to be dedicated to S. Edith. Browne Willis⁴ enters her as its patroness, with festival on September 16. This is the festival of Edith, the virgin Saint of Wilton, daughter of Edgar, king of the English. There are in all close upon twenty churches in England dedicated to a S. Edith, either the nun of Wilton, or her namesake, her great-aunt, the abbess of Polesworth (July 15), between whom there has been much confusion. Both belonged to the tenth century.

¹ *Parochiale Anglicanum*, 1733, p. 199. ² *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 88.

³ *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 140-4. The church is there (p. 285) spelt *Lanedern*. The parish of Penderyn (S. Cadoc), Breconshire, occurs as *Penn Edyrn* (Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 918).

⁴ *Parochiale Anglicanum*, 1733, p. 189. An *Edi* is mentioned in *Brut y Saeson* (ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 387) as daughter of Edward the Elder, and sister of Athelstan.

It is, however, hardly credible that this church, in the heart of Wales, should have been dedicated, at an early period, to a comparatively little known English Saint. It is merely a guess from the name. The local tradition goes against the supposition; as also the old established fair there on November 8. Within quarter of a mile, or less, of the church is a rock, with a cave called *Ogof Gwyl Edi*,¹ or *Ogo'r Cawr*, traditionally supposed to have been the resort of the Saint to whom the church is dedicated. He is said to have been of great stature—hence the alternative name of the cave. *Gwely Edi*, his bed or couch, and also his seat, in the cave, are still shown. The spot commands a magnificent view of the surrounding country.² The legend of Edi, like that of *Gwyddyn of Llanwddyn*, and others similar to it, is clearly a pagan myth Christianized.

S. EDNYFED, King, Confessor

THE only authorities for the saintship of Ednyfed are two documents printed in the *Iolo MSS.*³ which give the following details:—He was the son of Maxen Wledig by Elen Luyddog; the brother of SS. Owain Finddu, Peblig, Cystennin, and Gwythyr; the father of S. Dyfnwal Hên, Bishop Cadwr, and Ceredig; and king of Gwent, his successor being his son Dyfnwal. No churches are mentioned as being dedicated to him; but he cannot, in truth, be enrolled among the Welsh Saints. Some of the statements are unhistorical.

S. EDREN

THIS name is spelt in a variety of ways, *Edren*, *Edrin*, *Edrain*, *Edryn*, and *Hedryn*. Nothing is known of the Saint beyond the bare fact that the church of S. Edrens, subject to S. Lawrence, in

¹ With the name compare *Bedd Gwyl Illtyd*, near *Llanilltyd Church*, Breconshire.

² J. T. Evans, *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire*, London, 1907, p. 48; Lewis, *Topog. Dict. of Wales*, 1848, ii, p. 3.

³ Pp. 113, 138. The name Ednyfed occurs in the O.W. genealogies in *Harleian MS.* 3859 as *Iutnimet*. We have the second element of the compound in "*Nimet*, son of *Dimet*." Occasionally, Ednyfed is given as the equivalent of the English Edmund.

Pembrokeshire, is dedicated to him or her. Its name occurs in a parish list of 1590-1 as Llan Edrain.¹

George Owen in his *Pembrokeshire* gives the name of a manor, in the hundred of Dewisland, as *Carn edrin vagh*; but there is no place now called "Little Carnedren." There are, however, two places called Carnedren Uchaf and Isaf, in the parish of S. Davids.² We have here probably the Saint's name.

There was formerly a curious superstition attaching to S. Edrens. One writer, of the beginning of last century, says:—"The grass in the churchyard is in great esteem on account of its efficacy, and wonderful effect, in curing people, cattle, horses, sheep and pigs, which have been bitten by mad dogs. The people cut the grass with a knife, and eat it with bread and butter; the cattle are turned in to graze; and no symptoms of madness have ever afterwards appeared, provided they would eat some quantity of the grass: but there have been instances when horses and sheep would not graze in the yard, and which have died in a short time afterwards. This account is attested by persons of veracity resident in the neighbourhood. In the chancel wall is a cavity, with a stone trough, into which persons put what they are pleased to pay for the grass: this is the perquisite of the parish clerk." ³

The case of a woman bitten by a mad donkey is also mentioned.

Browne Willis gives the church as Llanedern, dedicated to S. Edern, with festival on November 26.⁴

S. EDWEN, Virgin

EDWEN, foundress of Llanedwen, in Anglesey, on the shore of the Menai Straits, was, according to Welsh tradition, of Saxon descent, either a daughter or niece of Edwin of Northumbria.⁵

Edwin was the son of Ælla, and he had been dethroned whilst still a child by his brother-in-law Ethelfrid, married to his sister Acca, and who bore the name of the Ravager.

Edwin was obliged to take refuge first with one and then with another, and found a protector in Redwald, king of the East Angles,

¹ Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 917.

² Ed. in *Cymmrodorion Record Series*, i, pp. 399, 409. In the *Black Book of S. David's*, in the same series, p. 53, it is written *Kayrnedren*.

³ Carlisle, *Topog. Dict. of Wales*, London, 1818, s.v. *S. Edeyrn's*.

⁴ *Parochiale Anglicanum*, 1733, p. 176.

⁵ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 424.

and married his daughter ; and Redwald declared war against Ethelfrid, defeated and slew him, and established Edwin as king in Northumbria.

If we may trust Geoffrey of Monmouth, Edwin was born whilst his mother had taken refuge with Cadfan, king of North Wales, at his court in Carnarvon, but he makes a gross blunder in calling Edwin the son of Ethelfrid.¹

If Edwin was some time in Gwynedd, probably Edwen was an illegitimate child by some Welsh woman. She embraced the religious profession. Edwin was not at the time a Christian ; he was not baptized till long after, in 627. Having lost his wife, the daughter of Redwald, he married S. Ethelburga of Kent, and by her became the father of Osfrid and Edfrid, who fell with their father in 633, and of S. Eanfleda, born in 626, ten years after that Edwin had ascended the throne of Deira and Bernicia. She became the wife of Oswy, king of Bernicia ; and after 670, a nun at Whitby.

If Edwin was born at Cadfan's court, and brought up with his son, he repaid the debt most ungratefully by attacking the Britons of Gwynedd, and subduing " the Mevanian islands," as Bede tells us, that lie between Ireland and Britain, that is to say, Anglesey and Man.²

One can hardly suppose that Edwen was a daughter by Edwin's wife, daughter of Redwald of the East Saxons ; if an illegitimate child born whilst he was with Cadfan at Carnarvon, one can understand her settling almost over against that place.

Nothing is known of her Acts.

The church at Llanedwen has been rebuilt and is wholly devoid of interest, nor does it contain any memorial of her. But in the mother church of Llannidan is the head of a statue, representing a woman with flowing hair and wearing a crown, that perhaps may have been intended for her. Her festival was observed November 6, according to the Calendars in *Additional MS.* 14,882 (1591) and the *Iolo MSS.*

In the pedigrees in *Cardiff MS.* 5 (1527), p. 120, and *Harleian MS.* 4181, an Edwen is given as daughter of Brychan.³

There is a Llanfihangel Capel Edwin in North Cardiganshire, for which it is difficult to account. It is to-day better known as Eglwys Fach, and the church is dedicated to the Archangel.

¹ *Hist. Brit.*, xii, c. 1 ; *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 239.

² *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, cc. 5, 9.

³ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 271.

S. EFRDDYL, Matron

THE name Efrddyl occurs in the *Book of Llan Dâv* under the various forms Ebrdil, Evrdil, Eurdyl, Eurdila, and Emrdil.¹ She was the daughter of Pepiau or Peipiau Clavorauc (Spumosus), son of Erb, king of Erging, whose wife was a daughter of Custenhin. He was father also of Cinuin, Cinust, and Guidci, the first of whom succeeded him.

All that is known of Efrddyl is to be found in the Life of S. Dubricius,² whose mother she was. Her father, finding her about to become a mother, when he had required her to wash his head, was very angry, and ordered her to be placed in a leather sack and to be cast into the river. But she was thrown upon the bank. Thereupon he gave orders that she should be burnt alive. She was placed on the pyre, but gave birth to the child in the midst of the flames, which refused to consume her.

Hearing of this marvel, the king sent for his daughter and her infant, and when he had taken the latter on his lap, the child put up its hand and touched his face.

Now the king had been afflicted with a drivelling mouth, and he had been obliged to have a couple of retainers always at his side, to wipe the saliva away with kerchiefs, but at the touch of the child's hand, he was cured of his malady.

Certainly the infirmity of drivel passed on to the biographer of Dubricius.

Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra*, quoting from the Llandaff book, says—"Supra dictus rex Ergic, Peipiau nomine, fuit pater Sancti Dubricii; prout habetur in Chronicis apud Collegium de Warwick; et supra nomen dicti regis patris Sti. Dubricii prius recte scribibatur antiqua manu, et quidam novellus voluit corrigere, sed scripturam corripuit et malefecit."

Efrddyl was the patroness of Lann Ebrdil,³ which seems to have been the same as Matle, now Madley, in Herefordshire, where Dubricius was born, and which was situated in Inis Ebrdil, otherwise known as Mais Mail Lochou and Campus Malochu. She was apparently the patroness of another Lann Evrdil, now extinct, which has been identified with Llan Erddol, on the Olway, near Usk.⁴ The *aber* and *gwfer* (rill) of Ffynnon Emrdil (Efrdil), on the Monnow, in Monmouthshire, are also mentioned.

Nicolas Roscarrock says Efrddyl was a daughter of Pibanus, king

¹ See the index.

² *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 78-9.

³ P. 192.

⁴ Owen, *Pembrokeshire*, ii, p. 273. A stream called Euirdil, now Nant Erddil, is mentioned in the boundary of Llandeilo Fawr (*Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 78).

of Cambria, but adds: "E. Powell says she was daughter of Kinvarch by S. Newm, daughter of Brechan." Powell fell into the mistake of identifying her with the Euerdil of the *Cognatio de Brychan*, who was the daughter of Cynfarch Gul by Nyfain, daughter of Brychan, and the wife of Elidyr (Eliffer) Gosgorddfawr. Llywarch Hên had also a daughter of the name.

Efrddyl's festival is not given in the Welsh Calendars, but Roscarrock has Eurddil against July 7 (possibly in error for Erfyl on the 6th) and August 6.

S. EGREAS, see S. EUGRAD

S. EGRYN, Confessor

EGRYN was the son of Gwydrdrwm (or Gwrhydr Drwm) ab Gwedrog ab Geraint, of the race of Cadell Deyrnllwg, by Eneilian, daughter of Cadfan ab Iago.¹ He was a Saint or monk of Llantwit, and the patron of Llanegryn, in Merionethshire. The church is now dedicated to the Blessed Virgin on the Festival of the Assumption.² There is in the parish, to the north-east of the church, a place known, as early as the time of Elizabeth and James I, as Croes Egryn, but there is no cross there now. Egryn Abbey is the name of a large farm, once a family mansion, and Ceunant Egryn that of a brook running past it, in the parish of Llanaber, between Barmouth and Harlech. There is a township and mansion in the parish of Mold called Llwyn Egryn.

S. EGWAD, Confessor

EGWAD, a son of Cynddilig ab Cenydd ab Gildas,³ is regarded as the founder of Llanegwad and Llanfynydd, Carmarthenshire, both watered by the Cothi.

There is a spot in Llanegwad parish called Eisteddfa Egwad (his

¹ *Peniarth MSS.* 74 and 75 (sixteenth century); *Iolo MSS.*, p. 131 (his name is printed Edeyrn by mistake); *Myv. Arch.*, p. 424. The name occurs as Ecrin in the Old-Welsh genealogies in *Harleian MS.* 3,859. It seems to mean "the trembling one."

² Willis, *Bangor*, p. 276. The *Gwyl Mabsant* was observed on the first Sunday after August 26, New Style. In the sixties Father Jones, of Cardiff, whilst vicar, made an attempt to revive it. See his *Memoir*, Mowbray, 1907, p. 12.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 109, 137.

Seat), near which he is traditionally supposed to have lived in seclusion as a hermit. Maenor Egwad (his Manor) and Dol Egwad (his Meadow) also occur there. Capel Egwad, in the same parish, is now extinct.

His festival day is not known; but Lewis Glyn Cothi, in the fifteenth century, refers to it.¹

It may be that he settled in Brittany, like so many of his family. At Scaër, in Finistère, in a region where there are memorials of Gildas and Cenydd, is a cult of S. Edward the Confessor, with a modern statue of this English Saint. It is open to suspicion that Edward has supplanted Egwad. The church itself is dedicated to S. Candida, which may be a translation of Gwen or Cain; nothing is known of her. Cain was a daughter of Caw, and great-great-aunt of Egwad. The suggestion must be taken for what it is worth.

S. EIGEN

EIGEN, or Eigan, is supposed to have lived towards the end of the first century, and has the honour of having been esteemed the first female Saint among the Britons. She is only mentioned in documents that occur in the *Iolo MSS.*² One of them states, "Eigen, the daughter of Caradog ab Brân ab Llyr Llediaith, married a chieftain named Sarllog, who was lord of Caer Sarllog (Old Sarum), and she was the first female Saint of the Isle of Britain." In another document her husband is said to have been "Sallog, lord of Garth Mathrin"; and in other entries we are told that he was "a Roman chieftain who accompanied her to Wales," and that "Côr Sarllog was in Llandaff, for thirty Saints, Sarllog being principal."³ She had a brother, Cyllin, also a Saint.

In other passages in the same volume her name appears as Eurgan, Eurgain, and Eurgan. At Rome, she, together with her father, was "converted to the Faith in Christ by S. Ilid, a man of Israel, [elsewhere identified with Joseph of Arimathea]; which Ilid came from Rome to this Island with Caradog and Eurgan, and they were the first that converted the Cymry to the Faith in Christ. Eurgan formed a *côr* for twelve Saints; and Lles ab Coel gave possessions to that *côr* [for a hundred Saints], and after that it became the most eminent *côr* in the world. Illtyd made there three new cells through

¹ *Poetical Works*, 1837, p. 314. He also swears by the saint's foot, "myn troed Egwad" (p. 330).

² Pp. 115, 135.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 152.

the endowment of Marcian [the Emperor]. Previously to this the place was called Bangor Lleufer Sant, and afterwards Bangor Illtyd, and Llanilltyd." Again, she founded the church and *côr* of Eigan in Caer Urgan, otherwise Caer Worgorn, but later Llanilltyd. It was for twenty-four Saints, and was ultimately destroyed by the Saxons.¹

Eigen, or Eurgen, was thus the daughter who, with her mother and uncles, was taken captive to Rome, as related by Tacitus,² and afterwards liberated with her father and friends.

All this story is pure fiction. Indeed, the Brân-Lucius Christianization-legend "forms altogether what is perhaps (next to Geoffrey of Monmouth's performances) the most impudent forgery in Welsh literature."³

S. EIGION, Bishop, Confessor

NONE of the genealogies of the Welsh Saints include this Saint's name, and all that is known of him is contained in a note at the beginning of *Cotton MS. Vesp. A. xiv*, in one of the hands in which the *Vitæ Sanctorum*, etc., are written. A large hole has been made in the parchment, but the missing part can be restored from a copy made, before it became imperfect, at the end of *Cotton MS. Domitian i*, by Sir John Price of Brecon, to whom both MSS. belonged. The note reads: "Hec est generatio Sancti Egweni Episcopi. Pater eius uocatur Gunleuus rex, et mater eius Sancta Gladusa. Uilla in qua genitus et natus fuit Sanctus Egwenus Brendlos uocatur. Frater eius beatus Keniderus, et ipse requiescit apud uillam que dicitur Glesburia. Et Sanctus Cadocus eiusdem Sancti frater fuit. Isti tres sancti uiri Egwinus, Keniderus, et Sanctus Cadocus filii supradicti regis fuerunt."

By Egwenus is meant Eigion, whose name has been confounded with that of S. Egwin of Worcester. The one church dedicated to him is Llaneigion or Llanigon ⁴ (now generally S. Nicholas), near Hay,

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 10, 149-50, 152, 219.

² *Annales*, xii, c. 33 seq.

³ *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, p. 126.

⁴ The name Eigion occurs as Eiciaun in the Old-Welsh genealogies in *Harleian MS.* 3,859. Jones, in his *History of Brecknockshire* (ed. 1898, p. 365), suggests that the church is dedicated either to Eigen, daughter of Caradog ab Brân, or to Eigion or Eigron, son of Caw. An Eigawn ab Brochuael ab Eidan occurs in the genealogies in *Jcsus College MS.* 20.

in Brecknockshire, which occurs in early mediæval documents as *Ecclesia Sancti Eguini*, *Eggiani*, *Egion*, etc.¹

The parentage here given of S. Cynidr does not agree with that in the *Cognatio*, in the same MS. His mother is there said to have been Brychan's daughter Kehingayr or Ceingair, but his father's name is not mentioned.

Brendlos, or possibly Brendles, is Brwynllys, now Bronllys or Brynllys, near Talgarth, Brecknockshire.

Eigion's festival, September 10, seems to occur only in the *Iolo MSS.* Calendar. It was observed until comparatively recent years on the first Sunday after September 20. His Holy Well, Ffynnon Eigion, is not far distant from the church.

S. EIGRAD, see S. EUGRAD

S. EIGRON, Confessor

EIGRON is given as a son of Caw, and brother of Eugrad and Gildas ; and, further, he is said to have founded a church in Cernyw.²

There is probably some confusion here, as no Eigrion is known as a founder in Cornwall. No Church is given as dedicated to him in Wales, nor does his festival occur in any calendar.

S. EILIAN, see S. ELIAN

S. EILIWEDD, Virgin, Martyr

THIS virgin saint was a daughter of Brychan. We write her name Eiliwedd, being the oldest form, in modern spelling, under which it occurs. In the Vespasian version of the *Cognatio* she is thus entered, "Eiliueth y grugc gors auail (i.e. in agere lacus caltionis)"; and in

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 1882, pp. 286, 293, 307 ; 1883, pp. 138, etc. *Harleian MS.* 2,345 (fourteenth century) forms a collection of brief homilies by a monk of Winchester. One on S. Egwin begins: "Sanctus Egwinus natus fuit in Wallia ad Bergeueni" (E. Owen, *Catal. MSS. relating to Wales in Brit. Mus.*, p. 387). His various *Vitæ* do not appear to support this statement.

² *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 109, 117, 137, 142-3. Gwern Eigrion is the name of a township and mansion (now a farmhouse) in the parish of S. Asaph.

the Domitian version, "Elynet in monte Gorsauael, que pro amore castitatis martirizata est." ¹ In *Peniarth MS.* 131 (fifteenth century) it is "Elived yngorsebawl." ² In MSS. not written in Welsh her name occurs in a great variety of forms, among others, Aeliuedha, Eilwetha, Ailphetha (all three in MSS. of Giraldus' works), Eliveta, Elevetha, Electa, Almedha, Aylud, Aylett, Haylett, Haellide, Taylad, Eylythe, Ailed, Aled, and Alud.

In *Harleian MS.* 4,181, in the autograph of the Breconshire herald Hugh Thomas, are given—written about the end of the seventeenth century—the legends then popularly related of her. "S. Lhud, that is anger; she is commonly called S. Alud or Aled, but Giraldus Cambrensis calls her Almedha. . . . It seems, that having from her infancy dedicated herself wholly to the service of God, in her riper years being violently pressed by a young Prince to marriage, to free herself from his solicitations and those of her family, she secretly stole away from her father's house in a disguise, resolving for a time to conceal herself in the neighbouring villages. . . . The first she retired to was the village of Llanddew, where she was so ill-treated that, fleeing from hence, she retired to a village called Llanfillo, three miles farther, to live in greater obscurity, which, joined with her poverty, beauty in rags, was the cause she was treated as a common thief. From thence, fleeing back again to another village called Llechfaen, within a mile of Brecknock, where she was treated with such scorn and contempt that nobody would receive her, but forced her to lie in the street and the high road, which ever since is called of her name in Welsh, Heol S. Alud. After which she resolved to

¹ That is, *l'esp.*—"in Crug Cors Afael," glossed, "in the Mound of the Holding's Mere" (read *captionis*, i.e. *captionis*); *Dom.*—"in Mount Cors Afael, who was martyred for the love of chastity." The common noun *eiliwed* means "reproach, disgrace." There is a parish in Radnorshire called Llanelwedd, dedicated to S. Matthew, with its wake on the first Sunday in October (Williams, *History of Radnorshire*, ed. 1905, p. 327). Elwedd was evidently the name of a saint, for Lewis Glyn Cothi (*Poetical Works*, 1837, p. 88) invokes his protection for the subject of one of his poems. Can this saint have been Eiliwedd? The second syllable presents a philological difficulty; but if Aylud, and the like, are genuine oral forms, even that might be got over. The spellings point to some abnormal changes in the name.

² In the late catalogues of Brychan's children she is Elined, "ynghorsabawl," "Cruc gorseddawl," "yng ryg Gorawal," and even "yn y Wyddgrug" (Mold). See *Peniarth MS.* 75; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419, 425; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 120, 140; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 270. Some writers have identified her, but wrongly, with Lhud (= Ilud) "verch vrachan yn ruthun ygwlat vorgant" (*Jesus College MS.* 20). In the last MS. she is not entered in the list of Brychan's children. Some English writers have even confounded her with Luned of the Arthurian romance, "The Lady of the Fountain," celebrated for her beauty and her magic ring.

retire to some solitude, never more to converse with mortals ; and such a solitude she found upon a hill called the Slwch, now Penginger Wall (a corruption of Pencefnygaer), near the town of Brecknock, which was then overgrown with wood. Here, that she might receive no further insults, she desired the Lord of the Manor to give her leave to dwell, which was very courteously granted, with a promise of other charity, upon which she there built her a little cell or oratory, and was used often to go down to the Castle of the Slwch, to beg her bread, where she was very hospitably received.

"When her thoughts were settled in a little tranquillity after all these storms, by way of prophecy she said : That by the secret judgment of God a chastisement would rest on the village of Llanddew for the injuries done to her ; that the village of Llanfillo should be plagued with thieves, as they are to this day above all others, and the village of Llechfaen with envy, as indeed they are almost continually in contention and law with one another.

"But this sweetness did not last long ; her importunate lover went to her retirement, where, finding her alone at prayers, a violent fear surprised her soul, so that she thought to flee down to the Lord's house at the bottom [of the hill], which the young Prince perceiving, mad with rage and despair, pursues her, and cuts off her head, which rolling a little down the hill, a clear spring of water issued out of the rock where it rested. This being presently known, she was taken up and buried in her own little cottage, which was thereupon turned into a chapel."¹

The legend bears a marked resemblance to that of S. Winefred.

Her chapel is earliest mentioned in a grant made by Bernard, the Norman Bishop of S. David's (1116-49), to the prior and convent of Brecon. There are several references to it in later documents, and it would appear to have been a chapel of some importance. After the Reformation, "when religion went to rack," it was converted into a barn, and in Hugh Thomas' time "the top was quite fallen to the ground, and the walls would shortly follow it." By to-day it has entirely disappeared, but the spot may be identified by a fine old yew tree, which spreads its branches over her Holy Well, now almost choked by mud and weeds. It is about a mile east of Brecon. There are no traces of "Heol S. Alud" now. In the neighbouring parish of Llanhamlach is a field called, on the map, "Close S. Ailed."

Giraldus Cambrensis, who, residing in the neighbourhood, wrote as

¹ "Forgotten Sanctuaries—S. Alud's Chapel" in *Arch. Camb.*, 1903, pp. 214-223 (spelling modernized); *ibid.*, 1883, pp. 46-7, 168 ; Theophilus Jones, *Brecknockshire*, ed. 1898, p. 28.

an eye-witness, says that in his time, " In her honour a solemn feast is annually held here in the beginning of August, and attended by a large concourse of people from a considerable distance, when those persons who labour under various diseases, through the merits of this blessed virgin, received their wished-for health. The circumstances which occur at every anniversary appear to me remarkable. You may see men or girls, now in the church, now in the churchyard, now in a dance, which is led round the churchyard with a song, on a sudden falling on the ground as in a trance, then jumping up as in a frenzy, and representing with their hands and feet, before the people, whatever work they have unlawfully done on feast days ; you may see one man put his hand to the plough, and another, as it were, goad on the oxen, mitigating their sense of labour by the usual rude song ; one man imitating the profession of a shoemaker ; another, that of a tanner. You may see a girl with a distaff, drawing out the thread, and winding it again on the spindle ; another walking, and arranging the threads for the web ; another, as it were, throwing the shuttle, and seeming to weave. On being brought into the church, and led up to the altar with their oblations, you will be astonished to see them suddenly awakened, and coming to themselves. Thus, by the divine mercy, which rejoices in the conversion—not in the death—of sinners, many persons, from the conviction of their senses, are at these feast days corrected and amended." ¹

That she followed many of her kindred when they migrated to Cornwall is apparent. She is mentioned in the lists given by William of Worcester and Leland of the children of Brychan who settled in that country. William of Worcester calls her Helic, and Leland Helye. It has been conjectured that Egloshayle was called after her, but this is not the case ; hayle is *hal*, a salt marsh, and there is no trace of her having had any connexion with this church to be found in the Episcopal Registers of Exeter.

But the ancient name for Landulph was Landelech, *i.e.*, Lanelech ; this we learn from *Domesday*. It then became Landylp (Reg. B. Bronescombe, 1280). The present dedication is to S. Leonard. There is a Holy Well there.

In Endellion was a chapel dedicated to S. Electa.² Nicolas Roscarrock gives some interesting particulars about her. He calls her S. Ilick, and says that there was her Holy Well in Endellion, and her feast observed on the Saturday next following the Epiphany. " And

¹ *Itin. Camb.*, i, c. 2.

² Register of B. Grandisson, ed. H. Randolph (1331), p. 627 ; Register of B. Brantyngham (1382), p. 82 ; Register of B. Stapeldon (1400), p. 68.

tradition was that she miraculously came out of Ireland on a Harrow or Hurdell, and that she lived in the time of S. Endelient, and the Path wheron they did walk or pass one to the other is noted at this daye by the inhabitants to be greener than any other part, particularlie after tillage. There was a Tree over her Well, which those that attempted to cutt downe had over harme, so as they gave over to cutt it, till one more bolde than the rest did cutt it down, who hurting himself was noted to dye shortly after."

William of Worcester, quoting from a Calendar that came into his hands, says of her: "S^{ta} Elevetha Virgo Martyr una ex 24 filiarum reguli de Brekehaynoke in Wallia per 24 Miliaria de Hereford est, jacet (in) ecclesia monalium virginum villae de Usque, et fuit martirizata super montem per unum miliare de Brekenok ubi fons emanabat; et lapis ubi ea acapitabatur ibi remanet et quoties toties aliquis in honore Dei et dictae Sanctae dicat orationem dominicam, aut bibat de aqua dictae fontis, inveniet qualibet vice crinem muliebris dictae Sanctae super lapidem ex magno miraculo."¹ Again, in another place he says: "S^{ta} Elaveta virgo jacet in ecclesia apud Usque."² She was buried, however, on the spot where she was martyred, and not at Usk.

Giraldus says that the feast of Eiliwedd was held "in the beginning of August." Cressy, in his *Church History of Brittany*, gives August 1. She is unknown to the Welsh Calendars.

Nicolas Roscarrock gives as her day March 17, but says that her festival was observed at her chapel in Endellion on the Saturday after the Epiphany. There was a S. Ayled or Aylott, who had a chapel two miles and a half from Saffron Walden, in Essex, on the Ashdon road. It is mentioned in a composition concerning tithes between the Abbot of Walden and the Vicar, in 1444, quoted by Newcourt in his *Repertorium*. Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, also mentions it in writing to his son Lord Thomas Howard just before he was beheaded in 1572.³

It is, however, questionable whether this Ayled can be Eiliwedd. It would be most exceptional to find a Welsh Saint in Essex.

S. EINION, King, Confessor

EINION FRENIN, or the King, was son of Owain Danwyn ab Einion

¹ *Itin.*, ed. Nasmith, Camb., 1778, p. 156.

² *Ibid.*, p. 180.

³ Lord Braybrooke, *Hist. of Audley End*, London, Bentley, 1836, pp. 168-9.

Yrth ab Cunedda Wledig,¹ and brother of SS. Seiriol and Meirion. The Old-Welsh pedigrees in *Harleian MS.* 3,859 give Owain another son, Cinglas. Einion was regulus or prince of Lley, that peninsula of Carnarvonshire so singularly resembling Cornwall in its shape. He was a pious prince, and for a while he must have exercised some jurisdiction over Anglesey, for he founded the *côr* or monastery at Penmon, over which, it is said, "he placed his brother Seiriol as principal, and gave lands and property thereto."²

He also invited Cadfan from Towyn, and gave up to him the isle of Enlli or Bardsey to become a monastic refuge for Saints weary of the world.³ Its first abbot was Cadfan.

He likewise founded the church of Llanengan, in Lley. It is variously called Llan-engan, -engain, -eigneion, -eingion, and -einion.⁴ Einion occurs in Old-Welsh as Enniaun, and is the Latin Ennianus borrowed, but the Welsh form is usually Latinized Anianus.

There is preserved a *cywydd* or poem written in his honour by Hywel Rheinallt, who flourished in the second half of the fifteenth century.⁵ From it we learn that this "golden-handed prince of Lley" had two churches—one in Lley, and another somewhere in Gwynedd. His gilded statue, crowned, was in Llanengan Church, and there he lies buried. Many were the cures performed at his shrine, and large the offerings put into his *cyff* or chest. His holy well and sanctuary are also referred to. Leland, in the sixteenth century, observes that there "was a late great Pilgrimage" here⁶; and the old

¹ *Peniarth MSS.* 45 and 12; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, p. 266; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 424; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 102, 123.

² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 125.

³ In *ibid.*, p. 134, it is said: "The religious foundation of Emyr Llydaw, Einion ab Owain Danwyn, and Dewi Sant was Bangor Enlli." This is a random statement.

⁴ Occasionally *n* becomes *ng* in Welsh, medial as well as final. As an instance, the word for anvil occurs indiscriminately in mediæval Welsh under the forms *einion* and *eingion*; and so to-day in common speech. In Carnarvonshire it is pronounced *engan*. Sir Dafydd Trefor (*Cardiff MS.* 7, p. 376) mentions him in the couplet—

"Baglan ag *eingian* dan go
Deiniel ai freichie am dano."

The successive modifications of Enniaun to Einiaun, Einion, and Einon (cf. Beynon) are exactly paralleled by the series Teliau, Teiliaw, Teilio, and Teilo. Curiously, Einion is made to serve as an *alias* for Bartholomew. In *Peniarth MS.* 217 and *Llanstephan MSS.* 34 and 104 occurs a "Buchedd Sant Einion neu Vartholomews Ebostol." As in the case of so many Welsh names, the name is borne by a stream at Llanfair Caer Einion, and another (Einon) at Llandyssul (Card.).

⁵ It is printed in *Golud yr Oes*, 1864, ii, p. 31; *Yr Haul*, 1865, p. 371; and the *Cefn Coch MSS.*, 1899, p. 203. It occurs in *Jesus College MS.* 15 (= cxi), *Llanover MS.*, B. 1, (fig. 1) and elsewhere.

⁶ *Itin.*, v, 49.

oak chest, still in the church, and known as "Cyff Engan," was the receptacle for the pilgrims' offerings. It is recorded of an old woman, who lived at Abersoch about 150 years ago, that she offered into Cyff Engan for her cattle.¹ Ffynnon Engan, his Holy Well, is near the church, and the water for baptisms is still fetched from it. Ol Troed March Engan (the Hoof-print of Engan's Horse) is still shown on a stone in the ground on the common near Castell Cilan. The water collecting in the hoof-print is said to possess healing properties. Ogo' Engan (his cave) and Bryn Engan also testify to Einion's connexion with the place.

Over the doorway of the church tower, on the west, runs an inscription, in two lines, across the whole width of the tower. It is in ornamental Roman capitals of the sixteenth century. The lettering is now so weathered that in parts it is quite illegible. The inscription seems to commemorate the building of the present fabric at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and in the second line occur the words AENIANI REX WALLIE. The Saint's name, with "Rex Walliæ," is also inscribed on two of the bells.²

Caer Engan is the name given to the remains of an ancient camp in the parish of Llanllyfni, and there is a farm called Croes Engan situated in the parishes of Bettws and Llansantffraid, Denbighshire. But possibly Einion had nothing to do with these.

February 9 occurs in a number of early Welsh Calendars as his festival, but in the Calendar in *Peniarth MS.* 172 (sixteenth century) it is the 10th, and in that in *Additional MS.* 12,193 (written 1508) on the 12th.

Lann Enniaun is given in the *Book of Llan Dâu*³ as another name for Lann Oudocui, now Llan Dogo, in Monmouthshire, dedicated to S. Oudoceus.

S. EITHRAS, or ETHRIAS, Confessor

THIS Saint has no pedigree given him, but he is mentioned in the different accounts, early and late, as among the "saints and learned men," "descended from Emyr Llydaw," that came hither from Armorica with their kinsman Cadfan, and became Saints at Llantwit

¹ Daniel, *Archæologia Llynensis*, Bangor, 1892, p. 177.

² Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliæ*, p. 184; *Arch. Camb.*, 1848, p. 319.

³ P. 138.

and Llancarfan, and afterwards went with him in a body to Bardsey. "Their churches are in Gwynedd, where they lived in great piety and blessedness of life."¹

Eithras "in Bardsey," says Nicolas Roscarrock, "came out of Little Britain, and has a chapel in Merioneth near Lhantanawr called S. Eithras Chapell, and they holde by tradicion that S. Tanawr and S. Eithras were brothers."

By Lhantanawr he means Llandanwg. If Eithras were a brother of Tanwg, then he must have been a son of Ithel Hael, an Armorican prince, but Roscarrock is quite unsupported by the Welsh pedigrees. He does not give his day.

S. ELAETH, King, Confessor

ELAETH, king, saint, and bard, was the son of Meurig ab Idno, of the race of Coel Hên, by Onen Greg ("Ash-tree the Hoarse"), daughter of Gwallog ab Lleenog, one of the three "Battle-pillars of Britain."² Gwallog is sometimes also given as father of Dwywai, wife of Dunawd.

Elaeth Frenin seems to have been in the earlier part of his life king or chieftain of a district somewhere in the north of England, but having been overpowered by his enemies, and having lost his territory, he sought refuge in Anglesey, and became a Saint or monk of Bangor Seiriol at Penmon. Whilst there he founded the church of Llan Elaeth Frenin,³ now known as Amlwch, in that island.

His Holy Well there, Ffynnon Elaeth, was formerly held in high repute for its cure of various ailments, and also for its fish divination. An eel was kept in it, and a person living close by, acting as "priest," drew his auguries from the motions and actions of the eel when it appeared. Sometimes it remained out of sight for days, and the inquirer was in consequence detained there until it thought good to make its appearance.⁴

The festival of S. Elaeth, November 10, is given in the Calendars in *Peniarth MS.* 187, the *Grammar* of John Edwards of Chirkland

¹ *Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 266, 269; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 424; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 103, 112, 134.

² *Peniarth MS.* 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Haucsyn Hên*, p. 119; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 268; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 424; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 101, 127. The name Elaeth was probably borne, under a Latin form, by Allectus, who was slain in a battle fought in 296 with the army of Constantius Chlorus, and gave name to the Perthshire town of Alyth, earlier Aleecht (Rhys and Brynmor Jones, *Welsh People*, p. 101).

³ *Peniarth MS.* 147.

⁴ Cwen Jones, *Cymru*, London, 1875, i, p. 92.

(1481), and *Additional MS.* 14,882, and by Browne Willis,¹ but on the 11th in the Calendar in *Peniarth MS.* 219, no doubt by mistake.

There are two poems, of seven stanzas each, ascribed to Elaeth as author in the twelfth century *Black Book of Carmarthen*.² The first is headed *Cynghogion*, from a complicated metre so-called, though the poem itself is simple enough in its construction. The second is more intricate and less intelligible. Both pieces are of a religious character and written in a strain of deepest piety. If Elaeth be their author, they were no doubt composed by him after he had become a monk. The key-note of the first poem is contained in the first triplet—

Now gone are my ardour and liveliness ;
If I have erred I truly acknowledge it ;
May the Lord not inflict upon me severe pain!

The second poem cannot, we think, reflect sixth or seventh century Celtic theology in the following stanzas—

I love to praise Peter, who can bestow true peace,
And, with him, his far-extending virtues ;
In every language he is, with hope, acknowledged
As the gentle, high-famed, generous porter of Heaven.
Of God I will ask another request,
That my soul, to be safe from the torments of enemies,
And held in remembrance, may have
The protection of the Virgin Mary and the holy maidens.

S. ELBOD, see S. ELFOD

S. ELDAD, or ALDATE, Bishop, Martyr

ELDAD was son of Geraint ab Carannog, of the race of Cadell Deyrnllwg. Geraint, or in Latin, Gerascen, seems to have been Prince of Erging or Archenfield, in Herefordshire. Eldad was bishop at Caer Loew, or Gloucester, after having been trained in the college of S. Illtyd.³ He had as brothers SS. Meven and Ustig.

In 577 occurred the invasion of the Severn Valley by the West Saxons.

“ Below the Cotswolds, in the valley of the Severn, Glevum, the

¹ *Survey of Bangor*, p. 282.

² Ed. Dr. J. G. Evans, 1906, pp. 70-1; Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, pp. 35-7; i, pp. 501-3. On the metres of the two poems, see Sir J. Rhys, *Origin of the Welsh Englyn*, 1905, pp. 125, 151.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 131.

predecessor of our Gloucester . . . was important from its position at the head of the estuary, and from its neighbourhood to the iron-works of the Forest of Dean. Less in extent, but conspicuous from the grandeur of its public buildings, Bath was then, as in later times, the fashionable resort of the gouty provincials. Its hot springs were covered by a colonnade which lasted down to almost recent times ; and its local deity, Sul, may still have found worshippers in the lordly temple whose fragments are found among its ruins. The territory of the three towns (Cirencester, Gloucester, and Bath) shows their power, for it comprised the whole district of the Cotswolds and the lower Severn, with a large part of what is now northern Somersetshire. It stretched therefore from Mendip on the south as far northwards as the forest which then covered almost the whole of Worcestershire.”¹

Into this fertile district, thick strewn with villas, and where much of the old Roman civilization remained, poured the barbarians.

A furious battle was fought at Deorham, the Britons commanded by their three kings Conmael, Cyndylan and Farimael, against Ceawlin and his ruffians on the heights that command the Severn valley. It resulted in the victory of the Saxons, and the flying Britons were pursued to Bath, Gloucester and Cirencester, and the towns were sacked and burnt, and the inhabitants massacred.

It was probably then, amidst the flames of the city, and the crumbling down of the ancient civilization of Roman Britain, that Eldad was slaughtered, in 577, by “the pagan Saxons.”

Of details we have none.

Later, a church was raised at Gloucester to the memory of the prelate, the only Bishop of Gloucester till at the Reformation Henry VIII re-created it as an episcopal see.

But the memory of Eldad the martyred Bishop did not cling only to the site of his death, for in Oxford also there is a church that has him for patron.

His brother Meven escaped, and after founding a church in Cornwall, took refuge in Brittany, where he established a monastery that became renowned in the Middle Ages as the Abbey of S. Meen.

The name of Eldad or Aldate occurs in a Gloucester Calendar of the fifteenth century (*Add. MS.* 30,506) on February 4 ; also in a Gloucester Calendar in the Bodleian (Rawlinson, *Lett.* f. 1), and in a fragmentary Calendar (*Add. MS.* 16,380) of the thirteenth century, in Whytford, and in the Calendar of Nicolas Roscarrock, always on the same day. He occurs in a Martyrology written between 1220

¹ Green, *The Making of England*, 1897, i, p. 144.

and 1224 (*MS. Reg. 2, A. xiii*), and in the *Altemps Martyrology* of the thirteenth century. He is also in the *Sarum Martyrology*. Leland mentions him, but quotes from Geoffrey of Monmouth, who makes him brother of Eldol, Count of Gloucester, and brings him into conflict with Hengist,¹ which is absurd, as Hengist never penetrated into the west, and died some eighty years before the battle of Deorham was fought.

One of the "Sayings of the Wise" triplets runs: ²—

Hast thou heard the saying of Eldad
When counselling his countrymen?
"To the pious God gives grace."
(*Dedwydd Dofydd a'i rhydd rhād.*)

Two entries in the *Iolo MSS.*³ give another Eldad. He was son of Arth ab Arthwg Frych, and his genealogy is traced up to the mythical Brân ab Llyr. He is mentioned as "Eldad, bishop, of Côr Iltyd." His existence is very doubtful.

S. ELEN, see S. HELEN

S. ELERI, Abbot, Confessor

ELERI was the son of Dingad ab Nudd Hael, of the race of Maxen Wledig, by Tenoi, daughter of Lleuddun Luyddog of Dinas Eiddyn (Edinburgh).⁴ He is mentioned in the earlier pedigrees as "Eleri of Pennant Gwytherin in Rhufoniog," in Denbighshire, now known as Gwytherin. He was a brother of SS. Lleuddad, Baglan, Tegwy, and Tyfriog. In one passage in the *Iolo MSS.* he is said to have been a Saint of Côr Deiniol at Bangor, and in another he and his brothers are given as Saints of Côr Catwg at Llanearfan, who afterwards went with Dyfrig to Bardsey.⁵ Eleri is the Welsh form of Hilarius; Ilar is derived from its variant Hilarus.

Nearly all we know of him is to be found in the Life of S. Winefred by Robert, Prior of Shrewsbury in the twelfth century. He is not

¹ *Hist. Brit.*, vi, c. 15; vii, cc. 7, 8. ² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 256. ³ Pp. 118, 137.

⁴ *Peniarth MSS.* 16, 45, and 12; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 266; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 425, 427; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 103, 113, 139. He is to be distinguished from S. Helerius (July 16), the reputed martyr in Jersey. There is a stream called Eleri, or Leri, in N. Cardiganshire.

⁵ Leland supposed him to "have studied first at S. Asaph," before he retired to Gwytherin, which is much more probable than the *Iolo MSS.* statements.

mentioned in her earlier Life in *Cotton MS.* Claudius A. v, of which the authorship is uncertain, but probably by a monk of Basingwerk.

According to Robert of Shrewsbury's story, Winefred, after the death of S. Beuno, was passed on by Deifer, an ascetic at Bodfari, to S. Sadwrn at Henllan, who sent her on to Gwytherin, some five miles from Llanrwst, where S. Eleri was abbot over the monastery.

Eleri received her with joy ; he had a double monastery, in which were devout persons of both sexes. The holy abbot bade her tarry there till it was revealed to him what he was to do with her.

Next morning he affirmed that he had received direction from on high to place her with the virgins under his charge. Robert gives a harangue addressed by Eleri to the nuns on introducing Winefred to them, which he drew out of his internal consciousness.

The woman who presided over these virgins was Theonia, his own mother, and he commended Winefred to her particular care. One day Eleri was discoursing with the virgin martyr on the happiness of dying well, and he informed her that it was a matter of great satisfaction to him to have her so near, and that he confidently believed that she would be able to bury him. "Not so," replied Winefred, "God hath appointed otherwise. You shall live to bury our dear mother, Theonia, and a few years after to bury me. Then after the lapse of some time, you will yourself pass hence, full of days, and find in the heavenly kingdom the treasures you have laid up on earth."

Shortly after, Theonia died, and Winefred succeeded her as abbess of Gwytherin ; and, as she had foretold, predeceased Eleri, and was buried beside Theonia. Not long after "the blessed Eleri departed this life, full of sanctity and religion. He was buried in the church which bears his name, which is illustrated, even to this day, by many miracles." This shows that in the twelfth century Gwytherin was regarded as being dedicated to S. Eleri.

Gwytherin is a wild, mountainous parish, but Winefred's reputation, and the possession of her tomb, secured for it the establishment of a nunnery. Its glory, however, departed with the translation of her relics to Shrewsbury. The chapel of S. Winefred, in the churchyard, disappeared in the eighteenth century. Gwytherin Church, originally dedicated to S. Eleri, is now under the invocation of S. James the Apostle. Llanelian and Eglwys Rhos, in the diocese of S. Asaph, and one or two other churches, are sometimes given as dedicated to S. Eleri, but most improbably. Owing to the similarity of name, he is often confounded with S. Hilary of Poitiers.

The following occurs among the "Sayings of the Wise":¹ —

Hast thou heard the saying of Eleri,
Where there was not a bestowing hand?
"It is not almsgiving that causes poverty."
(Nid llusen a bair tlodi.)

Eleri is credited with having written the Life of S. Winefred (*Vita 1^{ma}*), but this is entirely unsubstantiated.

Philip Leighton, *alias* Leigh, who wrote under the name of Metcalf,² says that the church at Gwytherin was dedicated to Eleri, and that he was commemorated on June 13, and on his authority this day was given to him in Challoner's Martyrology. His day does not occur in any of the Welsh Calendars.

Meleri, daughter of Brychan, and paternal grandmother of S. David, is called Eleri in the later genealogies. The mistake originated through the rubricator not having filed in the initial letter.

S. ELFAN, Bishop, Confessor

ELFAN figures in the Lucius legend. Welsh hagiology gives two slightly varying accounts of him. One account makes him a Roman. An application was made by King Lleuwrwg or Lucius to Pope Eleutherius for instruction in the Christian Faith, and Eleutherius sent him four persons, Dyfan, Ffagan, Medwy and Elfan to instruct him.³ According to the other account he was a Briton. The *Book of Llan Dâu*,⁴ compiled in the twelfth century, states that in the year 156, Lucius, king of the Britons, sent his ambassadors, Elvanus and Medwinus, to Pope Eleutherius. "They implore that, by the Pope's admonition, he might be made a Christian." Eleutherius accordingly baptized the legates, and ordained Elvanus a bishop, and Medwinus a doctor. Through their preaching Lucius himself and the nobles of all Britain received baptism.

It is further stated⁵ that he "was a bishop in Glastonbury, where his church and *côr* are." *Côr* Elfan accommodated a thousand Saints. He is also said to have had a church in Glamorgan. There is a modern church (1854) in the parish of Aberdare dedicated to him. "*Côr* Elfan" is the name of an old Welsh air.

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 254.

² *Life of S. Winefride*, S. Omer, 1712.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 100, 115. Elfan Powys was a brother of Cynddylan. Cynddelw mentions an Elfan Gawr.

⁴ P. 68; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 135.

⁵ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 116, 152. Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, Song xxiv, says—

"Saint Elvan with his pheere Saint Midwin whose dear grave
That Glastenbury graced, there their memorial have."

According to Bale he was surnamed Avalonius, and Joscelyn of Furness says that he succeeded Theanus, and thus became the second bishop of London.

His festival does not occur in the Welsh Calendars, but it is given as September 26.¹

There is not the slightest evidence for the existence of Elfan. He occurs only in the later embellishments of the Lucius legend.

S. ELFOD, Bishop, Confessor

ELBOD, Elfod, or more correctly to-day, Elfodd, was, according to the *Iolo MSS.*,² the son of Goleudrem ab Glassar ab Geraint ab Nynnio ab Cynddilig ab Nwythion ab Gildas ab Caw. He is therein described as "Archbishop of all Gwynedd," and also as "Bishop of Caer Gybi," or Holyhead, where "the Archbishops of Gwynedd resided until S. Elfod removed the site and went to Bangor Fawr in Uwch Conwy." He was there at Côr Elfod, "principal over 500 saints," or monks.³ He is also called Archbishop of Gwynedd in the *Annales Cambriæ* and *Brut y Tywysogion*, but the term was then loosely used, and did not imply metropolitan jurisdiction.

He became Bishop of Bangor in 755, and it was he that induced the people of North Wales to adopt the Roman cycle of Easter,⁴ the one really important revolution in the Welsh Church from the fifth to the twelfth century. This strong champion of the *Catholica Unitas* holds the same place in the Welsh Church as Wilfrid had held in the English, as Adamnan in the Irish, and Boniface in the Frankish Church. He died in 809.⁵

¹ Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 86. Owen, in his *Sanctorale Catholicum*, gives Medwyn and Elfan on January 1, and adds, "Elfán is said to have been a native of Avalon, now Glastonbury."

² P. 139.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 113, 117, 127, 151. His name occurs as Elbodugus in the *Annales Cambriæ*, and Elvodugus in some MSS. of Nennius, and in others Elbotus or Elbodus. Elbodgu is given in the early pedigrees in *Harleian MS.* 3859. The two first forms would yield to-day Elfoddw. In Ranulphi de Diceto, *Abbrev. Chron.*, under the year 994, is mentioned Elvodus, Bishop of S. David's.

⁴ *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 834; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., i, pp. 203-4. He is given the appellation "man of God."

⁵ *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 843; Haddan and Stubbs, *ibid.*, p. 204. It has been suggested (*ibid.*, iii, p. 462) that the Bishop "Ethelwin" at Winchenhale in 787, sent to meet the Roman Legates, and who signed by deputy, was possibly Elfod.

The circumstances of the change are unknown. The date given for it in the *Annales Cambriæ* is 768, and in *Brut y Tywysogion*, 770. The *Book of Aberpergwm*, sometimes called the *Gwentian Brut*, asserts ¹ that Easter was changed in Gwynedd in 755 by the advice of Elfod, but that the other Welsh bishops did not concur therein, on which account the Saxons invaded the Cymry in South Wales, where the battle of Coed Marchan was fought, in which the Saxons were defeated. The same book gives 777 as the date of the alteration in South Wales. The *Book of Aberpergwm* adds that in 809, on the occasion of the death of Elfod, "a great tumult arose among the ecclesiastics on account of Easter; for the bishops of Llandaff and Menevia would not submit to the Archbishop of Gwynedd." But this chronicle has no great historical value.

The struggle probably gave rise to much angry feeling.

Elfod is said to have given some land on the Geleu to the Church of Abergele ² (S. Michael), Denbighshire, in which parish was formerly a holy well bearing his name, which has disappeared within living memory. Edward Lluyd mentions it in his *Itinerary*, 1699, "Ffynnon Elwoe, in Hendregyda, where they used formerly to offer pins." He also mentions as in the parish Ffynnon y Saint and Ffynnon Ithel. According to a late account, ³ which gives the well's name as Ffynnon Effo, crowds of people used to flock to it every Easter morning to drink its water and practise hydromancy, to know how long they were to live.

It is curious that Elfod should receive a cult in the diocese of Vannes in Brittany, where he is patron of the parish of Saint Dolay. The parish is called S. Aelwod in 916, in an act of the Cartulary of Redon; Saint Elmod in 1287, in an official list of the parishes of the diocese of Nantes; S. Elvoy in the 16th century; but since 1600 the name has been corrupted to Saint Dolay. ⁴

Nennius, who compiled the *Historia Britonum*, was, as he tells us, "a disciple of S. Elbod." ⁵

The following entry occurs in *Peniarth MS.* 75, p. 20 (sixteenth century), "Elwad sant ap Kowlwyd esgob Kaergybi a gwenfrewy v'ch tyvid ap evnvdd i vam." In the Myvyrian alphabetical *Bonedd*, ⁶ so-

¹ Printed as supplement to *Arch. Camb.* for 1864; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 686.

² Einion ab Gwalchmai (1170-1220), in an ode, connects him with Abergele, "Mal dyuod Eluod eluyt gelen" (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 231).

³ Williams, *Records of Denbigh*, Wrexham, 1860, p. 224.

⁴ Le Méné, *Paroisses de Vannes*, 1894, ii, 369.

⁵ "Elvodugi discipulus" he calls himself. *Mon. Germ. Hist., Chronica Minora*, iii, p. 143. When giving genealogies he cites "Ellbodum episcoporum sanctissimum." *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁶ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 425.

called, he is entered as son of Gowlwyd, and said to have been "bishop in Caer Gybi, A.D. 773," identifying him with S. Elfod. There is in the parish of Tregaron, Cardiganshire, in a meadow, a Ffynnon Elwad, which was formerly in great repute for the cure of sore breasts.¹ Further north, near the Teifi, and not far from Hên Fynachlog on the Fflur, is a Maes Elwad (or Alwad). These may possibly have derived their name from Elwaid, whom Giraldus gives as seventh bishop of S. David's, or from Eluoed, whom he mentions as its fourteenth bishop.²

The festival of a S. Elwad occurs on March 22 in the Calendar in *Peniarth MS.* 219 (circa 1615).

The saintly genealogies also give a S. Elnog ab Tudclyd of Caer Gybi.³ Some of them⁴ do not mention his father. By him, very possibly, Elfod is meant, though the pedigree differs from that of the *Jolo MSS.*; but these latter cannot always be relied upon. However, in *Hanesyn Hên*, p. 39, it runs, "Elfot Sant, mab Tekwlyd yng Kaer-gybi." *Eluot* might easily be misread *Elnoc*; and, likewise, Tudclyd and Cowlwyd be read the one for the other.

There was an abbot of Llantwit Major whose name is variously written in the *Book of Llan Dâw*⁵ Elguoid, Elgoid, Eluoid, Eluoed, and Eluod. He was contemporary with Bishops Oudoceus and Berthwyn. A later Elguoid also attests, as clerical witness, several grants to Llandaff in the time of Bishop Nudd. The same MS. further gives an Elvogus as Bishop of Llandaff.⁶ He succeeded Trichan, and is said to have been contemporary with Meurig, Rhys, Ffernwael, and Rhodri, the sons of Ithel, king of Glywysing. Ffernwael, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, died in 775.

S. ELFYW, see S. AILBE

S. ELFFIN, see S. ELPHIN

S. ELGAR, Hermit, Confessor

ELGAR'S Life is included in the *Book of Llan Dâw*, ed. Evans and Rhys, pp. 1-5; and what is known of it was derived from his own account

¹ *Cambrian Register*, 1799, ii, p. 387.

² *Itin. Camb.*, ii, c. 1. There are other MS. readings of the names.

³ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 270.

⁴ *Peniarth MS.* 75, p. 17; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 425. He is probably the Elenog given by Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 307.

⁵ See the index, p. 397. Tir Elbod was (1702) the name of a free tenement in the parish of Roath, Cardiff.

⁶ P. 206; cf. pp. 303, 312.

as given to Caradoc, perhaps the Llancarfan writer who died about 1147.

Ælgar or Elgar was a native of Devonshire (natus regione Devunsira), and was carried away by pirates and sold as a slave in Ireland. On the death of his master, he fell into the hands of Ruaidhri na Soighe Ouidhc mac Aodh of the Huy Conchobhair, king of Connaught,¹ who reigned from 1087 to 1092, and who made Elgar his executioner. This occupation was not at all to his taste, and he managed to effect his escape, took boat and fled to Enlli or Bardsey Island, where he resolved on remaining and leading an eremetical life, along with a few religious men who then occupied the island.

After seven years, Gwynedd was almost depopulated by the ravages of Hugh, Earl of Chester, whilst Ceredigion had been seized along with several districts of Powys by Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury. The consequence was that no pilgrims came to Enlli, and the monks who had been there either died or fled, with the exception of Elgar, who remained on, living upon fish and the eggs of sea-birds. One day he was visited by Master Caradoc, renowned for his learning, and Caradoc questioned him on his mode of life.

Elgar told him a wonderful story—how SS. Dyfrig, Deiniol, and Padarn had appeared to him in a vision and had bidden him seek for food at the grave of one Greit, a confessor, whose bones reposed in the isle, and had assured him that God would provide him with a fish on a stone there, every third day.

At last Elgar grew weary of this diet and asked for a change, whereupon he was commanded to catch a big fish out of the sea, and to feed on a stag that was washed ashore; and he gorged himself on this till the condition of the meat rendered it no longer edible.

Caradoc endeavoured to persuade Elgar to leave the island with him, but he declined, and died soon after. Feeling the approach of death he laid himself down beside the grave he had dug for himself in his oratory, and was buried by some sailors.

In 1120, on May 7, Bishop Urban exhumed what was supposed to be the body of S. Dubricius for transfer to Llandaff, and at the same time dug up Elgar, knocked out some of the teeth from his jaws, and translated them as well to Llandaff.

No churches are known to be dedicated to Elgar, neither does his name occur in any Calendars, but the translation and reverence offered to the teeth show that he was regarded as a saint.

Challoner inserts Elgar arbitrarily on July 9; Stanton, equally arbitrarily, on June 14.

¹ "Regis Reotri nepotis Conchor," etc.

In the *Book of Llan Dâu* ¹ it is stated that Bishop Herwald (died 1104) consecrated, among the churches in Erging, Lann Guenn (Guern) Aper Humur, now Llanwarne (S. John Baptist), Herefordshire, situated at the mouth of the Gamber brook, and ordained therein Jacob, and after him Elgar. This could not have been S. Elgar.

By him may possibly be intended the S. Algar mentioned by Leland,² who, speaking of the forest of Selwood, says, "In this Forest is a chapelle and theryn be buryed the Bones of S. Algar of late tymes superstitiously soute of the folisch commune People." In Frome parish, on the west side of the high road to Maiden Bradley, stands S. Algar's Farm, and the house is said to preserve remains of an ecclesiastical character.

S. ELGUD, Confessor

ELGUD was the son of S. Cadfarch ab Caradog Freichfras. He was the husband of Tubrawst, "descended from the Tuthlwyniaid," and the father of S. Cynhafal.³ No festival or church dedication is given him.

S. ELGYFARCH, see S. AELGYFARCH

S. ELHAIARN, see S. AELHAIARN

S. ELIAN, Confessor

ELIAN GEIMIAD, "the Pilgrim," was the son of Alltu Redegog ab Carcludwys (Cardudwys) ab Cyngu ab Yspwys ab Cadrod Calchfynydd.⁴ The pedigrees are not quite clear as to his mother's name. They give her as Tegfan,⁵ and as Cenaf,⁶ both daughters of Tewdwr Mawr. Elian was brother to S. Tegfan, of Anglesey.

¹ P. 277.

² *Itin.*, vii, p. 106.

³ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 421; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 123. See above, p. 254.

⁴ *Peniarth MS.* 45; *Hanesyn Hên*, p. 119; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 425. The late genealogies (e.g. *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 118, 128, 134, 137) give his father's name as Gallu Rieddog, and such-like corrupt forms.

⁵ *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 416, 425; *Peniarth MS.* 178 (sixteenth century); *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 101, 112; but *Peniarth MS.* 45 as Tecnaw, and *Hanesyn Hên*, pp. 36, 119, as Tegeaw and Tegnaw.

⁶ *Hafod MS.* 16; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 425 (but made to be sister to Rhys ab Tewdwr!). Mr. Phillimore (Owen, *Pembrokeshire*, ii, p. 427) adopts this as

The name Eliau is most probably derived from the Latin Ælianus or Elianus.¹ His epithet, *Ceimiad* (sometimes borne also by S. Beuno), has been deliberately changed into *Cannaid*, i.e., the Bright, apparently to make it correspond with the Latin *Hilarius*. Eliau, like Eleri and Ilar, is constantly confused with S. Hilary of Poitiers, and has been so from an early period. Cybi met his friend Eliau on the Continent : and in his Life² this accounts for making him there associate with S. Hilary, which was chronologically impossible.

No Life of S. Eliau is extant, but his legend has been told in a *cywydd* by Gwilym Gwyn, a bard who flourished in the latter part of the sixteenth century. From this we learn that Eliau and his family, his men, oxen, and all his effects came from Rome, and landed in Anglesey at Porth yr Ychen (Oxen-port), and hard by it built his church. This was in the time of Caswallon (correctly, Cadwallon) Lawhir, the father of Maelgwn Gwynedd.

"By oral tradition, Eliau had a young doe which he brought up tame, and the lord of that country (Caswallon) gave him as much land to his church as the doe would compass in a day. The tradition doth not say how the doe was drove to compass the ground ; but it happened in her marking out her lord's land that the greyhound of some rich man of the neighbourhood disturbed or killed the doe, upon which S. Eliau in great wrath pronounced it a judgment on the inhabitants of that parish that none of them should keep a greyhound to the end of the world ; and this sentence is come to pass, for none of the parishioners are able to keep a greyhound—they are so very poor ; the ground is so very rocky.

"The marks of the feet of S. Eliau's oxen are shown in the rocks where he landed, and the history of the doe is still preserved in painted glass on one of the windows of the church."³

the correct form of her name, but thinks that by Tewdwr Mawr is probably intended Tewdwr ab Beli, king of Strathclyde. Cenaf appears as a woman's name in *Myv. Arch.*, p. 198. In the saintly genealogies Eliau's mother also occurs as Cyna (*ibid.*, p. 425), Tenaf (*Peniarth MS.* 75), Tena (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 430), and Gwen (*Cardiff MS.* 5). In the *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 112, 134, she is given as Canna, daughter of Tewdwr Mawr ab Emyr Llydaw, who was the wife of S. Sadwrn, and mother of S. Crallo.

¹ The *a* of the Latin name being long, we should have expected it to have become *Eilion* in Welsh ; but a few exceptions occur. In Anglesey the name is pronounced *Eilian*—the correct literary form—but it is always *Eliu* (occasionally *Eliu*) in the pedigrees. The difference is simply one of dialect—e.g., the Anglesey and literary *ceiniog* and *ceiliog* become *ceiniog* and *ceiliog* in the Denbighshire dialect. A layman named Eliau witnesses a grant to the Church of Llandaff in the time of Bishop Trichan (*Book of Llan Dâf*, p. 201).

² *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 183 ; *supra*, p. 204.

³ Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains*, pp. 161–2, 361. We have not succeeded in

There are late copies, in Latin and Welsh, of the grant ("Charter *Elian* ") by Caswallon to *Elian*, or as he is therein called, *Hilary* ; but they cannot be regarded as copies of the original. The grant is said to have been confirmed by Edward IV in 1465. It supplements the legendary *Life* in several respects. The following is a copy—¹

"*Kyswallan Lawhir ap Einion Urdd*, praying blessed *Hyllarie* to have sight to me and to the men of my Household. They as then pray especially and devoutly. When I and my household men lost our sight. I was Lord upon the wronge to you ; when I took your Oxen and your milch cows, then I was on the wrong to myself ; therefore I will give you for such oxen ten Oxen. Then said *Hyllarie*, if I had myne own goods I would desire no man's goods. Then sayd *Kyswallan*, ye shall have whatsoever ye will, and name it ; then said *Hyllarie* thereupon, lift up your hand ; I will name it. And so did *Kyswallan* lift up his hand to uphold his promise. Then *Hyllarie* made his prayer saying :—I beseech my Lord God, for his infinite goodness, to restore unto you your sight. *Kyswallan* had his sight as perfectly as ever he had before, and all his Household men. And then *Hyllarie* asked his gift, not there, but as much lands and grounds as his hart winneth in running upon all your greyhounds, and let them slippe from the same footing. That is to say, *Dulas* his Hill, from thence into the Mountain of *Yngen*, from thence to *Gorsedd Reigitt*, and through the *Nanne's Isle* to the Hill of *Trusklwyn*, and through *Bodnerrey*, thence to the Hart's Leape, called in Welsh *Llam y Carw*, and thence he swam the sea to his Lord *Hyllarie* to *Porth Ychen* to Land. And then *Kyswallan* gave the land, men, woodlands, waters, and fields, within those meares and bounds above named, to *Hyllarie*, in whatsoever freedom, libertie, or franchises he would."

Caswallon had his residence at *Llys Caswallon*, on *Mynydd Eilian*, a little to the south of *Llaneilian Church*. It is now a cottage. The popular tradition still speaks of the great veneration he had for *Elian*, and the lands he bestowed upon his church, with the right of sanctuary. The story of his blindness is orally preserved in the following lines :—

coming upon a copy of the original poem. The local tradition says the doe bounded along the coast until it reached a chasm, which it leaped ; hence called *Llam y Carw*, the Hart's Leap. It does not now lie within the parish. Near the church are *Porth Eilian*, and *Pwynt y Leinws*, *Elianus'* or *Hilary's Point*. Here are also *Afon Eilian*, a bog, *Cors Eilian*, and a farm called *Rhos Mynach*. *Rhyd Eilian* is a cottage in *Llansadwrn* parish.

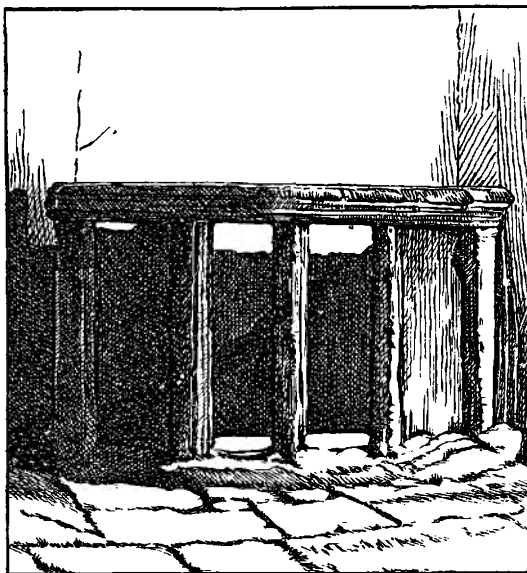
¹ Our copy is taken from *Cwrtmawr MS.* 36, a volume of *Gwydir Papers* and *Letters*, transcribed by *Peter Bayly Williams* (d. 1836). *SS. Cybi* and *Seiriol* are also said to have received the patronage of *Caswallon*.

Eilian a berai wyllo
 O lid am ei fuwch a'i lo ;
 Fe wnaeth yn ddall Gaswallon,
 Arglwydd mawr ar ogledd Môn.

(Eilian, through wrath, caused much weeping for his cow and calf ; he struck with blindness Caswallon, the great lord over North Mona.)

Caswallon had also, it is said, a residence in Creuddin on the banks of the Conway, near to which Eilian founded his other church, Llanelian.

The church of Llaneilian, in Anglesey, lies in a picturesque situation, and is one of the most interesting churches in the island. In the churchyard, to the south east of the church, stands S. Eilian's chapel,



SHRINE OF S. ELIAN AT LLANEILIAN.

which is traditionally said to occupy the site of the saint's original cell. It is of about the early part of the fifteenth century. Internally it measures 14 ft. 9 in. from east to west, by 12 ft from north to south.¹ Originally it stood detached, but a short passage, erected in 1614, connects it with the chancel of the church. In it was the saint's shrine, and the basement of this still remains. It is of oak, and had its seven panels formerly filled with tracery. People at the wake used to crawl inside it.

The curate or parson of Llaneilian in the early part of last century

¹ It has been described by Mr. Harold Hughes in *Arch. Camb.*, 1894, pp. 292-6.

wrote : " There stands within four yards of the church a small chapel, which has been joined by a passage to the chancel of the church, forming an angle of four points with it, on the south side : it appears to have been built first as a cloister for the saint, and must have had a small bell, as there is a place for one : it is called the *Myfyr*, or Place of Meditation. In it there exists an old relic of superstition ; this is an oaken box, fixed to the wall of the *Myfyr* ; it is semicircular, about six feet long, three feet wide, and four feet high, with a door or hole a foot broad, and almost three feet high. During the wake, all the people get into this box ; and should they get in and out with ease, having turned round in it three times, they will live out the year, but, otherwise, they assuredly die. It is pretended that while some bulky folks get in and out easily, other slender ones find the greatest difficulty, so that sometimes the box must be removed from the wall. In the church is the *Cyff Eliau*, a large chest in form of a trunk, round on the top, and studded with iron nails, with an aperture to put in alms. All who bathed in the well made their offerings in the *Cyff*, otherwise they were not to hope for any benefit from it. The amount so received was formerly very great : people used to come from all the counties of North Wales. It is opened only once a year, namely, on S. Thomas's Day." ¹ It was also believed that whoever could turn within the shrine would be cured of any disease he might have.

Ffynnon Eilian, the Saint's Holy Well, was situated near the shore, among the rocks, about half a mile from the church, and had a small chapel erected over it. It was formerly in great repute, but is now dry. The devotees used to visit it on the eve of the Saint's festival, and the custom only ceased about the middle of last century. After drinking the water, they knelt for some time before the altar in the little chapel, and afterwards repaired to the parish church to offer. The offerings, usually groat pieces, were made to obtain blessings upon the cattle and corn, and for the cure of agues, fits, scrofula, etc.² Two farms (*Tan y Fynwent*, in *Llaneilian*, and *Gwenithfryn*, in *Llanfechell*), were purchased with the offerings, and the rents were formerly applied to keeping the church and chapel in repair. Latterly, the offerings were annually distributed among the poor. The *cyff* is still in the church, placed against the west wall, and bears the date 1667. The altar is dated 1634.

There is a painting of S. Eliau, on canvas, now hung on the west wall of the church, but formerly on the centre of the fifteenth century

¹ Carlisle, *Topographical Dict. of Wales*, 1811, s.v. *Llan Eliau*.

² Edmund Jones, in his *Relation of Apparitions and Spirits*, 1813, pp. 51-2, relates a curious story about a person who tried to cheat the Saint of his silver groat.

rood screen. It represents the Saint in the attitude of prayer, but it has no iconographical interest. It is by an Italian artist of the seventeenth century, and is said to have been one of several paintings that formerly adorned the church.

The other church, Llanelian, dedicated to him,¹ is in Denbighshire. Near it formerly was his famous immolating or cursing well, Ffynnon Elian.² It stood in the corner of a field, embosomed in a grove, by the roadside, about a mile and a half from Colwyn Bay, and within half a mile of Llanelian church. It was circular in shape, diameter about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and covered with a stone arch and sods, and enclosed by a strong square wall 7 feet high.³

There is a tradition about its origin to this effect. A saintly hermit passing through, fell ill at this spot, and sat down by the roadside. He prayed for a drink of water, and a copious spring burst forth at his side; he drank, and got well. He thereupon prayed that the spring might be the medium to grant to all who asked in faith anything that they might wish. Another tradition attributes its origin to S. Elian thrusting his sword into the ground.

Edward Lhuyd, in his *Itinerary*, 1699, thus wrote of it: "St. Elian's Well is in y^e parish of Lhan Drilho; y^e papists & old Folks us^d to offer Groats there: and to this day y [they] offer either a Groat or its value in Bread. They are us^d to say, You must throw out all the water out of the well 3 times for my sick child; & then y offer y^e Groat."

This was the most dreadful of all the Welsh Holy Wells, and so firmly rooted was its baneful influence over the peasant mind that it was not eradicated until far on into last century. It was known far and wide, and many stories of cursing and revenge in connexion with it are still current. Persons who bore malice or spite against anybody, and desired to inflict injury or evil upon them, resorted to the "minister" of the well, who for a sum of money undertook to "put them into it," or "offer" them in it, *i.e.*, render them subject to its evil influence. The degree and nature of the curse consisted either in bodily pains and ill-health or loss of property, which were modified as the "offerers" desired. Very many persons would visit it in the course of a year for the villainous purpose of thus gratifying their desire for revenge.

¹ It is frequently given as dedicated to S. Hilary (sometimes to S. Eleri). The old wake-day on January 13, and the panelled painting on the north wall, seem to point to this as its later dedication.

² It was situated in the township of Eirias, in Carnarvonshire, which formerly was ecclesiastically in the parish of Llandrillo-yn-Rhos, but now in that of Colwyn. In the *Taxatio* of 1291 Llanelian occurs as "*Ecclesia de Bodwelennyn*," which, as Bodlennyn, is the name of the chief township of the parish. Its present name, which appears in the *Valor* of 1535, was derived from the proximity of the church to the notorious well. ³ Pugh, *Cambria Depicta*, 1816, p. 19.

The ill-fated one, after he had been "put into the well," would soon hear of it, and imagined himself the victim of a gradual and wasting sickness; and often there were but faint hopes for the recovery of one labouring under this delusion, unless his name were "taken out." If any one that had offended his neighbour merely felt some rheumatic pain he immediately concluded that he "was in Ffynnon Eliau," and thither he would hurry. Nothing but misfortune could attend anything that had been "offered" in it—animals or other property, as well as human beings. Everyone dreaded being so cursed, and it is difficult to-day to realize the terror with which even the name of Ffynnon Eliau struck people of every grade. Frequently, where the law of the land availed not the well succeeded.¹

Pennant says,² "I was threatened by a fellow (who imagined I had injured him) with the vengeance of S. Eliau, and a journey to his well to curse me with effect."

The well always had a recognized priest, or guardian, or owner, who lived near it, and no doubt represented the ancient pre-Christian priesthood. Sometimes, and that during its most flourishing period latterly, it had a "priestess," one named Mrs. Hughes, in whose time the offerings were believed to amount to nearly £300 a year. She was succeeded by John Evans, a tailor, popularly known as Jack Ffynnon Eliau, who was the last of the magical tribe. This tailor made a good deal of money out of it, but some time before his death he was so troubled in mind that he gave up its guardianship, and requested a friend of his to publish a book to show that it was all a fraud. Jack was so famous that his "victims" hailed not only from Wales but also from England and Ireland.

The various accounts of the ritual observed at the well differ slightly, as may be seen from the following extracts.

¹ See *Hanes Ffynnon Eliau, a Jack, Offeiriad y Ffynnon* (Humphreys, Carnarvon), for an account of the well and a number of instances of persons having been "put into it," as well as the "confession" of its last "priest." A fuller account was written by Wm. Aubrey, of Llanerchymedd at Jack's request. Compare the account given by Souvestre of the Chapel of *Notre-Dame de la Haine* at Tréguier, in Brittany: "Une chapelle dédiée à Notre-Dame de là Haine existe toujours près de Tréguier, et le peuple n'a pas cessé de croire à la puissance des prières qui y sont faites. Parfois encore, vers le soir, on voit des ombres honteuses se glisser furtivement vers ce triste édifice placé au haut d'un coteau sans verdure. Ce sont des jeunes pupilles lassés de la surveillance de leurs tuteurs, des vieillards jaloux de la prospérité d'un voisin, des femmes trop rudement froissées par le despotisme d'un mari, qui viennent là prier pour la mort de l'objet de leur haine. Trois 'Ave,' dévotement répétés, amènent irrévocablement cette mort dans l'année." (*Derniers Bretons*, i, p. 92.) Cursing-stones were known in parts of Ireland.

² *Tours in Wales*, ed. 1883, iii, p. 150.

"The ceremony was performed by an old woman who presided at the font, in the following manner: After having received the fee, the name of the offender was marked on a piece of lead; this she dropped into the water, and muttered her imprecations, whilst taking from, and returning into, the well a certain portion of the water. It frequently happened that the offending party who had been the subject of her imprecations sought through the medium of a double fee to have the curse removed; and seldom was this second offer refused by her. On this occasion she took water from the well three times with the new moon, select verses of the Psalms were read on the successive Fridays, and a glass of the well-water drunk whilst reading them."¹

"For a trifling sum was registered in a book, kept for the purpose, the name of the person. A pin was then dropped into the well in the name of the victim."² It appears a pin was sometimes fixed through the name in the register.

"The ceremony is performed by the applicant standing upon a certain spot near the well, whilst the owner of it reads a few passages of the sacred Scriptures, and then, taking a small quantity of water, gives it to the former to drink, and throws the residue over his head, which is repeated three times, the party continuing to mutter his imprecations in whatever terms his vengeance may dictate."³

As latterly observed it was as follows: On receipt of the offerer's fee the custodian wrote the name of the person to be offered on a bit of parchment; this he folded up inside a thin piece of lead; to it was tied a bit of slate, on which were written the initials of the person's name; these the custodian threw into the well, repeating the offerer's curse and raising up and throwing back a small quantity of the water. In the meantime, the person so "offered" would be certain to hear of what had taken place, and be advised to go and "get himself out of the well." On asking the custodian if his name was in the well he would be sure to be told that it was. The ritual for "pulling it out" (*dad-offrwm*) was the following: The person "offered," in a house close by, read, or had read to him, two Psalms; he then walked three times round the well, and read again portions of the Bible. All the water in the well was next thrown out, and he was given the bit of lead and the slate with his initials, and returned home with the injunction to read considerable portions of the Book of Job and of the Psalms on three successive Fridays.⁴

¹ Charlotte Wardle, *S. Ælian's, or the Cursing Well; a Poem*. London, 1814, p. 111 (note).

² Roberts, *Cambrian Popular Antiquities*, 1815, p. 247.

³ Lewis, *Topog. Dict. of Wales*, 1833, s.v. *Llandrillo yn Rhos*.

⁴ *Cylchgrawn*, Llandovery, 1834, p. 14.

In 1820 one John Edwards, of the parish of Northop, was tried at the Flintshire Great Sessions for defrauding one Edward Pierce, of Llandyrnog, of 15s., under pretence of "pulling him out of Ffynnon Eliau." Pierce, finding things were going wrong with him, imagined that some one had "put him in" the well, and went to consult Edwards, who had the reputation of being able to "pull persons out" of it. He was assured by him that he was in the well, and would go from bad to worse with every moon. It was not then full moon, and Edwards asked him in the meantime to read a number of Psalms. At the proper time they both went to the well, and Pierce paid Edwards the fee, which he said was to go to Margaret Pritchard, who occupied the farm on which the well stood and was generally known as "the woman of the well" (*dynes y ffynnon*); but he never paid it to her. Edwards asked him to repeat the Lord's Prayer, and then threw all the water out of the well. When it had refilled he gave him a cupful of water, requesting him to drink part of it and throw the remainder over his head. He then told him to put his hand into the well and take out his own name. He found, bound with wire, a piece of slate, a cork, and a piece of sheet lead. Inside the lead was a bit of parchment with his initials and some crosses. He was none the better; and Edwards for his deception got twelve months' imprisonment.¹

Various attempts were latterly made by the local magistrates and other persons of influence to stop people going to the well, but for a long time with very little or no effect. In January, 1829, however, it was finally filled in, and the stones forming the wall about it were used up to make the drain to conduct the water to the river.²

Ffynnon Eliau also partook of the character of the ordinary holy well. Persons could here supplicate prosperity for themselves, and be healed of various diseases by bathing in its water. The well was also the medium for discovering thieves, and recovering stolen goods. The bushes round it were covered with bits of rags, left by those who frequented it, down even to last century.³

The Festival of S. Eliau is entered in a great many Welsh Calendars, from the fifteenth century downwards, on January 13, which is also the Festival of S. Hilary of Poitiers. On the same day occurs also S. Ilar; and it is very probable that both Eliau and Ilar have been assigned this day through confusion with the famous Bishop of Poitiers, who died in 368. The Wakes at Llaneliau were in August, extending over three weeks, and were professedly held on the three first Friday evenings, but latterly they were confined to one, and the

¹ *Eurgrawn Wesleyaidd*, 1820, pp. 58-61.

² *Goleuad Cymru*, 1829, pp. 81-2.

³ Sir J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, p. 357.

two or three following days.¹ At Llanelian they were latterly held on S. Hilary's Day. Edward Lhuyd, however, says: "Their Feast [is] on y^e 13 or 14 of Jan: also two Fridays before August [Lammas Day], and one after." They seem to have combined the two saints as patrons. In the parish of Bettws Gwerfyl Goch, Merionethshire (church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, with Festival on August 15), where there is a Ffynnon Elian, and a Rhyd Elian (his ford), the perambulation used to take place on January 14.

S. ELICGUID, Confessor

MR. EGERTON PHILLIMORE suggests that Leckwith,² near Cardiff, subject to Llandough, and dedicated to S. James the Apostle, takes its name from the cleric whose name is variously spelt in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, Elichguid, Helicguid, Heliguid, and Elecuid. He was clerical witness to three grants to the church of Llandaff. As Heliguid he witnessed the grant of Merthyr Clydog (Clodock), Herefordshire, by Ithel ab Morgan, king of Glywysing, in the time of Bp. Berthwyn,³ and as Elecuid and Helicguid the grants of "Tir Dimuner" and Trellech's Grange, Monmouthshire, by the same king's son, Fernwael, in the time of Bp. Trichan.⁴ "Fynnaun Elichguid" is mentioned in the boundary of the grant of Mathern, near Chepstow, by Meurig ab Tewdrig, king of Morganwg, in the time of Bp. Oudoceus.⁵

If the same person is meant throughout he lived during the episcopates of Oudoceus, Berthwyn, and Trichan.

S. ELIDAN

THE name of Llanelidan Church, Denbighshire, presupposes a S. Elidan, whom it is usual to regard as a Welsh Saint. "He has been variously described as a knight, a king in Snowdonia, and a bishop."⁶ There is a representation of him, in modern glass, in Llangurig Church,

¹ Bingley, *North Wales*, 1814, p. 216; Cathrall, *Hist. of North Wales*, 1828, ii, p. 56; cf. Owen Jones, *Cymru*, London, 1875, ii, p. 72, where the first Friday only is mentioned.

² The usual explanation is that it is the word *llechwedd*. The Church stands on a high bank. With Leckwith, without the *Llan*, cf. the South Wales parish-names Baglan, Llywel, and Llywes; and with the name itself cf. the Aallguid of the *Book of Llan Dâv*, and the Saturnguid of the *Book of S. Chad*.

³ *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 196. ⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 199, 200. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁶ Lloyd-Verney, *Descript. of Parish Church of Llangurig*, 1892, p. 60.

Montgomeryshire, holding a spear in one hand, and the model of a church in the other.

The name does not occur in any of the saintly pedigrees, but the *Iolo MSS.*¹ gives it as that of a saint of the Vale of Clwyd. Elidan is actually one of the two Welsh forms (the other is Ilid) of the name of Julitta, the mother of the child-martyr S. Cyriacus.² There would appear to have been a nun of the name, who resided at Llangurig.³

Browne Willis gives⁴ the dedication of Llanelidan, "Elidan, June 16."

S. ELIDYR MWYNFAWR

ELIDYR MWYNFAWR, "the Courteous," who is accounted a Welsh Saint, but on very doubtful authority, was the son of Gorwst Briodor ab Dyfnwal Hen.⁵ His wife was Eurgain, the daughter of Maelgwn Gwynedd. He is mentioned in Aneurin Owen's edition of the *Laws of Hywel Dda*⁶ as one of the "Men of the North" who invaded Arfon in the time of Rhun ab Maelgwn, possibly with the view of asserting the claims of Elidyr to the sovereignty of Gwynedd in succession to Maelgwn, Rhun being, according to some genealogies, illegitimate. He was, however, slain at "Aber Mewydus in Arfon," near Carnarvon, at a spot now called Elidyr Bank. Maybe his grave gave name to the Elidyr Mountains above Llanberis.

According to the Triads,⁷ Elidyr possessed a wonderful horse, called Du y Moroedd (the Black One of the Seas), which performed the feat of carrying seven persons and a half on its back from Penllech Elidyr in the North, to Penllech Elidyr (near Redwharf Bay) in Anglesey.

There are four Pembrokeshire churches usually said to be dedicated to a S. Elidyr, viz., Amroth, Crunwear, Ludchurch (the three

¹ P. 144.

² The name occurs as Elidan in a poem by Huw Cae Llwyd (fifteenth century), and, coupled with Curig (against June 16), in the Calendars in *Peniarth MSS.* 27 (pt. i), 186 and 187, *Jesus College MSS.* 22 and 141, *Mostyn MS.* 88, *Allwydd Paradwys*, and eighteenth century Welsh Almanacks. The *n* is hypocoristic as in S. Maughan's (S. Machu, *i.e.*, Malo), and Llanfeithin (S. Meuthi).

³ *Supra*, pp. 194-8.

⁴ *Survey of Bangor*, p. 278.

⁵ *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd* in *Peniarth MS.* 45; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 106, 138. The Elidir Coscoruaur of the *Cognatio de Brychan* is the Elifer of the next article. The name Elidyr is the same as the Irish Ailither, and means "a pilgrim." There were three Irish Saints of the name.

⁶ Folio ed., p. 50.

⁷ *E.g.*, Rhys and Evans, *Mabinogion*, p. 300.

in the deanery of Narberth), and Stackpole Elidor, or Cheriton (with S. James). Fenton,¹ however, gives us to understand that they were founded and endowed by Sir Elidur de Stackpool, in the twelfth century. Three, at least, of the churches we know were Teilo churches.² May there be some connexion between Elidyr and Eliud, Teilo's other name? There can be no ground for the assumption that their patron was, before he became esteemed a Saint, "the Elidyr of Norse myth, the doorkeeper to Ægir, the god of the sea."³

S. ELIFER GODDSGORFAWR

IN the Llansannor *Achau* printed in the *Iolo MSS.*,⁴ and therein only, Elifer (or Eliffer) Gosgorddfawr, "of the Great Retinue," the son of Arthwys ab Mor, and father of Gwrgi and Peredur, is entered among the Welsh Saints; but the authority is so late and untrustworthy that we are not justified in doing more than stating here the mere fact. Llaneliver, however, marks the site of a church in the parish of Bettisfield, Flintshire.⁵

A "saying" is attributed to him in the "Stanzas of the Hearing" and the "Sayings of the Wise":⁶—

Hast thou heard what was sung by Goliffer
Gosgorddfawr, of the valiant host?
"Hateful is truth that is not loved."
(Cas wirionedd ni charer.)

S. ELIUD, see S. TEILO

S. ELLDEYRN, Confessor

ELLDEYRN is said to have been brother of Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau, or Vortigern, and had a church dedicated to him in Glamorgan, named Llanelldeyrn, now Llanillterne, subject to S. Fagans.⁷ Nicolas Roscarrock gives February 1 as his festival.

¹ *Tour through Pembrokeshire*, 1811, pp. 307, 421.

² *Book of Llan Dâu*, pp. 124, 254-5.

³ *Arch. Camb.*, 1898, p. 318.

⁴ P. 126. In the Old Welsh pedigrees in *Harleian MS.* 3,859, his name occurs as Eleuther Cascord Maur = the Latin Eleutherius.

⁵ *Arch. Camb.*, 1880, p. 261.

⁶ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 129. In the "Sayings of the Wise" (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 256) it runs, "Cas pob gwir lle nis carer."

⁷ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 107, 146. Rees in his *Essay* gives Elldeyrn as son of Gwrtheyrn. He had a son Catteyrn. In the Norwich *Taxatio*, 1254, the church occurs as Lanilturn. Rhydellddeyrn is one of the townships of Llanychan, in the Vale of Clwyd.

An Elldeyrn is mentioned in an *Iolo* list of chorepiscopi of Llandaff prior to the time of Dubricius.¹

S. ELLI, Abbot, Confessor

THERE are two churches, Llanelly in Carmarthenshire, and Llanelly in Brecknockshire, dedicated to this Saint. He was a disciple of S. Cadoc, and all that is known of him we glean from the Life of that Saint.² Cadoc, we are told, in his peregrinations, "landed in the Islands of Grimbul" (somewhere in the Mediterranean it would appear), which were ruled over by a wealthy king whose wife was barren. "The disgrace of barrenness" was a sore trial to the queen, and she implored the saint to intercede with God on her behalf. Like Hannah, she promised to devote the child to the service of God, and to consign him to the Saint's charge. A son was granted her, and he received the name of Elli. Cadoc brought the child with him to Llancarfan, and he was there "diligently educated by him from tenderest age, and well established in sacred learning, and he became the dearest to him of all his disciples." He gave him one of three remarkable stone altars, which he greatly prized, that had come from Jerusalem.

Cadoc's father, Gwynllyw, is described as a very wicked person, who "disgraced his life with crimes." Cadoc sent his three faithful disciples, Finnian, Gnavan, and Elli to convert him from the error of his ways, and their mission was eventually successful.

When Cadoc left Llancarfan for Beneventum, he made Elli "rector and doctor," *i.e.*, abbot, in his room, in accordance with instructions that had been given him by an angel in a dream. Elli, with his disciples, used to visit him frequently there. We learn from the Cartulary appended to the *Vita* that Elli lived at the White Court, probably Whitton, about a mile to the north-east of Llancarfan church. Another of the documents records the founding by Elli of "a church and houses in the name of the Lord," *i.e.*, a monastic church, and its donation to the *familia* or convent of S. Cadoc at Llancarfan, during the latter's lifetime, together with three nights' *cibaria*, *i.e.*, *gwestfa*, or food-rent, payable in summer and winter

¹ *Liber Landavensis*, p. 623; Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr.*, p. 154.

² *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 40-1, 71-3, 83, 85, 91.

respectively.¹ There is nothing to show which of his churches this was. The *Book of Llan Dâv*² records the consecration of the Carmarthenshire Llanelly by Bishop Herwald of Llandaff in the eleventh century.

There is a church in Brecknockshire called Llanellieu. The dedication of this, as well as the two Llanelly churches, is almost invariably said to be to a S. Ellyw or Elyw, who is supposed to have been a granddaughter of Brychan Brycheiniog. But there is no evidence whatever that any one of that name belonged to the Brychan saintly clan; and, further, the existence of such forms as Llanelly and Llanellieu in the same county, and not very far apart, argues that we have here embodied two quite distinct names. It is certain that in the Llanelly name we have to-day perpetuated the early thirteenth century form Elli, which cannot possibly be equated with Ellyw, Elyw, or Elieu. Ellyw occurs as the fourteenth century form of a twelfth century woman's name.³ An old bell in the church tower of the Brecknockshire Llanelly, pronounced to have been cast about 1440, bears the following inscription in very legible black letter:—“+ Sce Elline. Thesu campana[m] semper tibi protige sana[m].” In the Life of S. Cadoc the Saint's name occurs as Elli and Ellinus. There are instances of the hexameter in the counties of Gloucester and Somerset.

The festival of S. Elli is given as January 23 in the Calendars in the *Iolo MSS.*, *Hafod MS.* 8, *Peniarth MS.* 219, the Prymers of 1618 and 1633, and *Allwydd Paradwys*. Nicolas Roscarrock gives the entry, “S. Elly, January 23, scolar of S. Cadoc.” It is worth noticing that the festival of S. Cadoc falls on January 24, and that the Brecknockshire parishes of Llanelly and Llangattock adjoin. The festival of a S. Eliw occurs in the *Iolo MSS.* Calendar on July 17, but in the Prymer of 1546 we have against July 14, “Elyw a Chynllhaw,” an error for the previous date in the case of both saints. The Wake at the Brecknockshire Llanelly was on the Sunday next before August 12 (August 1 O.S.), which has caused some to suppose that the “name is only an abbreviation of Elined,”⁴ (Eliwedd), upon whose festival the wake depended; but the identification will not hold. The wake was discontinued about 1850, at which time the first Tuesday in August

¹ For this donation see Seebohm, *Tribal System in Wales*, 1895, pp. 205-7.

² P. 279.

³ *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 302. Llanellieu is written in twelfth and thirteenth century charters Langeleu and Langelew (*Arch. Camb.*, 1883, pp. 148, 166), which rather suggest the river-name at Abergele. An Eliau, son of Acheru, and a Trev Eliau, are mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâv*.

⁴ Theo. Jones, *Brecknockshire*, ed. 1898, p. 404; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 156.

was the date of its yearly occurrence. Browne Willis¹ gives January 23 as the festival at the two Brecknockshire parishes, but January 17² at the Carmarthenshire one. Fenton, in a MS. note,³ says that on visiting the last mentioned Llanelly, in 1810, he found that the people held their feast on "Dwgwl Fair y Canhwlleu," *i.e.*, Candlemas Day. His informant had "seen seven parishes meet here at their 'Mab Sant of Dwgwyl Elliso,' which is before the other," evidently referring to the festival in January.

The Saint's Holy Well at the latter Llanelly was formerly in a field called Cae Ffynnon Elli, from which is derived the name Waun Elli Place, at the lower end of the New Road. It was famed among the old inhabitants for its admirable water. Ffynnonau Elli here were reputed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to possess medicinal properties.⁴

SS. ELNOG and ELWAD, see S. ELFOD

S. ELOAN or ELWYN, Bishop, Confessor

LELAND says : " Breaca venit in Cornubiam comitata multis Sanctis, inter quos fuerunt Sinneddus abbas . . . Elwen, Crewenna, Helena."

Elwen had a chapel at Sithney (Bp. Bronescombe's Register, 1270, p. 178), and the Church of S. Elwyn near Hayle has him for patron.

Leland says that his legend was extant when he wrote. It is now lost, and we are left in the greatest difficulty to distinguish him from other saints whose names are somewhat similar. Although Leland distinguishes between Helen and Elwen, it is possible that they may be the same.

In Buryan parish, near S. Loy, is a piece of land on which, till some thirty years ago, were the ruins of a chapel, called Sandellin, that perhaps may have been dedicated to S. Elwyn.

The name also remains attached to a chapel and holy well in the parish of S. Eval. The spot is now called Halwyn. The spring never fails, and there are beside it the remains of an oblong structure, probably the chapel.

S. Eloan, possibly the same saint, is supposed to have died in Brittany, and his tomb is shown in the church of S. Guen in Côtes du Nord. In Brittany he is variously called Elven, Elvan, Elonay,

¹ *Parochiale Anglicanum*, 1733, pp. 181, 183.

² *Ibid.*, p. 189.

³ Quoted in Innes, *Old Llanelly*, Cardiff, 1902, p. 9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-7; Mee, *Llanelly Parish Church*, Llanelly, 1888, p. vii.

Luan and Gelvan, and his day is given by Garaby as August 28. He confounds him with Elocan, a hermit, who was dispossessed of his cell by Morenia, wife of Judicael, 610-640, that she might give it to the more favoured S. Lery.

The feast of S. Elouan is kept at S. Guen on the last Sunday in August. But the Acts of the Saint published by the Bollandists show that he worked under S. Tugdual, and that he was an Irishman by birth, and that he lived an eremitical life in the dense forest of Brecilien that occupied the interior of the Armorican peninsula. Lobineau guessed that he was Molua of Clonfert, but had no better grounds to go on than a faint similarity of name. Molua's day is August 4.

Nicolas Roscarrock has an entry, "S. Elvitus or Elwin, Confessor at Lhan Hamelac in or about Brecknockshire." That is to say, Llanhamlech, which is regarded as dedicated to SS. Illtyd and Peter.

S. ELPHIN

THE *Iolo MSS.*¹ include Elphin or Elffin ab Gwyddno Garanhir, of the race of Maxen Wledig, among the Welsh Saints, and state that he was a saint, or monk, of Llantwit. The same documents also include his father among the saints. The name is the Latin *Alpinus*, and as *Alpin* occurs as the name of kings of the Scots and Picts.

There exists a prose tale, entitled *Hanes Taliessin*, which gives a weird-like account of the saving of Taliessin by Elphin from death in infancy, and of Taliessin's gratitude, which, among other things, prompted the composition of *Dyhuddiant Elphin*, or The Consolation of Elphin.²

¹ Pp. 106, 138. For his pedigree see also *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd*. There are several persons of the name of Elfin mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, one of which (p. 174) was clerical witness to a grant made to Llandaff in the time of Bishop Grecielis. Atrium Elphin is given in the cartulary of Llancarfan among the possessions of its canons (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 83). Urien Rheged had a son named Elphin, and others of the name occur.

² *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 22-6. For the *Hanes*, which occurs in more than one MS. of the sixteenth century (e.g., *Llanover MS. B. 23*), see the *Mabinogion*, ed. Guest, iii, pp. 321-55; Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, i, pp. 421-2. Elphin is mentioned in the *Dream of Rhonabwy* (*Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 150) as a warrior. Peacock, by his *Misfortunes of Elphin* (1829), has familiarized English readers with the legend.

There is, however, not the slightest foundation for regarding him as one of the Welsh Saints.

Cadair Elphin, his Chair, was the name of a constellation,¹ and Côr Elphin the title of an old Welsh air.

The parish church of S. Elphin, Warrington, has been conjectured to be dedicated to an unknown Irish saint of the name.² The Welsh Elphin, S. Elgin of North Frodingham, and Prince Elfwin of Northumbria have also been suggested. The church is mentioned in *Domesday*.

S. ELYW, see S. ELLI

S. EMYR LLYDAW, Confessor

EMYR LLYDAW was, as the adjunct to his name implies, a native of Armorica.³ He came from Broweroc, and was probably obliged to fly before a masterful brother who seized on his patrimony. He was the son of Aldor, who was married to a sister of S. Germanus, not of Auxerre, but Germanus the Armorican. His wife was Anaumed, and he had a large family. His daughter, Gwen Teirbron, was married to Eneas Lydewig, and he was consequently uncle to S. Cadfan. A son Hywel did not enter religion, but had sons who are numbered with the saints. Another son was Amwn Ddu, father of S. Samson; another was Pedrwn, father of S. Padarn; another, Alan, was father of Lleuddad, Llonio, and Llyfab. Another again, Gwyndaf Hên, was the parent of SS. Meugant and Henwyn. He had three other sons who did not become ecclesiastics, Tewdwr Mawr, Gwyddno, and Difwg.⁴ Though not an ancestor of one of the Three Saintly Tribes, he had many descendants among the Welsh Saints, mainly commemorated in Central Wales.

Nothing, unhappily, is known of his history. He lived during the latter part of the fifth century. He is unknown to Breton records.

¹ *Barddas*, Llandovery, 1862, i, p. 404.

² Wm. Beaumont, *Warrington Church Notes*, 1878, p. 3. S. Elphin's School for Girls was transferred in 1904 from Warrington to Darley Dale.

³ The *Iolo MSS.*, p. 147, state that he was sprung from Cynan Meiriadog, prince of Cornwall, and that "his descendants became in the Island of Bardsey the original stock of the saints of Gwynedd, where many of their churches are."

⁴ The grave of Beiddog the Ruddy, the son of Emyr Llydaw, is mentioned in *Englynion y Beddau* in the twelfth century *Black Book of Carmarthen* (ed. Evans, pp. 66-7).

No churches honour him as patron. He is said ¹ to have founded the church of Pendaulwyn or Pendoylan, in Glamorgan, but this is usually given as dedicated to S. Cadoc.

Geoffrey of Monmouth ² tells us that on the murder of Constans by the Ffichtiaid (Picts), and the assumption of the sovereignty by Gwrtheyrn, the two brothers, Emrys and Uthyr Bendragon, were for fear of him taken away to Brittany, over which Emyr was then king, and he "cheerfully welcomed the youths, and caused them to be brought up as kings should be."

S. ENDDWYN

ENDDWYN, the patron of Llanenddwyn, Merionethshire, would appear to be the saint intended by Endwy ab Hywel Farchog ab Hywel Faig ab Emyr Llydaw, mentioned in one entry in the *Iolo MSS.*³ Sometimes the saint is said to have been a female. Browne Willis ⁴ gives the dedication of Llanenddwyn thus, "S. Damian (ut reor) May 14"; but there is no saint of the name commemorated on that day.

The Saint's Holy Well, Ffynnon Enddwyn, lies in a dingle about two miles from Llanenddwyn. Tradition says that Santes Enddwyn was afflicted with a sore disease, and one summer's day journeying past that spot, spied a small well, refreshed herself, and bathed in the water, with the result that she was made perfectly whole. The well became famous, and sick folk from all parts resorted to it to be cured of whatever ailments they might be troubled with. They left their crutches and sticks behind as tokens of their restoration, and, further, "threw pins into the well to ward off evil spirits and diseases in the future." Hundreds of pins were, from time to time, taken out of it. The water possessed medicinal properties, and was efficacious, among others, in scrofulous cases, which were cured by drinking the water and applying some of the moss as a plaster.⁵

S. ENDELIENTA, Virgin

LELAND, in the list he gives of the children of Brychan ⁶ who settled in Cornwall, derived from the Legend of S. Nectan he saw in Hart-

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 221. ² *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 130. ³ P. 143.

⁴ *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, p. 277. Owen, in his *Sanctorale Catholicum*, 1880, pp. 233, 259, has fallen into the mistake of identifying Damian with Dyfan, companion of Ffagan, and making him patron of Llanddwywe.

⁵ *Llen-gwerin Meirion* in *Transactions of the Blaenau Festiniog National Eisteddfod*, 1898, p. 226. There is a saying of the parish, "Lluch Enddwyn sy'n llechu ynddo."

⁶ *Collect.*, iv, p. 153.

land Abbey, gives Endelient as one of these, the third in his list. William of Worcester copied the same list, but Nasmith, who printed from his MS., incorrectly rendered Endelient by Sudbrent. The original MS. is in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. William of Worcester's writing is peculiarly crabbed, and the mistake was perhaps justifiable.

Nicolas Roscarrock, the friend of Camden, in his *Lives of the Saints*, still in MS. and recently acquired from the Brent-Eleigh collection by the University of Cambridge, considered Endelient as the same as Cenedlon in the Welsh pedigrees, and we had formed the same opinion without knowing that Nicolas Roscarrock had made the same suggestion something like three centuries before.

Roscarrock was a native of the parish of S. Endelion, and he has preserved in his collection some interesting traditions relative to the Saint. He says, deriving his authority from the same Life of S. Nectan already referred to, that she was a daughter of Brychan, and that she settled in Cornwall at a place called Trenkeny, "where, I remember, there stood a chapell dedicated (as I take it) to her, which at this day is decayed, and the place in which it stood is yet called the Chappell Closse, and lyeth on the south west of the paroch church, which at this present is of her called S. Endelient, where she lived a verie austere course of life, that with the milk of a cowe only, which cowe the Lord of Trenteny kild as she strayed into his grounds. The olde people speaking by tradicion doe report she had a great man to her godfather, whom they also say was King Arthure, who toke the killing of the cowe in such sort, as he killed or caused this man to be slaine, whom she miraculously revived; and when she perceived the daye of her death drew nye, she intreated her friends after her death to lay her dead bodye on a bed, and to bury her there where certain young stots, bullocks and calves of a daye old should of their own accord drawe her, which being done they brought her to a place which at that tyme was a myrre waste ground, and a great quagmire on the topp of an hill, where in time after there was a church builded dedicated to her.

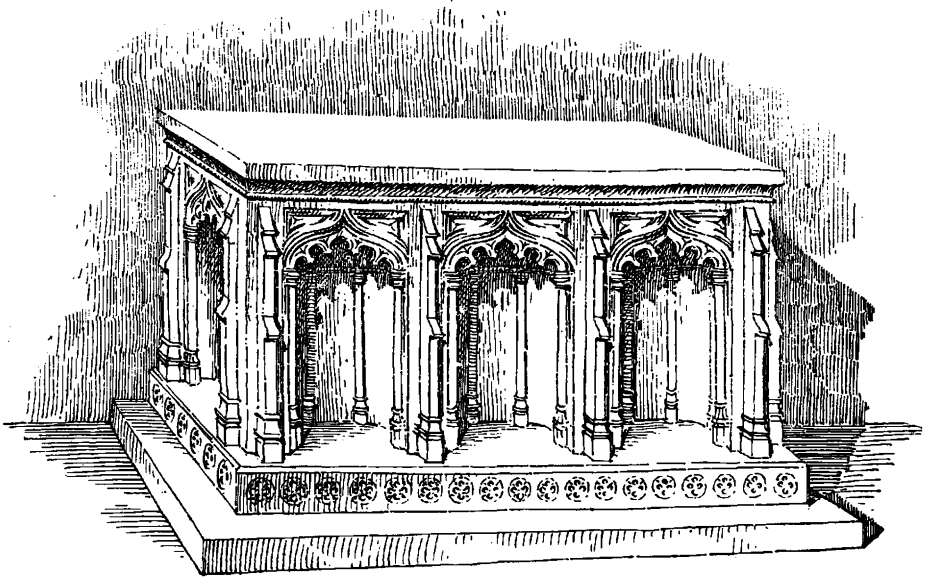
"I have heard it creditably repeated that the chapell on Lundy was likewise dedicated to her, yet Camden sayth S. Helen."

Roscarrock might well contest the dedication to S. Helen. Lundy was opposite Hartland, where was her brother Nectan's settlement, and it was most likely that she should have her place of retreat within reach of him and his ministrations.

He adds that there were two wells in Endelion that bare the name of the Saint. Her tomb had been destroyed by the Commissioners of Henry VIII, or in his reign, but it had been since restored, and

stood on the south side of "Chandules Ile." Then Roscarrock breaks forth into a hymn of praise to S. Endelion. In his Calendar he enters S. Endelienta on April 29.

The tomb of S. Endelienta still remains, but at the so-called "restoration" of the church it was moved from its old site under the easternmost arch of the nave on the south side, and was placed altar-wise at the end of the south aisle. It is of the beginning of the fifteenth century and is carved in Catacluse stone, in niches that are empty and show no traces of having had statues in them. A fine slab



SHRINE OF S. ENDELIENT, ENDELION, CORNWALL.

covers it. Someone, quite recently, not knowing that this was the empty shrine of the patron saint, committed a wanton outrage, for he had cut on the slab the inscription "Richard Mathews of Tresunger, Esquire, ob. 1610," for which he had not the smallest justification, as the tomb is two centuries earlier. If the bones of the holy patroness remain, they probably lie under the floor where stood the shrine originally.

Endelienta is invariably represented in the Episcopal Registers as a female saint, and the church of Endelion was collegiate. It is improbable that the canons of Endelion should not have known the sex of the patron saint of the church in which they ministered. In a Provincial Council or Synod held in 1341, they signed as the Chapter of S^{ta} Endelienta.

It is Ecclesia Stæ Endelientæ, in the Registers of Bp. Bronescombe, 1260; Bytton, 1308; Grandisson, 1330; Brantyngham, 1376, 1377, 1380, 1390, 1391, 1392; Stafford, 1417.

Mr. Borlase conceived the notion that Endelion was S. Teilo,¹ and when the chapter was formed for Truro Cathedral, Bishop Benson, who had purposed to entitle one of the canonries after S. Endelienta, was shaken by Mr. Borlase's statement, and gave it to S. Teilo instead, whose connexion with Cornwall was of the slightest.

Endelion is assuredly the Cenedlon of the Welsh Brychan lists. There was another Cenedlon, the daughter of Briafel, and wife of Arthfael ab Ithel, king of Gwent, who has been supposed to be patroness of the church of Rockfield, near Monmouth.² It is significant that in the parish of Endelion should be found the inscribed stone of Broegan, which is the same name as Brychan. The feast at Endelion is on Ascension Day and the two days following, but the Saturday after the Ascension is the chief day of the revel. Nicolas Roscarrock gives the true day of her feast, April 29.

S. ENFAIL

ENFAIL or Enfael is given among the daughters of Brychan in the late lists,³ and her church is said to be at "Merthyr Enfail where she was slain by the pagan Saxons," by which is no doubt intended Merthyr near Carmarthen.⁴ Her name, however, has almost certainly been evolved out of the early Vespasian *Cognatio* "Tudeuel in Merthir *Euineil*," a misscript for Tutuul, *i.e.*, the Tudful martyred at Merthyr Tydvil.

S. ENGAN, see S. EINION

S. ENGHENEDL, Confessor

ENGHENEDL was the son of Cynan Garwyn, prince of Powys, the

¹ *The Age of the Saints*, Truro, 1893, p. 134. "Endellion *certainly* bears the name of the same saint (Teilo) under another form—the female Endelienta being simply a monkish trifling with the word Landelian." S. Teilo's day is February 9, that of S. Endelienta April 29.

² *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 607, note. Rockfield is, however, dedicated to S. Kenelm (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 344).

³ *Peniarth MS.* 178 (sixteenth century); *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 120, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419, 425.

⁴ Browne Willis, *Parochiale Anglicanum*, p. 188, gives the dedication of Merthyr as S. Marthin, November 11.

son of Brochwel Ysgythrog. He had a brother, Selyf Sarffgadau, who succeeded his father.¹ He is the patron of Llanyngghenedl, under Llanfachraeth, in Anglesey. His festival is Quinquagesima Sunday.²

S. ENODER, Confessor

THE church of S. Enoder in North Cornwall, in *Domesday Eglos-*under, is spoken of in the Episcopal Registers as that Sancti Ennederi or Enoderi in that of Bp. Bronescombe, 1272, as that S^ti Enodri, 1271; in the Taxation of Pope Nicolas IV (1288-91) as Ecclesia Enodry; as that S^ti Enodri in the Register of Bp. Stapeldon, 1324-5; as that S^ti Enodori in the Register of Bp. Stafford, 1396.

It is difficult to say who S. Enoder can be, unless he be Cynidr, with the *s* or *t* before *c* in Sanctus Ceniderus, or in Cornish Sant Cynidr, causing the *c* to fall away.

Nicolas Roscarrock says that the feast of S. Eneda was kept on the first Wednesday in March. It is now held on the last Thursday in April, but the last Sunday is the principal day. Occasionally it is kept on the first Sunday in May. The transference from March to April was probably effected so that the feast might not be observed in Lent. Roscarrock says: "Eneda, one of Brychan's children," and refers to the Life of S. Nectan as his authority. This gives Kenheuder, who is also in the copy read by William of Worcester at S. Michael's Mount, and who is almost certainly Ceniderus or Cynidr of Glasbury, the son of Brychan's daughter Ceingair.

S. ENODOC, see S. GWETHENOC

S. ENVEL, Confessor

THIS name, which seems to have been originally Enfael, is given

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 130; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 424. Selyf was killed at the Battle of Chester, 613, but no credence can be given to the statement that at that battle Enghenedl was "prince of the British armies under Cadfan" (Pritchard, *Hanes ac Ystyr Enwau yn Môn*, 1872, p. 91).

² Nicolas Owen, *Hist. of Anglesey*, 1775, p. 59; Angharad Llwyd, *Hist. of Anglesey*, 1833, p. 247.

to two brothers who are said, traditionally, to have come from Britain, bringing with them their sister, who is variously called Evette and Theumette, and who is perhaps the *Ste. Avée* or *Avoye*, who may be equated with the Cornish *S. Ewe*. Her name is Gallicised into *Ste. Jeune*.

No early written Life of the Saint exists, and all we know of the brothers Envel is from tradition.

They were constrained to leave Britain on account of the troubles there, and they probably arrived at Esquibien, near Audierne, in Cornouaille, where *S. Envel* is regarded as patron, and his sister is also culted.

But leaving the coast they pushed inland and settled in the dense forest of Coat-en-nos (the Wood of Night), so called from the gloom cast by the dense oak-boughs.

Here they formed a settlement, since called Locquenvel, near Belle-Isle-en-Terre, on the granite. The sweet, sunny basin of Belle-Isle did not detain them; it was probably already occupied, and they ascended to higher ground where no land had been reclaimed. The two brothers set to work and hewed a clearing in the forest, and let the sun pour in on the soil so long overshadowed.

Here they lived, serving God, and ministering to those who came to consult them in their difficulties and to ask their prayers. Envel the Elder obtained the release of a prisoner who was held in chains, and in the church are preserved a few links of what is supposed to have been his chain. *S. Envel* is specially invoked to preserve the cattle from wolves and from murrain. He is patron of Locquenvel, and the legend is represented in fifteenth century glass in one of the windows of the church.

His festival is celebrated there on December 11, and especially on the second Sunday before Christmas.

There is a chapel to *S. Envel the Younger* at Belle-Isle-en-Terre, where a Pardon is held on the Twelfth Sunday after Trinity.

Ste. Jeune has a chapel in the adjoining parish of Plounevez-Moedec on the site of her hovel, which was at a little distance from those of her brothers. Her Pardon is on the first Sunday in September.

In the stained glass window above mentioned, he is represented as a labourer, hooded, and with a girded tunic, leading a wolf harnessed to a harrow; also as an abbot, mitred and with pastoral staff, giving his benediction.

S. Envel the Younger is represented in his chapel as a hermit.

The elder brother has chapels at Coatreven, between Tréguier and

Lannion, where his name is corrupted to Avel; and also at Buhulien, near Lannion, where he is called popularly S. Elivet.

S. ERBIN, King, Confessor

ERBIN, king of Cornwall, was the son of Cystennin Gorneu, or Constantine the Cornishman, and the brother of S. Digain, founder of Llangernyw, Denbighshire. He was the father of Geraint, who succeeded him, celebrated in history and romance, and of Ysgin.¹ Two other sons, Dywel and Erinid, are mentioned as warriors of King Arthur's Court in the tale of *Culhwch and Olwen*.²

Erbin appears in the romance of *Geraint and Enid* as the aged king of Cornwall who sends messengers to his nephew, King Arthur, asking him to allow Geraint to return to Cornwall to take over the sovereignty.

He had, formerly, one church dedicated to him in Wales, that of Erbistock (Erbin's Stock, or Stockade), a parish situated partly in Denbighshire and partly in Flintshire; but it has for a long time been regarded as dedicated to S. Hilary (January 13). It is quite evident that Erbin was its earlier patron, being superseded by Hilary through their festivals "occurring." In the *Valor* of 1535 is entered under Erbistock, "It' y^e offryng of Saynt Erbyns—xxs."³ The vale below the church is called the Vale of Erbine.

In Cornwall he is probably the founder or patron of S. Ervan. The church was placed under the patronage of S. Urban the Pope, by the Bishops of Exeter, and of S. Hermes. The day of S. Urban is May 25, and on that day a fair is held at Penrose in the parish. But in the Episcopal Registers the church is entered as that of S. Hermes. "Eccl. S^{ti} Hermetis," Bronescombe, 1258; "S^{ti} Ermetis," Bytton, 1309; Grandisson, 1366, etc.

There are several saints of the name of Hermes, commemorated respectively on January 4, March 1, August 28, October 22, and November 2.

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 425, 431. In *Iolo MSS.*, p. 137, Ysgin is given as his brother. In his *Life Cybi* is made to be the son of Salomon (Selyf), son of Erbin, son of Geraint, son of Lludd (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 183). The pedigrees in *Jesus College MS.* do trace Geraint ab Erbin through Kynwawr ab Tudwawl up to Eudaf Hên. They also mention an Erbin son of Aircol Lawhir. A "Swydd Erbin" (his commote) is mentioned in *Englynion y Beddau*, and in an *awdl* in *Myv. Arch.*, p. 217; and a "Pwll Erbin" occurs in the boundary of Llanfihangel, near Rogiet, Mon. (*Book of Llan Dâu*, p. 234). The common calamint is called in Welsh *erbin*.

² *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 107. Dywel is also mentioned, in the character of a warrior, in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (ed. Evans, p. 4); his grave was in "the plain of Cacav" (*ibid.*, p. 65).

³ VI, p. xlv.

A good number of the early Welsh Calendars give the festival of S. Erbin on both January 13 and May 29.

S. ERC or EARTH, Bishop, Confessor

WILLIAM OF WORCESTER tells us that he learned that Herygh (*i.e.*, Ergh or Erc) was brother to S. Euny and S. Ia. He was of the Irish party that landed in Hayle bay, Cornwall. Among the several Irish Ercs, there can be little doubt as to who this is. He was a disciple of S. Senan, and as Senan came to Penwith, doubtless his pupil came with him or followed him.

The harsh sound of Erc has been softened in Cornish mouths into Erth.

That Erc and Euny were related is probable enough.

The scholiast on the Martyrology of Oengus says of Eoghain (Euny), on August 23, "Son of Bishop Erc of Slane, ut periti ferunt," but gives "sicut alii" another parentage to him. Nevertheless, on November 2 he returns to the point, and then says without hesitation, "Bishop Eoghain, of Ardstraw, was a son of Bishop Erc, of Slane."¹

The father of Erc was Degaid, of the royal race of Ulster, but the family lived in Munster. Degaid or Deagh was brehon or judge of King Laoghaire. The day before S. Patrick appeared at Tara, the Apostle was camped on the heights of Slane. The date was 455, and the time the festival of Samhain, All Saints' Eve, the greatest pagan festival of the year.²

It began by the extinction of every fire in the country, and whosoever violated the order was slain. Patrick, however, lighted the fire as usual. This was seen from Tara, where the king was. When, at night, the little red spark shone out over the plain, Laoghaire's druids went to him and said, "Unless this fire be extinguished, it will not be quenched till doomsday."

The king then ordered that the man who had kindled the fire should be put to death. The druids then cautioned the king: "Go not thyself to the place, lest this stranger suppose that thou doest an act of reverence to him. Stay outside, a little way off, and send for him."

¹ *Félire of Oengus*, pp. cxxxii, clxvii.

² It is usually said that this was at Easter. But there seems reason to suspect that the incident really took place at Samhain. The *Tripartite Life* says "Easter." See what is said by Dr. Todd in his *S. Patrick*, and Shearman in his *Loca Patriciana*.

The king agreed to this, so the whole party crossed the plain till they approached the height of Slane, and then a summons was sent to Patrick to come before Laoghaire.

Meanwhile all had agreed to show no respect to the Saint, but to receive him seated.

Patrick, on being handed the summons, at once rose and went forth in obedience, chanting, "Some put their trust in chariots, and some in horses: but we will remember the name of the Lord our God." When he arrived in the royal presence, he found the king and his chiefs seated, "with the rims of their shields against their chins, and none of them rose up before him, save one man only, in whom was a divine spirit, namely Erc, son of Deagh."¹

Laoghaire, however, was overcome by the dignity of the Apostle, and probably also was unwilling to violate the rights of hospitality, when Patrick appealed to him for protection. The story has been laid hold of by legend writers, and a contest like that of Moses with the magicians of Pharaoh has been invented and thrust into the story.

When Erc was asked why he had arisen before Patrick, he replied that the words that came from the lips of the Missioner were full of living fire and light that kindled his soul.

There was a second conference with the king at Tara, and finally Laoghaire gave the Saint liberty to preach, but did not, himself, believe. Patrick had taken notice of Erc, and a little later he instructed him, and asked him if he desired baptism. Erc eagerly consented.

If Erc was, as is recorded, in his ninetieth year in 512 when he died, then at this date, 455, he must have been aged thirty-three. It is said that his baptism took place the day after the great gathering of Tara, but it is more probable that a little time intervened for instruction. At the baptism of Erc, an incident took place that we can hardly regard as an invention.

Many years before, when Patrick was in Gaul, he dreamt that he heard the voices of the children of the Wood of Fochlad crying out to him to come over and teach them the way of God. He tells us this in his own Confession. Where Fochlad was he did not know. He had heard the name perhaps, when he had been a slave-boy with Milchu, and the name had thus come up in dream. Now he was in Ireland, and he had, perhaps, forgotten the particulars.

As he was engaged baptizing Erc, some fellows who stood behind made fun of the ceremony, to the great annoyance of Patrick. However he took no notice of their unmannerliness. Presently one of

¹ *Tripartite Life*, pp. 43-5; *Life* by Joscelyn, c. v.

the mockers said to another standing by, "Who are you, and whence come you? We have not met previously."

"I," answered the man addressed, "I am Enna by name, son of Amalgaidh, and come from the Wood of Fochlad."

Instantly Patrick turned on him: "*You*, you come from the Wood of Fochlad! It is thither I am called. When you return home, I will accompany you." "No, thank you," replied Enna. "We shall get into trouble with our people, if we introduce you among them with your new-fangled notions. It might end in both of us being killed."

"Unless you take me with you, you shall not return at all," said Patrick.

After some demur and discussion, Enna consented to Patrick baptizing his son, Conall, but he declined to submit to baptism himself, "lest he should be laughed at."¹

Ten years after his baptism, Erc was consecrated bishop, and was sent about as a Missioner.

His first field of labour seems to have been in what is now Kerry, for, although there is no record of his work there, yet Tarmuin-Eirc, or the Sanctuary of Erc, remains at Lerrig, about three miles north of Ardfert. It was whilst he was there that he saw one night the sky illumined with the auroral lights, and not understanding that it was a natural phenomenon, he took it into his head that it signified the birth of some marvellous man.

He instituted inquiries in his immediate neighbourhood, and learned that the wife of a man named Finlog, at Fenit, seven miles distant, had been brought to bed that night of a boy. He at once went to the place to congratulate the parents, and assure them that the flickering heavenly display could signify nothing other than that his son was to become a luminary of the church. They were flattered and convinced, and consented that the child should be given to him to be fostered and educated.

This took place in or about 483. Erc proceeded to baptize the child by the name of Mobi, but he is known by that of Brendan. Then he committed him to be nursed by S. Ita, who at this time had a house at Tubrid Beg, five miles from Tralee.²

Brendan remained in S. Ita's care for five years, and then returned to Erc, who taught him letters and formed his mind. Erc took the little fellow about with him wherever he went. After some years

¹ Tirechan's Collections, *Tripartite Life*, ii, pp. 308-a.

² *Vita S. Brendani* in *Cod. Sal.*, coll. 75-9, *et seq.*

spent under his master, Brendan left and did not return till he was an abbot.

In the Life of S. Brigid is a story of her first meeting with Erc.¹ When they encountered, she asked him who he was and whence he came. He satisfied her on these points. Then she, falling into a condition of second sight, exclaimed, "I see war being waged in your country." "Nothing more likely," replied Erc, "my people are always fighting someone else." Then said Brigid, "Your folk have been routed." A lad in Erc's company burst out laughing, and said, "How can that woman see what is going on many miles away?" Erc rebuked the boy, and apologized to Brigid, who signed his eyes and those of the lad, and at once both were endued with the same power, and saw the battle that was being waged. Then the youth wailed: "Two of my brothers are fallen!" and he began to sob. Such is the story, probably based on a lucky guess of Brigid and magnified in telling.

Erc is entitled Bishop of Slane. This spot was the hill of the Graves of the Men of Fiacc, so called from its being a tribal Cemetery. At the period there were no territorial bishoprics. He constituted Slane his monastic and ecclesiastical centre, whence radiated his missions.

As he was son of a noted brehon, or lawyer, and had been educated to the same profession, Patrick employed him to regulate all such matters as came before him for judgment, and consulted him on points where his action conflicted with established law. The Apostle had the highest respect for his abilities and for his rectitude. He said of him—

Episcopus Erc
Quicquid judicavit rectum erat
Quisquis tulerit æquum judicium
Benedictionem feret Episcopi Erci.²

The lines are quoted by Tighernach in the eleventh century.

If Erc were the father of Eoghain, then the latter must have been born about 460.

Erc was a friend of Muircheartach, or Murtoigh MacErc, a great scoundrel, but who was, nevertheless, the first Christian king of Ireland. He reigned from 509 to 513. For something about him see S. CAIRNECH.

Several Saints were akin to Erc, as Brendan of Birr—not the

¹ *Vita 1^{ma} S. Brigidæ in Acta SS. Boll.*, February 1, p. 128 (cap. xi, 68).

² It is given in Irish in the *Annals of Tirechan, Tripartite Life*, p. 572.

Brendan who was his foster-son—Caiman and Lethan, and the holy daughters of Ernán, of whom one was S. Crida or Creed.

There is a story of Erc in the *Banquet of the Din na n-Gedh*, but it contains gross anachronisms, and need not accordingly be given.

When Erc came to Cornwall we do not know. Unhappily no detailed biography of the Saint exists, and all we know of him is picked up from allusions in the Lives of other Saints who were his contemporaries. But his period is precisely that of the beginning of the saintly migration to Cornwall.

In the *Annals of the Four Masters* Erc is said to have died in 512.

He is patron of S. Erth, by Hayle, which occurs as Eccl. S^{ti} Ercii in the Registers of Bp. Bronescombe, 1271; Grandisson, 1331, 1334; Brantyngham, 1380; Stafford, 1403-4.

In S. Allen (Bp. Stapledon's Register, 1314, and in that of Bp. Brantyngham, 1378), was a Lan-Erghe, now corrupted to Lanner. This must have been a chapel to him.

William of Worcester gives October 31 as the feast of S. Erc in Cornwall. He says, "Sanctus Herygh, frater S^{ti} Uny, Episcopus, jacet in quadam ecclesia scita sub cruce ecclesiae Sancti Pauli Londiniarum." We have been unable to discover anything about this London shrine of S. Erc.

In Ireland he is commemorated on November 2.¹ Whytford says: "In yreland the feest of saynt Herke, a bysshop, y^t was a gentyle, of grete iustyce and good lyvyng, and was converted by revelacyon, and sacred bysshop by Saynt Patrike and after of hygh pfectjon and had y^e spiryte of prophecy, and reysed a persone unto lyfe with other many grete myracles."

Erc is invoked in the Litany in the Stowe Missal.²

S. ERFYL, Virgin

THIS saint's name is not mentioned in the saintly pedigrees, but it occurs in a good number of the Welsh Calendars, from the fifteenth century downwards, against July 6. Her festival is there entered as "Gwyl Vrvyl (Erfyl) Santes." In the calendar in *Llanstephan MS.* 117 (sixteenth century) it is "Gwyl Vervyl," where her name looks

¹ Drummond *Kalendar*, *Féilire* of Oengus, Tallaght, Gorman, etc.

² Warren, *Liturgy of the Celtic Church*, 1881, p. 240.

rather like a mutation of the well-known name Gwerfyl.¹ Among other forms that occur are Eurfyl, Eurful, Erful, Urfyl, Urfyl, and Yrfyl. In the calendar in *Additional MS.* 12,913, written in 1508, we have "Urvul a Gwenvul," coupled together on the same day.²

The only church dedicated to her is Llanerfyl, in Montgomeryshire. She is locally supposed to have been buried there, and to have been a daughter of S. Padarn; but some say that she was cousin-german to S. Cadfan. All this is pure supposition, founded upon the misreading of an inscription on a rude stone in the churchyard, which has been taken for S. Erfyl's tombstone.³

About 400 yards from the church formerly existed (it is now drained away) Ffynnon Erfyl, her Holy Well, which was in great repute for its cures, and from it parents used to fetch water to the church for the baptism of their children. The young people of the district were in the habit of meeting at it on the afternoon of the Wake Sunday, and on Easter Monday, to drink the water sweetened with sugar, and they afterwards adjourned to some convenient place near to have a dance.⁴ The well was arched over, and the water conveyed to a spout below.

S. ERNIN, Confessor

ERNIN was the son of Helig ab Glanog, of the race of Cunedda Wledig, whose territory, Tyno Helig, was overwhelmed by the sea.⁵ It is partly covered to-day by the Lavan Sands, between Carnarvonshire

¹ No Gwerfyl is known to Welsh hagiology, and it is a mistake to say, as some writers do, that the Church of Bettws Gwerfyl Goch, Merionethshire, is dedicated to a saint of that name. See Lewys Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations*, ii, p. 17, for the foundation of the Church. The Cofyl against July 6 in the *Iolo MSS.* Calendar is, no doubt, a misreading for Erfyl. Roscarrock gives Eurddil on July 7.

² Gwenfyl, who was a daughter of Brychan, was commemorated also on November 1 in Llangeitho Parish. Lewis Glyn Cothi likewise associates the two saints—

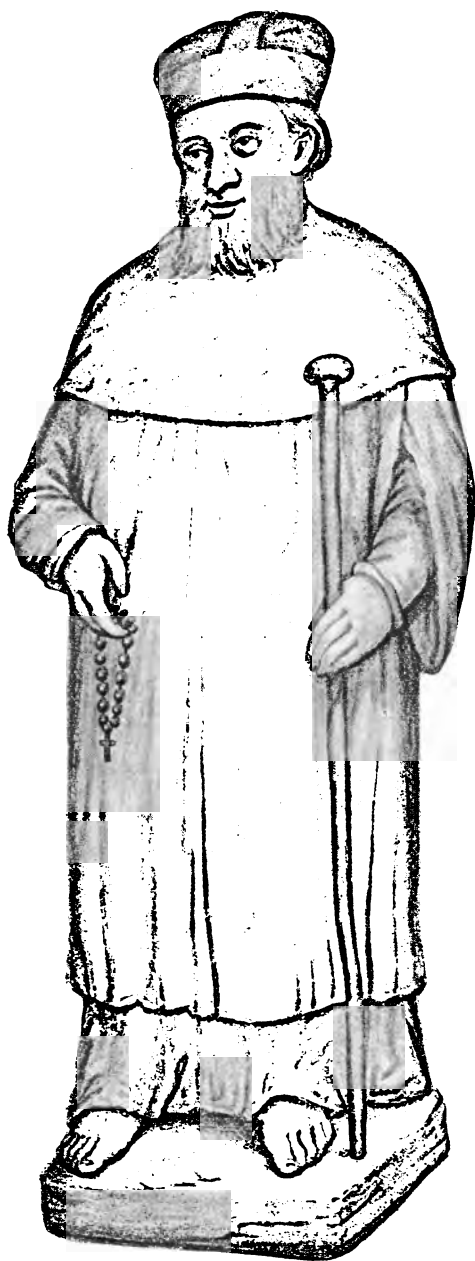
"Tair santes oedd i Iesu
A rhan i Vair o'r rhai'n vu;
Gwenvul o ymyl Gwynva,
Urvul ddoeth a Gwervyl dda."

The lines occur in an elegy on Gwerfyl, daughter of Madog, of Aber Tanad (*Works*, Oxford, 1837, p. 381; cf. p. 261).

³ For the inscription see especially Sir J. Rhys, *Origin of the Welsh Englyn*, 1905, pp. 89-92.

⁴ *Works of Rev. Griffith Edwards*, London, 1895, pp. 69-70.

⁵ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 419; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 106.



S. ERNIN.

From Statue at S. Nicholas, Prisiac.

and Anglesey, and extended to the Great Orme's Head. Some of Helig's many sons, Ernin among them, on losing their patrimony became saints or monks in Bardsey. The authorities, it should be observed, are late.

It is by no means improbable that he is the S. Hernin known in Brittany. Our sole authority for the Life of this Saint is Albert le Grand, who drew his material from a MS. *Vita* preserved in the church of Locarn, near Mael-Carhaix. This was lost at the Revolution, so that we have to rely on Albert le Grand's version of it.

According to this, Hernin was a native of Britain in the sixth century, who crossed over into Armorica, and he settled as a hermit in Duault, near Carhaix, on land given to him by a British chief who had established himself there. To trace out his acquisition, Hernin drew his staff after him as he walked round his allotment, whereupon a deep furrow was traced and a bank was miraculously thrown up. This is merely a legendary way of accounting for the fact that he marked off his *minihi* or sanctuary from the adjoining land. There he lived till his death, which occurred on the first Monday in May. He was buried in his hermitage and a great *lech* or stone was placed over his grave.

One day, Conmore, Count of Poher, before he became regent of Domnonia, was hunting in the neighbourhood, when the stag he was pursuing fled to the oratory of the saint, and laid itself down on his tomb, where the hounds did not venture to attack it. Conmore, coming up, and struck at the marvel, made inquiries, and ordered a chapel to be erected over the grave.

When the workmen came to begin the chapel, they found that the birds had collected twigs and leaves and had heaped them up, forming a little green bee-hive hut over the tomb.

The high altar at Locarn is held to stand over the grave of the saint, but the relics have been taken up; the head is preserved in a silver bust, and an arm is likewise enshrined. The day on which S. Hernin is commemorated is November 2, probably that of the translation. Hernin is invoked to cure headaches.

He is patron, not only of Locarn, but also of Saint-Hernin, and has a chapel at Ploumagoar.

At Locarn is a fourteenth century granite statue of him, representing him as a hermit with a closed volume in his left hand; this statue surmounts his holy well.

A number of saints bearing the name Ernin occur in the Irish Martyrologies.

S. ERUEN, see S. CINFIC

S. ETHBIN, Monk, Confessor

THE Life of this Saint is given in the Cartulary of Landevenec, adapted to an entirely distinct personage, Idunet. But John of Tynemouth wrote a condensation of the Life, which is given in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda*, from a source that had not been tampered with, and he does not mention him by the name of Idunet. For further particulars, see S. IDUNET.

Ethbin was the son of a noble of Britain, named Eutius, and of a mother named Eula.

He remained at home with his parents till the age of fifteen, when his father died, and then his mother asked S. Samson to veil her, and to shave her boy's head.

Ethbin remained with Samson "some days."

But once, when Banmerus, deacon to S. Samson, was reading the Gospel: "Whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be My disciple," the lad was so moved that he went directly to Samson and besought him to give him the monastic habit.

"In the same monastery lived Winwaloe, a priest and monk of great virtue." This cannot have been the great abbot of that name, who never was with Samson. Ethbin went with Winwaloe to Taurac, now possibly Teury, near Puisset, in the canton of Janville, near Chartres. Lobineau supposed that Taurac was some monastery near Dol, but no such place was known, nor has it left any trace to this day.¹ Here he was under an abbot, S. Similian, of whom absolutely no other record remains.

One day when Winwaloe was walking abroad accompanied by Ethbin, they lighted on a leper, lying in a harvest field, waiting for assistance.

"What is to be done for him?" asked Winwaloe.

"Follow the example of the Apostles, and bid him rise up and walk," replied Ethbin promptly.

Winwaloe then inquired of the unfortunate man in what his main sufferings consisted, and he replied that his nostrils were full of sores, the issue from which clogged them.² What follows is too nasty to be

¹ Deric supposes it was in the forest of Chosey in the bay of Cancale and of Mont S. Michel; *Hist. Eccl. de Bretagne*, ed. 1847, i, pp. 370, 417, 418. Others suppose Taurac was near Carnac, diocese of Vannes; *Revue de Bretagne*, 1861, ii, p. 66.

² "Nares meae, dolore vulnerum plenae, stercoris concremantur ab ardore, ut vides, tantae infirmitatis." *Cart. Land.*, p. 139.

given in English,¹ suffice it that Winwaloe healed the leper, who revealed himself as Christ Himself, and then vanished.

Thereupon each saint fell to attributing the marvel to the merits of the other.

The Franks having arrived and devastated Brittany, Ethbin fled to Ireland and took up his abode in a wood Nectensis, where he built a cell and lived in great poverty and devotion.

One day a woman brought to him a palsied son and entreated him to heal the lad. Ethbin replied that he had not the power, and advised her to lead him to the tomb of S. Brigid. The mother then informed him that she had done so without success; but had been told in a dream that she must have recourse to a holy man living in the wood of Necten.

On hearing this, Ethbin prayed, and the youth was made whole.

Ethbin occupied the same cell for twenty years, and died at the age of eighty-three, on October 19, and was buried where he had lived so many years.

In this Life, it will be seen that there is not a word about Ethbin having settled at Châteaulin, where lived Idunet, to whom this story has been adapted, and that he was with Winwaloe at Dol from about 540 to a few years after 557. The ravage committed by the Franks was apparently the civil war between Clothair and his son Chram, whose cause was supported by Canao, Count of Vannes, in 560; but Taurac was not in Brittany.

If we take 560 as the date of Ethbin's flight to Ireland, then he was born in 497, committed to S. Samson, then at Ynys Byr, in 512, and died in 580.

The day of the Saint is undoubtedly October 19, on which day he is given in the Roman Martyrology; by Whytford in his Martyrology, 1526; and by Wilson in both of his editions, 1608 and 1640.

He is quite unknown to the Irish martyrologists.

S. ETHRIAS, see S. EITHRAS

S. EUDDOG, Confessor

THERE was formerly a chapel called Llaneuddog, near Traeth Dulas,

¹ "Noli, senior, noli manibus capere nares, quia dolor non permittit; sed si dolorem meum levare volueris, necesse est mihi ut in ore tuo nares meas miseris et ita traxeris. Humiliavit se beatus sacerdos . . . et quando putavit levare pauperi, in ore suo excepit carnem Filii Dei." *Cart. Land.*, p. 139.

in the parish of Llanwenllwyfo, Anglesey. It stood near a farm still called Llaneiddog or Llanoiddog, but there are now no remains of it.¹

We have no information as to who S. Euddog or Eiddog was, but he is invoked as one of the saints of Anglesey in a poem written *circa* 1600.²

S. EUDDOGWY, see S. OUDOCEUS

S. EUGRAD, Confessor

EUGRAD or Eigrad was son of Caw, and brother of Gildas.³ In the Life of the latter by the monk of Ruys he is called Egreas. He says : " Egreas, with his brother Alleccus (Gallgo) and their sister Peteova (Peithian), a virgin consecrated to God, having given up their patrimony and renounced worldly pomp, retired to the remotest part of that country (Anglesey), and at no long distance from each other, built, each one for himself, an oratory, placing their sister in the middle one. Both of them alternately, each on his own day, used to celebrate with her the Daily Hours and the Mass, and taking food with her after Vespers, and returning thanks to God, they returned before sunset, each to his own oratory ; for each of them used to celebrate the Vigils separately in his own oratory. . . . They were buried in the oratories which they had built, and are preserved there, famous and illustrious for their constant miracles." ⁴

Eugrad was a member of the congregation of S. Iltyd at Llantwit, according to the *Iolo MSS.*

He is probably mentioned, as Ergyryat, in the story of *Culhwch and Olwen*, in the *Mabinogion*,⁵ as having been at one time a knight in the service of king Arthur.

He was one of the family of Caw who received a grant of land from Maelgwn in Anglesey. The oratory or church he founded is Llaneugrad, which adjoins the settlement of his brother at Llanallgo. It is a small church, of curious formation. Under the parishes of Llaneugrad and Llanallgo, still held as one benefice, are entered in the *Valor* of 1535 the " offering' to y^e Seint."⁶

¹ *Y Geninen*, 1891, p. 212 ; *Cambrian Register*, ii, p. 286 ; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 425 ; Leland, *Collect.*, 1774, iv, p. 88. ² *Yr Haul*, 1882, p. 561.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 101, 109, 116, 137, 142 ; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 425, 429. The name seems to be derived from Eucratius.

⁴ *Vita 1^{ma}*, ed. Hugh Williams, pp. 326-7.

⁵ *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 107.

⁶ VI, p. xxxv.



S. EUGRAD (ERGAT).
From a Statue at Tréouergat.

Colgan¹ suggests that Egrad is the Egread who was a disciple of S. Ailbe of Emly, whom Ailbe consulted as to whether he should surrender a cell of his to a stranger who asked for it. The place was called in Latin Pratum Bovis. Egread advised the giving it up, and they moved elsewhere. If this identification be admitted, then Egrad must have been in Ireland at an early period.

No festival is given Egrad in the Welsh Calendars, but Browne Willis² gives him January 6, and Nicolas Owen³ and Angharad Llwyd⁴ June 8.

It is possible that the launching of the tract *De excidio Britanniae* by Gildas may have obliged him to fly the territories of Maelgwn, and that he may be the Ergat found in Brittany. Ergat is known as a founder in Armorican Cornubia, at Pouldergat, near Douarnenez. He is also patron of Tréouergat, near Ploudalmezeau, in Léon, where is preserved a portion of his skull, and where also is shown his Holy Well. A statue of him there represents him in Eucharistic vestments holding a book.

He is invoked, and his well is resorted to, for rheumatic affections. Tréouergat is near Lanildut, a foundation of S. Illtyd, and Egrad was a disciple of that Saint.

We know that at a time of famine in Brittany, Illtyd did go thither with corn-ships from Wales, and possibly enough Egrad, his disciple, may have gone there with him and have then made his settlement, his *tref*, in Léon.

The other foundation, in Cornouaille, may have been made later, when he was obliged to fly from the resentment of Maelgwn.

He does not occur in any early Breton Calendars, but he is given by Garaby, and his followers, Gautier du Mottay and De la Borderie, on August 11. At Pouldergat the Pardon of the Saint is held on the fourth Sunday in August; at Tréouergat on the second Sunday in August.

The name has been clumsily Latinized into Goescatus, but does not occur in any liturgical documents.

The Holy Well at Tréouergat lies about twenty minutes' walk south of the church. Owing to annoyance caused by the pilgrims frequenting the well and traversing his land to do so, the Seigneur of Penguer filled it up, but he was shortly afterwards troubled with sickness. He became alarmed and constructed the present Holy Well, of cut stones, and the arms of Penguer are on it.

¹ In the *Vita S. Gildæ* in *Acta SS. Hibern.*, note v, Colgan quotes a Life of S. Ailbe by O'Suillevanus. There is no mention of Egread in the Life of S. Ailbe in the *Salamanca Codex*. ² *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, p. 281.

³ *Hist. of Anglesey*, 1775, p. 57. ⁴ *Hist. of Anglesey*, 1833, p. 214.

S. EUNY, Bishop, Confessor

UNY or Eunius was one of the party of Irish colonists that came into Penwith and Carnmarth with S. Hia, S. Erc, and others, about 495 or 500.

In Leland's time, Lives of three of these were extant in Cornwall, those of S. Breaca, S. Elwyn, and S. Wymer. Breaca we have already identified as one of the many Irish Brigs, Elwyn as S. Eloan, and Wymer is S. Fingar.

S. Uny, according to William of Worcester, was brother of S. Erc. Another of the party we may conjecture was S. Setna, the disciple of S. Ciaran and of S. Senan, both of whom have left their impress on West Cornwall.

The colonists were opposed by Tewdrig, and some of them were killed.

Lelant had him as patron, and under this was the chapelry of S. Hia (S. Ives). This implies that she was subject to his patronage and protection. Towednack also was a chapelry under Lelant. There was also a foundation of his at Redruth, and a chapel at Sancreed, as well as Merthyr Uny in Gwendron.

So many foundations imply a residence of some time in Cornwall, and make it very doubtful whether he was one of those who fell under the sword of Tewdrig at the first landing. He is described as a Bishop, and his name is variously given as Eunius, Ewninus, and Eunianus, in the Episcopal Registers.

For his identification we must follow the clue offered by William of Worcester, and look among the relatives and disciples of S. Erc. We at once come on Eogain or Eugenius, afterwards Bishop of Ardstraw, in Derry, whose name in Cornish would become Euenius, then Eunius. We cannot of course be sure, but the identification seems probable.

There is much to lead us to hold that Eugenius of Ardstraw is the Uny of Lelant. According to the glossator on the *Félire of Oengus*, he was son of S. Erc.; but according to a more probable account he was son of Cainnech, of Leinster, and his mother's name was Muindecha, and he was a near relative of S. Kevin, of Glendalough; indeed the latter was his nephew. His race was royal.

The authority for his Life is a *Vita* in the collection of Lives of Irish Saints in the *Salamanca Codex*,¹ and mention in that of S. Tighernach.

Whilst Eogain or Eugenius was yet in tender years, he was sent to Clones, where he was brought up along with Tighernach, who has also left a footprint in Cornwall, at Northill. They were both carried away

¹ *Vitæ SS. Hibern.* in *Cod. Sal.*, Edinb., 1888, coll. 915-24.

by pirates from Britain and were sold into captivity. Ninidh,¹ abbot of Rosnat, now identified with a site on the slopes of Carn Llidi, near S. David's Head, obtained their liberation ; he took charge of them, and educated them in his establishment, where they made the acquaintance of Coirpre, afterwards Bishop of Coleraine. A second time Eogain and his companions were carried into captivity, and this time were taken to and sold as slaves in Brittany, where they became the property of one of the Armorican kings, who set them to grind his mill.

One day whilst Eogain, Tighernach, and Coirpre were supposed to be thus engaged, the steward noticed that there was no sound of grinding issuing from the mill. He looked in, and found the lads engaged in reading a psalter they had managed to preserve. When he informed his master of this, the king, who respected scholarship, gave them their liberty and sent them back to Rosnat. There Eogain remained for many years. At last Ninidh resolved on crossing into Ireland and establishing monasteries there. He took with him both Eogain and Tighernach and they founded settlements in Leinster. Eogain made an independent establishment at Kilnamanagh, on the east coast of Wicklow, and presided over it for fifteen years as Abbot.

Under him his nephew, S. Kevin, of Glendalough, received his education.

After a while Eogain left his monastery and went North, along with Tighernach. The legend says that great was the grief of the monks of Kilnamanagh at losing their superior. He consoled them by assuring them that, although absent in body, he would ever be with them in spirit.

Together, these friends, Eogain and Tighernach, founded a monastery at Clones, and then, after a while, Eogain went further and made an establishment at Ardstraw, or the high place on the Strath, *i.e.*, on the little river Derg.

A considerable number of fabulous tales have been associated with his name, but the main facts of his life are pretty firmly established. It was a pagan Irish custom to baptize a new weapon in the blood of an innocent child, and when Amalghaid, a chieftain in his neighbourhood, was about to thus treat a new spear, Eogain interfered first by prayer and then by offering a bribe. But Amalghaid would not be persuaded from following "old customs," and then Eogain warned him that no good luck would follow his using a spear thus baptized, when he knew it was a sin to so inaugurate its use. As Amalghaid was killed a few days after, it was supposed that this was due to his having refused the Saint's petition.

¹ The same as Mancen or Maucan.

An odd incident is related of his girdle, which was of leather. One day, returning from a pastoral visit, he lost his belt. Next day he returned on his traces in search of it, and found that a fox had begun to gnaw it, but his teeth that had penetrated the leather had stuck in it so that he could not withdraw them, and he had died struggling vainly to disengage himself.

On one occasion a number of his countrymen were enclosed in a *dun* by a party of pirates who had landed on the coast, and caught them unprepared. Hearing of this, Eogain went to the camp and managed, unperceived in the dark night, to evade the watchmen and get into the *dun*. There he found about a hundred persons, many of them women. He took occasion to baptize them, and then, as further resistance was impossible, he induced them in fog and darkness to attempt to escape, and he managed successfully to elude the observation of the pirates and get all clear from the *dun*.

One story told of him as miraculous is easily explained.

He was walking through a wood with a boy attendant, and as he went he sang the psalms. Then he said the Lord's Prayer, and when the boy sang out *Amen*, to their great astonishment they heard *Amen* repeated from the trees, as echo.

Once, when on a journey he came to a *cathair* where merry-making and feasting were in progress, and he was refused admission and a place at the feast. He was very angry, and cursed the place, that no more revelry might take place therein to the end of time. He would have been in difficult circumstances for a lodging had not one named Caitne and his wife Brig housed him for the night; they fed him on roast beef, pork, and a big jar full of beer that was set before him. He was so pleased that he promised that ale and meat should not fail them till Pentecost. And that was on November 1, so that we know the revelry in the *caer* was due to the celebration of a pagan festival.

The Saints of Ireland whom we find associated with Cornwall all belong to the south, and it seems strange to have the patron saint of Derry also in Cornwall. But it must be remembered that Eogain's earliest foundation was Kilnarnagh, in Wicklow. It was not till he was well advanced in life that he went into the north. And his visit to Cornwall must have been at an early period of his career.

That he was vastly charitable would appear from his giving his pair of chariot horses to a leper who was wretchedly off. When his friend Coirpre, Bishop of Coleraine—who, it will be remembered, had been a fellow pupil with him—heard of this he sent him two horses of his own. In return for this Eogain gave him a complete copy of the Holy Gospels.

Eogain was related to Conlaeth, S. Brigid's Bishop. The reason of his going north seems to have been that he might be among his mother's relations, as she was daughter of the petty king of Oriel.

It might be objected that in Gwendron is Merthyr Uny, which implies that he was a martyr there. This would be true were this a Welsh settlement, as among the Welsh *merthyr* does mean a *martyrium*, either over a martyr's grave, or a chapel erected in memory of a martyr; but it has not this meaning in Ireland, nor had it that signification at the beginning. S. Patrick was solicitous that his converts should not be buried in cairns after heathen fashion, and he consecrated *martartechs*, or cemeteries (*tech* is a house), for the special burial-places of the Christians. In Ossory he made a *martartech* in the plain of Magh Roighne; and he did the same apparently in each several district. Thus in each region there would be a single *domus martyrii* to which all the faithful throughout the district would be brought. So Merthyr Uny would be the cemetery consecrated by Uny for the use of his co-religionists in Carnmarth.

That *merthyr* had the same meaning outside the region occupied by the Irish we do not know. It had, as shown, a different meaning in Wales.

Another name by which these cemeteries were known in Ireland was *relic*, probably because the Apostle of the Irish placed some relic, or supposed relic, in them to consecrate them.

The date of S. Eogain's death is thought to have been 570. The *Annals of Clonmacnois* give 618. But this is probably too late; his friend and fellow student, Tighernach, died in or about 548.

There is a representation of S. Uny on the churchyard cross at S. Ives. William of Worcester gives as his day February 1. At Redruth and Lelant the Feast is observed on February 2, but at Lelant also on August 15. In Ireland, Eogain is commemorated August 23.

He is invoked in the Litany of the Stowe Missal.¹

The dedications in Cornwall are: The church of Uny-Lelant. The church of Redruth (Register of Bp. Brantyngham, 1393). The church of Camborne (Register of Bp. Brantyngham, 1392, "Ecclesia S^{ti} Ewnini, Cambrone"). A chapel at Sancreed. A chapel at S. Just in Penwith. A chapel and cemetery at Merthyr Uny, in Gwendron.

In the Episcopal Registers the name of the Saint is Euninus (Brantyngham, 1393; Ewninius also, 1393).

In Gulval, some years ago, an inscribed cross-shaft was found

¹ Warren, *Liturgy of the Celtic Church*, p. 240.

bearing on it "Unui." The fragment has been re-erected, by inadvertence, upside down.

S. EURDEYRN, see S. EDEYRN

S. EURGAIN, Matron

EURGAIN was the daughter of Maelgwn Gwynedd,¹ and sister of Rhun, who succeeded him as king. She was the wife of Elidyr Mwyn-fawr, "the Courteous," one of the Men of the North who invaded Arfon during her brother's reign, and was slain near Carnarvon. Elidyr had a remarkable horse, called Du y Moroedd (the Black One of the Seas), and Eurgain was one of the seven persons and a half that it is credited in the Triads² with having carried on its back from Penllech Elidyr in the North to Penllech Elidyr in Anglesey.

There is a legend wherein Eurgain is said to have given certain wild birds a candle to show her lover the way.³

To her is dedicated the church of Llaneurgain or Northop, in Flintshire. Her festival, which occurs in a good number of the Welsh Calendars from the fifteenth century down, is on June 29,⁴ and commonly appears as "Gwyl Bedr ac Eurgain," which will explain the dedication, SS. Peter and Eurgain, now generally given to the church. Tradition says that there once existed a Capel Eurgan in Llangian parish, Carnarvonshire,⁵ which may have been dedicated to her.

There is a large tumulus in the hamlet of Criccin, about a mile from the town of Rhuddlan, which has been supposed to cover her remains.

¹ *Peniarth MS.* 45; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 416, 424; *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 266, 268, etc. In the formation of Welsh names, *gold* for women and *iron* for men are the specially honourable metals.

² *E.g.*, *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 300.

³ Quoted in Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains*, p. 175.

⁴ In a rhyming Calendar in *Cardiff MS.* 13, written in 1609, it is said—

"Digwyl Beder pawb ai meder;
Llawer dyn fain yn Llonevrgain."

⁵ *Arch. Camb.*, 1874, pp. 87-8. There is a Cefn Eurgain in the parish of Northop.

S. EURGEN, see S. EIGEN

S. EURYN, Confessor

BESIDES the Eurnyn that we have identified with Aneurin-Gildas, there was another Eurnyn, who is sometimes called Eurnyn y Coed Helig (of the Willow Wood), to distinguish him from his namesake, Eurnyn y Coed Aur (of the Golden Wood). He was one of the dozen sons of Helig ab Glanog,¹ of Tyno Helig (to the north-east of Carnarvonshire), whose territory was inundated by the sea, whereupon they became saints or monks at Bangor on Dee, and in Bardsey. This was in the time of Rhun ab Maelgwn Gwynedd.

Roscarrock gives the festival of Eurnyn on August 23.

S. EVAL, see S. UFELWY

S. EWE, Virgin

A CHURCH in Cornwall is dedicated to this Saint. In Bishop Quivil's Register, 1281, Sancta Ewa; in Bp. Grandisson's, 1366, Ecclesia Sancte Ewe; in that of Bp. Stapeldon, 1310, Eccl. Sancte Euwe; and in that of Bp. Stafford, 1395, Sancte Ewa.

At Trigona, in the parish of S. Eval, was a chapel dedicated to S. Eva.

We can only conjecture who this Saint was. In Brittany at Plounevez-Moedec are culted two brothers named Envel, and their sister Euvette or Evette, also called Thumette, with a post-thetic *T* carried on from Saint Euvette to her name, and with the introduction of *m* for euphony. The *ette* is a French diminutive. She is said to have come over with her brothers from Britain. But she receives a special cult along the coast of Cornouaille, where she is invoked by the sailors. At Esquibien, by Audierne, where S. Envel is patron, she is resorted to. She is also venerated at Kerity Penmarch. Again at Nevez by Pontaven, and also at Plomeur between Pont l'Abbé and Penmarch. This is all in the Bigauden district, and what is more to the point,

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 124. In the *Dream of Rhonabwy* Eiryn Wych Amheibyn is mentioned as a servant of King Arthur.

in one where the Irish colonists were strong, rather than the British ; but neither the name of Envel nor Ewe or Ave have anything corresponding in Irish.

Evette or Thumette is perhaps the same as the Avée or Avoye of Morbihan, of whom it is said that she came from Britain in a stone boat, which would account for her being invoked by mariners. This Avée or Avoye, of which Eva is the Latin form, has two churches in the ancient Broweroc, one near Auray, the other near Vannes.

No Life of this Saint exists, only a vague floating tradition, which supposes her to have been a member of the company of the apocryphal S. Ursula, but with this conflicts that version of the story that she crossed from Britain in a stone boat by herself ; whereas the company of Ursula sailed the seas in seven ships, a thousand virgins in each.

The tale goes that this stone boat of hers stranded on a spit of land hard by what is now Pluneret, and which is included in the parish. Thence she passed on to the neighbourhood of Vannes and founded the church of Ste. Avée. The legend goes on to relate that she was thrown into prison and denied food, but that the B. Virgin fed her miraculously with bread through the bars of the window.

This is represented in a painting above the altar in her chapel at Ste. Avoye in Pluneret.

A portion of the "boat" is shown in the nave. It is a large block of quartz, hollowed out and polished in the basin. On the "boat" are three symbols incised, a cross, a T and an I. Delicate children are placed in the "boat" to receive strength.

Apparently this is a primitive mill in which corn was pounded by means of a large round pebble.

The Saint is said finally to have been martyred with the band of S. Ursula ; but the connexion with Ursula has been foisted into the story and manifestly does not fit with the rest.

The parish church of Ste. Avée near Vannes is of no merit architecturally, and it has been transferred to the invocation of SS. Gervasius and Protessus. But hard by is an interesting chapel with ancient altars and statues, among these latter is one very fine, of the fifteenth century, intended for Ste. Avée, but later renamed Ste. Lucie.

Her day, according to the Proper of Vannes, 1660, is May 2. The Pardons at Ste. Avoye are two, the first Sunday in May, and the third in September.

S. EWRYD, Confessor

THIS Saint's pedigree is unknown. He was, we may presume, the patron of the church of Bodewryd, in Anglesey, now dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, on the Feast of the Assumption.¹ His festival day, January 31, occurs in three Calendars—those in John Edwards of Chirkland's *Grammar*, 1481, the Prymer of 1546, and *Peniarth MS.* 219.

¹ Browne Willis, *Survey of Bangor*, p. 282.